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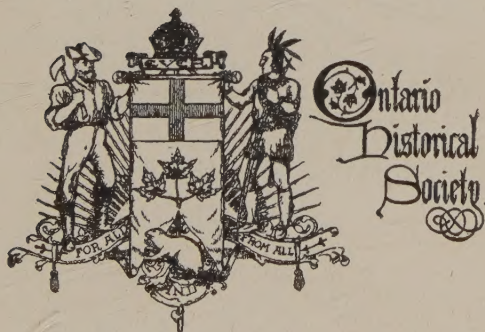
Ontario. Lieutenant Governor, 1791-1796
(John G. Simcoe)

THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF
Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe,

WITH ALLIED DOCUMENTS
RELATING TO
HIS ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT
OF
UPPER CANADA.

COLLECTED AND EDITED BY
BRIGADIER GENERAL E. A. CRUIKSHANK, LL.D., F.R.S.C.
FOR THE ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME I. 1789-1793.



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PREFACE.

Among the documents here presented, in addition to the official letters written by or addressed to Lieutenant Governor Simcoe, it has been thought proper to include many other papers tending to throw incidental light on the administration of civil and military affairs, the exploration and settlement of the province of Upper Canada, its foreign relations, and its economic and social life. By far the greater part of the contents of this volume has been transcribed from original documents or trustworthy copies, deposited in the Dominion Archives. In other cases, the source is particularly stated.

Ottawa, August, 1922.

THE CORRESPONDENCE

OF

Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe

With Allied Documents

VOL. I.—1789-1793.

FROM W. W. GRENVILLE¹ TO LORD CHANCELLOR THURLOW.

WIMBLEDON, August 26, 1789.

I was extremely sorry that I did not know the time which you had fixed for leaving town, as there were two or three points of business on which I much wished to have had an opportunity of conversing with you before you went.

The most pressing of them is that which relates to the Government of Quebec. You are so fully informed of all the particulars respecting the state of that Province, that it would have been a great satisfaction to me if I could, previous to the forming any sort of opinion with respect to it, have learnt what your sentiments were on the principal points on which a decision is now to be taken.

It is, however, indispensably necessary after what has passed that we should be enabled to state to Parliament, in the next session, what line of conduct we think this country should pursue with respect to those points. And as, in every case that I could foresee, some further communication with Lord Dorchester, previous to the opening of the session, seemed to me to be extremely desirable,

¹Grenville, William Wyndham, younger brother of the first Marquis of Buckingham and cousin of William Pitt; Irish Secretary, 1782-3; special envoy to the Hague and to Paris, 1787; Speaker of the House of Commons, 5 Jany, 1789; Secretary of State for the Home Department, June, 1789; President of the Board of Trade, 1790; Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 8 June, 1791; created Baron Grenville and superseded Lord Thurlow as leader of the government party in the House of Lords.

I had determined to enter upon the consideration of the subject immediately after the prorogation, in order that I might be enabled if possible to transmit to Canada, in the course of the autumn, the decision of the King's servants upon the whole question.

I have accordingly considered, with much attention, all the information which I could procure relative to it, and have employed myself in examining the different ideas which suggested themselves to me upon it. The result of these, as far as relates to the general outlines of the subject, I have stated in writing in order that I might be able to submit them, without any loss of time, to the consideration of those whose opinion, on points of so much extent and importance, it is equally my duty and my wish to consult.

I now take the liberty of troubling you with this paper, which, when you have considered, I should be much obliged to you to return with your ideas upon it. I have only added to my packet a general *precis* of what has passed on this subject, the most material of the petitions and counter-petitions, and a few other papers. I am very sensible that these are far from containing all that relates to the subject. But I also know how much occasion you have had to consider it, and how perfectly you are apprised of all the material points which are involved in it. If, however, there is any other point of information which you wish, and which my Office can supply, I shall be happy to receive your commands upon it.

(Historical Manuscripts Commission, Dropmore Papers, Vol. I, pp. 496-7.)

FROM LORD THURLOW TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

September 1-10, 1789.

It is a long time since I have had occasion to think of Quebec; and now many years since I have seen a line of correspondence from that country. Things in the mean time must have changed much; and particular notions have taken root to a degree, which must command respect in any system, which general principles would otherwise have suggested for their government. In that view I have considered the paper you have favoured me with, as attentively as the time would permit; and am only sorry that you want it again so soon; because it would be rash to hazard an opinion on many of the various points you have opened, without more consideration than the first view of the subject will allow.

It is doubtless an important speculation to consider by what circumstances chiefly it was that the disposition of the colonies, now lost, became so alienated, as to be in that readiness for revolt to which accident gave an occasion; which was not foreseen, among other reasons for this, that in truth it was not the immediate or adequate cause. You seem to refer it to the want of more resemblance in their constitution with that of Great Britain. I have been used to think it more referable to the want of connection and dependance in the form of their government upon the mother country. It was formed, I think, too much upon the plan which is supposed to be the establishment of those antient settlements which never were meant to have a political connection with their metropolis; and were meant only for places of intercourse chiefly commercial; and were left to the effect of that intercourse to preserve the connection. But without referring to antient history, or even general speculation, it seems clear, that, if political liberty which

is the governing principle of our constitution, be established in a colony, the sovereignty which, following that principle, must be established in certain proportions among the people, will also be established there; and the immediate effect of that will be a habitual independant attention to a separate interest. In consequence of protecting and cultivating them, this country made some few laws for them; of which they felt the benefit more than the burden; because they were not conceived with a view to give an habitual impression of subjection and obedience. And when, at length, they were quoted as precedents for going further, the Colonies were shocked at the inference as an innovation the most remote from their habits of thinking.

On the other hand the genius of the French Government gave to their colonies a constitution like their own, as practised; by which means the dependance and obedience of the people seems to have been effectually secured; but the growth and prosperity of the plantation was discouraged and kept down.

Perhaps a mean might have been found; to have given them more civil liberty, without political liberty, which, if I don't mistake, must necessarily include sovereignty, and consequently independance; because the share of the Crown in the sovereignty is certainly not enough by itself to create dependance.

But reflections of this sort, even if they are thought just, must yield to actual circumstances; which necessarily draw pretty forceably towards your conclusions. At the same time, with such ideas as these, while I incline to fall in with all the prejudices which have been already contracted, I still wish to shape the institutions resulting from them so as to preserve the greatest degree of habitual influence possible in the executive branch of government; that being, as I conceive, the only point of contact between this mother and her colonies.

One effect of this way of considering the matter is to bring into some doubt your idea of an hereditary aristocracy; which, if placed in hands unequal to it, will only be despised; but if lodged with families of permanent consideration, will grow, as I fear, into an independant interest.

This idea will obviously bear on most of the subjects you have brought forward for discussion. And the application of it to them would perhaps be the best way of trying its real worth, and certainly of trying its expediency. But, for any practical purpose, dissertation in this way would not be so convenient as conversation; in which principles would come more easily to a settlement.

Perhaps it may be worth considering whether the object of providing for a political dependance, or, at least, of looking a great way forward with that view, would be worth encountering many difficulties. As a seat of commerce, our present situation in that respect goes a great way to secure it. And to secure it, without such means, may perhaps be a task too hard for political wisdom. Increasing the number of our own subjects, and keeping them out of the hands, especially in time of war, is doubtless an important consideration, even in Canada; though not so much as in those colonies we have lost. And I am far from laying by the object of dependance. I would only decline urging it to an extent which would produce still more considerable inconveniences.

Unless the many papers you refer to, have already been under the consideration of the rest of the Cabinet, I shall be in town time enough to take them in my turn; and I shall be very happy if I can contribute any thing to the preparing a measure, which perhaps may be thought to have been too long delayed.

(Historical Manuscripts Commission, Dropmore Papers, Vol. I, pp. 503-5.)

FROM W. W. GRENVILLE TO LORD CHANCELLOR THURLOW.

Private.

WIMBLEDON, September 12, 1789.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's two letters. With respect to the first, I am sincerely sorry that any expression in my letter should have conveyed an idea that I wished to receive back the paper which I took the liberty of troubling your lordship with, before you found time and leisure fully and sufficiently to consider it. I now return it to your Lordship for that purpose, although I do not flatter myself that it contains anything which will not have suggested itself to you on a first perusal.

I have in one place made a small addition to it, because I felt, on considering your Lordship's letter, that the reasoning which I had used was in part defective. In examining the causes which produced in our American colonies that predisposition to which I perfectly agree in ascribing their revolt, I had discussed the question of colonial government with a view only to the different modifications of a separate and local legislation, without entering into that which is certainly a point of previous consideration, whether such distinct legislation, in any form in which it can be established, is a thing in itself desirable; and whether all power of this sort would not with more advantage (at least to the mother country) be retained in one general and superintending legislation, that of the parent state. To say the truth I had considered this as a point no longer open to speculation with a view to any measures to be now adopted; as the constitution given, whether by design or accident, to our antient colonies at their first establishment, and the institutions now existing in our remaining colonies, had supposed the necessity of some distinct and local power of legislation.

This part of the subject is however a material link in the chain of reasoning which I have used, and I think the question stands exactly as your Lordship has described it. That, with a view merely to retaining dependence, a legislation residing in the mother country might for a time be the best of all institutions; but that it has so evident a tendency to check and depress the colony, that it might almost be doubted whether such a dependence would be worth retaining. And one might perhaps add that, in a more advanced state of the colony, this tendency would probably be observed there, and would in that case have the effect of alienating the minds of the colonists from a government so adverse to their separate interest, and thereby of counteracting the advantages expected from the principle itself.

The other point which your Lordship particularly mentions in this Canada business relates to what was said of an hereditary aristocracy. I am not quite sure whether my paper, as it before stood, sufficiently explained what my idea is on this subject. I thought that by granting some kind of rank and distinction, descendible in lineal succession to the eldest sons of those who were once called to the Council, a body would gradually be formed and kept up, out of whom the crown would probably select the Councillors, with only a few occasional additions as other families grew to consideration and respect in the province. The consequence would then be that no person could have a seat in the Upper Branch of the Legislature, without feeling that sort of interest in the established government which arises from the possession of hereditary distinction; while at the same time, the power reserved to the Crown of calling to seats in that House such only of those persons as might individually be judged proper for it, would retain to the British Government a great degree of weight and influence among this description of persons.

I feel, however, how difficult it is to discuss these ideas satisfactorily by writing, and I shall have great pleasure in the opportunity of conversing with your Lordship upon them.

(Historical Manuscripts Commission, Dropmore Papers, Vol. I, pp. 506-7.)

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO EVAN NEPEAN.¹

WOLFORD LODGE, December 3, 1789.

Dear Sir

Having printed a few Copies of my Journal², I beg your acceptance of one, which I have directed to be forwarded to you as a mark of my sincere respect, and the only trifling return for the many favours for which I am indebted to you, and in this spirit I hope you will receive it with a kindness which the nature of the subject has no claim to expect.

Should Canada act upon the wise, enlarged, and just plan of annihilating at once every vestige of Military Government in her native Colonies, and undermining by degrees the miserable feudal system of old Canada (which would be no difficult matter in this Æra when liberty universally ranges abroad), too firmly established by a sacred Capitulation to be openly got rid of, I should be happy to consecrate myself to the Service of Great Britain in that Country in preference to any situation of whatever emolument or dignity.

The minds of thinking men are anxiously turned towards America,—mine naturally must be so from the part I bore in the War, and from believing my Father to have been the principal means of the Attack on Quebec having taken place, and the recent Embassy which I apprehend Washington has sent by Captain Guion to demand the Forts of Lord Dorchester, deserves the utmost attention. I hope therefore a few remarks which I take the liberty of offering to you will meet with your pardon and favourable acceptance.

Should it be in the disposition of Government to maintain the Forts, it will not be in their Power without an Alliance with Vermont, and should they be given up, the loss of Canada ultimately and not very remotely must follow.

The Inhabitants of Vermont are a brave, virtuous, and English race of People, descendants of the best Families in the Country: the Pierponts, Seymours, Stanleys, &c., Episcopalians and Enemies to the New Yorkers and Congress. They claim

¹Nepean, Sir Evan, 1751-1822; served in the Royal Navy as a clerk, purser, and assistant paymaster-general, 1776-82; Under Secretary of State, 1783; Commissioner of the Privy Seal, 1785; Under Secretary for War, 1794; Secretary of the Admiralty, 1795-1804; created a Baronet, 16 July, 1802; Chief Secretary for Ireland, 20 June, 1804; Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, Sept. 1804-February, 1806; Governor of Bombay, 1812-19.

²A limited edition of this book was printed in quarto for private circulation, at Exeter, England, in 1787. It is entitled "A Journal of the Operations of the Queen's Rangers from the end of the year 1777 to the Conclusion of the late American War. By Lieutenant Colonel Simcoe, Commander of that Corps. Exeter. Printed for the Author." It was reprinted in an octavo volume at New York in 1844.

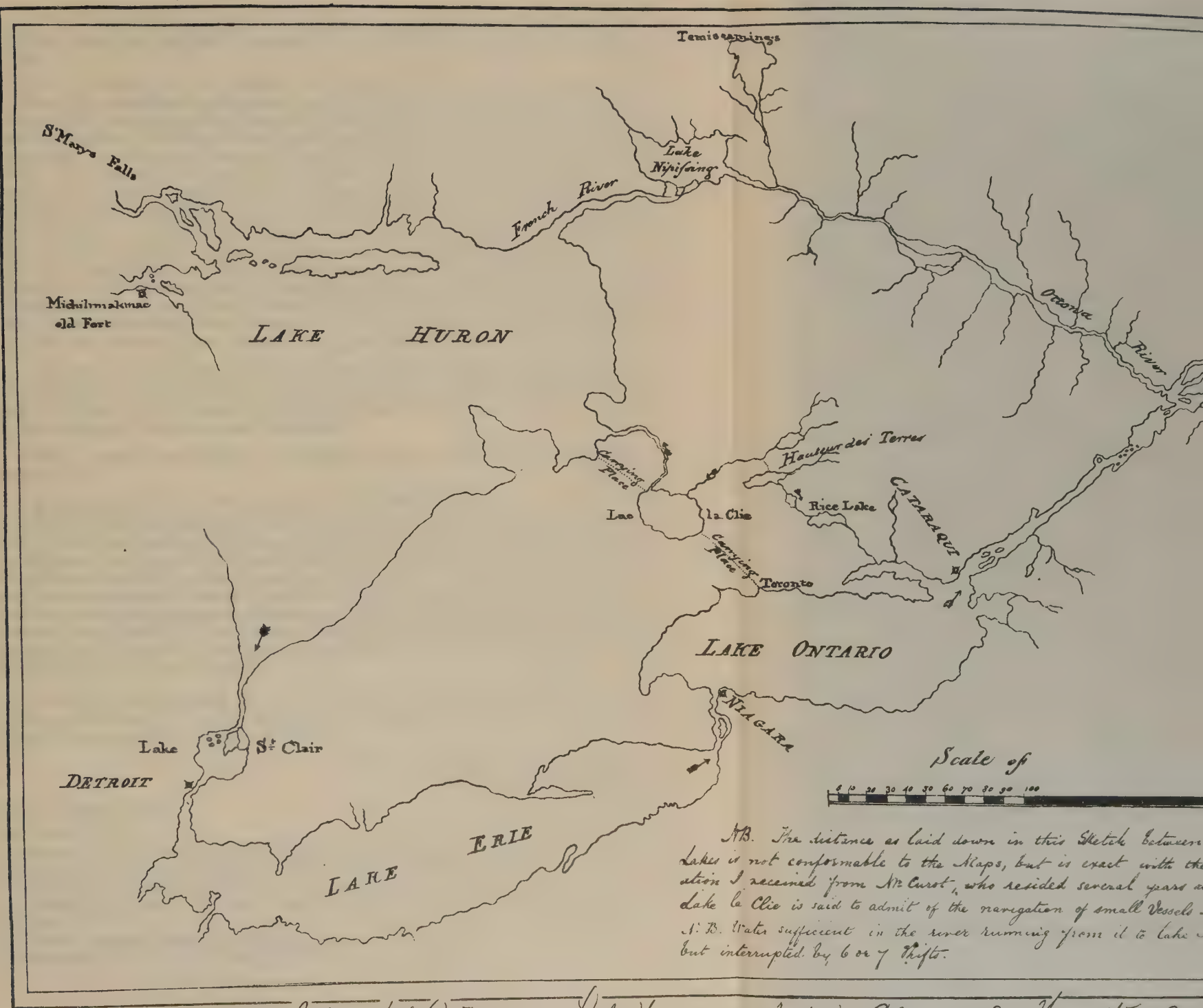
the territories on which Michillimackinac and Detroit now stand, and are disgusted with the United States, whose policy has allotted them to Connecticut.

An Alliance, defensive and commercial, with this State, is a matter of great facility. They are anxious for it because all the waters of their Country fall into the St. Lawrence, and they can from thence receive salt and rum at a much cheaper rate than from the Southern Coasts and Rivers.

It is estimated a canal might be cut from St. Johns to La Prairie, a space of 16 miles, by which the difficulties of the rapids might be avoided, for 10,000£. In 1788, Vermont paid two thousand pounds for portage. By means of the Canal St. Johns would become the Key of that Country, the Inhabitants of which are estimated already at 250,000, and it is averaged that if they were permitted to pay for it in raw materials, every individual would consume five pounds in English goods, rum and salt, and we should not have the precarious Trade of the Baltic to depend upon for our Naval Stores, Vermont abounding in timber, the best in the world, flax, potash, &c. In 1788 15,000 men were raised to oppose the coercion of Congress, who desisted from their vain attempt: This Country would be like another Switzerland between Canada and the United States. Mr. Chittenden¹, the Governor, is a fast friend of Great Britain. My information is principally derived from a respectable Loyalist, in correspondence with him, whom I never saw, but who has sent to me the outline of a Treaty of Commerce between Canada and Vermont, as he believes I have the Interest of my Country at heart and more Influence with the Government than it is reasonable to suppose that a person in my secluded situation can possibly expect. In short it appears that Vermont through absolute necessity must enjoy and accept through the St. Lawrence to the Ocean by means of equal Alliance or Conquest, an alliance with Canada, and the erection of two new Governments with perfect English Constitutions, one at Montreal and the other on the Upper Lakes will secure our American Colonies for ages, not as the poor Canadians are held, in frigid neutrality thro' dread of purgatory, but in active friendship and willing obedience: for my Father in a *Memoir* dated in 1755, many years before the Conquest of Canada says: "Such is the happy situation of Quebec, or rather of Montreal, to which Quebec is the Citidal, that with the assistance of a few Sluices it will become the centre of Communication between the Gulf of Mexico and Hudson's Bay, by an interior navigation: formed for drawing to itself the wealth and strength of the vast interjacent Countries, so advantageously placed, if not destined to lay the foundation of the most potent and best connected Empire that ever awed the World."²

¹Chittenden, Thomas, 1730-97; a native of Connecticut; in early life a seaman, and was captured and marooned by pirates; emigrated to Vermont while yet a young man; took a leading part in the disputes with the Province of New York over the ownership of lands; President of the Council of Safety, 1777-83; Governor of Vermont, 1778, and was annually re-elected from 1780 until his death.

²Simcoe, Captain John, R.N. 1714-59; entered the Royal Navy as a midshipman, 1730; lieutenant, 1737; captain, 1743; a member of the General Court Martial that tried Admiral Byng; commanded the *Pembroke*, 60, one of the ships forming the squadron, commanded by Admiral Saunders in the spring of 1759 and directed against Quebec. The master of this ship was James Cook, the celebrated navigator. Captain Simcoe died of pneumonia on the voyage from England, May 15, 1759, and was buried at sea two days later near the island of Anticosti. His letter, addressed to Lord Barrington, then Secretary for War, dated 1st June, 1755, strongly advocating the conquest of Canada, was printed in the Thirteenth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario, 1916, pp. 137-44. The quotation given in the above letter differs slightly from the actual text.



N.B. The distance as laid down in this Sketch between Lakes is not conformable to the Maps, but is exact with the information I received from Mr. Carot, who resided several years at Lake la Clie is said to admit of the navigation of small Vessels. N.B. Water sufficient in the river running from it to Lake Ontario but interrupted by 6 or 7 Shoals.

Communication between Lake Ontario and Lake Huron via Lake la Clie in Gov. Macmillan's Cor.

The Canal from St. Johns to La Prairie is one, and from Lake St.¹ Clair to Ontario would be another, to connect the navigation according to my Father's Ideas.

The immensity of the Object will, I hope, pardon my offering my Opinion I have often ruminated upon them in active Service and in my present Solitude nor should I hesitate at this moment to publish my sentiments to the World, but that I am aware the Means which I have mentioned as sufficient, and only sufficient to prevent the impending mischief, might probably be frustrated by being made Public: as Congress are anxious to attach Vermont to them, particularly at this moment when the Northern States are somewhat discontented with German-town at present, and Pittsburgh in future, being destined for the seat of the Federal Government. I cannot but remark that the good disposition of Connecticut to this Country is evident by their supplying our Armies with more Soldiers during the War than all the American Colonies together, and at present, in this moment of peace, by their acceptance of Episcopal Church Government, deprived of all secular Power. Vermont will as much despise the allurements of Congress as they have hitherto disdained their threats, if it be once assured of Canadian Alliance, and this, on the part of that Colony, I am persuaded may be strictly defensive.

Whoever is acquainted with the history of our Colonies must have learnt, and I believe you must personally have known that by some fatality, the information sent from our Governors to the British Ministry has been found in the event to be in general—erroneous and fallacious.

Many reasons may be given, at present I content myself with stating the well known fact.

Admitting to Mr. Smith¹, (commonly called Billy Smith), who I believe to be in Office in Canada, a life of loyalty and every good wish to the Government of this Country in Church and State, the circumstance of Livingstone of the Manor², his Brother a notorious Rebel during the late War³, having purchased a large tract of land, and settled it within those limits, where New York claims proprietorship and Vermont obedience: his, Mr. Smith's Opinions should be examined with caution and the utmost scrupulousness on any point in which Vermont or New York may interfere with Canada. I am clearly of Opinion that Government should act by America as it has done in the past, and appoint to its Superintendency one of the most respectable of our Nobility.

I trust to your goodness that you will excuse these thoughts thrown together "Currente Calamo." If you wish for a clearer digest of any part of them, I shall at any time be ready to execute it, being

With sincere regards and true esteem,
Your faithful and obedient,
J. GRAVES SIMCOE.

Evan Nepean, Esqr.

¹Smith, William, 1728-93, a native of New York; educated at Yale; a member of the Executive Council for the Province of New York, 1769-75; an active loyalist; Chief Justice of Quebec, 1786-91; Chief Justice of Lower Canada, 1791-3.

²Robert R. Livingston, 1756-1813, Chancellor of the State of New York, 1777-1801; Minister to France, 1801-5.

³Henry Beekman Livingston, 1750-1831, with his brother-in-law, James Montgomery, took a leading part in the invasion of Canada, 1775-6.

FROM LORD DORCHESTER TO W. W. GRENVILLE.

No. 20.

QUEBEC, 15th March, 1790.

Sir,

The inclosed Lists contain the names of such Persons, as appear to me the fittest in this Country to be submitted to His Majesty for seats in the Legislative and Executive Councils for the two proposed Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada.

.....

.....

The lists for Upper Canada are composed of Persons Pointed out to me by Sir John Johnson, whose intimate knowledge of the Principal characters of that Country renders him Particularly competent to such a discrimination; and I was the more inclined to consult him on this occasion, as I cannot but hope his zeal and fidelity in the King's service from the first beginning of the late war, the sacrifice of a very considerable Property, and the advantage of a high degree of confidence among those loyalists, will Point him out to His Majesty as the Properest Person for the Government of Upper Canada.

In this event I would recommend Mr. Alexander McKee, the Indian Agent at Detroit, as the most Proper Person to be entrusted with the direction of the Indian Department, with such Appointments and rank, and under such regulations and instructions, as the service may require. He is an old Servant universally spoken of for his merits, and has shewn great discretion and assiduity in the management of his present trust, as well as regularity and moderation in all his accounts.

I am &c.

DORCHESTER.

The Right Honble. W. W. Grenville.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 15th March, 1789. Lord Dorchester No. 20. R. 25 May. (5 inclosures.)

Names of Persons recommended for Seats in the Legislative Council for the intended Province of Upper Canada.

William Dummer Powell.
 Richard Duncan.
 William Robertson.
 Robert Hamilton.
 Richard Cartwright, junr.
 John Munro.
 Nathaniel Petit.
 George Farley.

N.B. It will be advisable to add one or two Canadians from Detroit, but I am not sufficiently informed at present to make the selection.

Names of Persons recommended for Seats in the Executive Council for the intended Province of Upper Canada.

William Dummer Powell.
Richard Duncan.
William Robertson.
Robert Hamilton.
Richard Cartwright, junr.
James Gray.
Alexander McKee.
Edward Jessup.
Alexander Grant.
John McDonnel.
James McDonnel.
Peter Drummond.
Robert Kerr.

N.B. It will be advisable to add one or two Canadians from Detroit, but I am not sufficiently informed at present to make the selection.

D

Endorsed:—In Lord Dorchester's (?) to Mr. Grenville No. 20 of 15 Mar. 1790.

ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS, INDIAN DEPARTMENT.

QUEBEC, 6th of May, 1790.

Sir,

It having been sometimes found advisable for the King's Interest that the General delivery of Presents should be made at a distance from the Garrisons and Forts, I have thought it expedient to make & establish the following Orders & Regulations in addition to those of the 27th March, 1787.

1st.—If in the absence of the Commander-in-Chief and of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, it be thought adviseable by the Officer Commanding any Post or Garrison, and by the Agent or superior Officer of the Indian Department, that the distribution of Presents to the Indians be made at a distance from their Post or Garrison; a list of the Presents so to be distributed, mentioning the place where such distribution is to be made, must be signed by the said Commanding Officer, and Superior Officer of the Indian Department, who shall have charge of such Presents, and conduct them to the place of distribution, one, two, or three Officers from the Garrison (according to the Strength thereof) will accompany said presents who are to Certify the delivery of the same, which Certificate shall be the Voucher for the expenditure.

2nd.—The following having been pointed out as the most Convenient situations for the general delivery of Presents, Viz. the Head of Lake Ontario for the Indians of the Grand River; Blackrock nearly opposite to Fort Erie, or Buffalo Creek, for those settled there and for the rest of the Six Nations; and the foot of the Rapids on the Miamis River for those in the district of Hesse. They are in future to be delivered at those places, which however if Circumstances should require it, may be changed by the Deputy Agent or Person at Head of the Department present, with the Approbation of the Commanding Officer of the Post.

3rd.—Besides their proportion received in Public and in common with others, it has been Customary to distinguish the Chiefs by a Private donation, the same Custom shall be Continued, and a separate and exclusive Present is therefore always to be made them, the same being previously approved by the Commanding Officer of the Post.

DORCHESTER.¹

JOURNAL INTIME DU GENERAL HALDIMAND.

(Extrait.)

Lundy 31 (Mai, 1790.)

J'ettay a l'office de Mr. Grinville à midy. Il me demanda si je croyois qu'en delivrant des Postes du Canada la Traitte avec les [Sauvages] perdit beaucoup, et si en fortifiant des Postes apposés a ceux la on pourroit s'asseurer cette Traitte. Il souhaittoit qu'en delivrant des Postes on peut obtenir des Ameriquains une communication avec le Mississippy. Je lui dis qu'a l'egard de la Traitte on en perdrait certainemt une partie, mais cette perte seroit peuthetre reparée par les marchandises que nos Negotians [vendroient] aux ameriquains qu'au reste. Je croiois que si les Americains insistoient a avoir les postes que je croyois qu'on pouroit se faire une meritte en les Leurs delivrant, que s'ils etaient déterminés à les avoir, qu'ils estoient si nombreux qu'ils pourroient les prendre quand Ils jugeroient à propos que je ne croiois pas que la Grande Bretagne voulut entreprendre un guerre pr. les deffendre. Je lui montray quels Postes il conviendrait de prendre, pour former une communication &c. Il me pria de mettre mes Idées sur ce sujet par ecrit &c.

Mathews fut appelé après moy, & on lui fit a peu pres les memes questions en le priant aussi de mettre ses Idées par ecrit des qu'il seroit arivé au Regiment.

(TRANSLATION BY DR. DOUGLAS BRYMNER, F.R.S.C.)

31, Monday.

Was at Mr. Grenville's office at noon. He asked me if I believed that by giving over the posts in Canada, the trade with the Indians would lose much, and if by fortifying posts opposite them that trade might be secured. He wished in giving up the posts, that a communication with the Mississippi could be obtained from the Americans. I told him that with respect to the trade a part would certainly be lost, but that this loss would perhaps be made up by the goods that our

¹Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester, 1724-1808, entered the army as an ensign, 1742; lieutenant-colonel, 1757; employed in North America, 1758-62; colonel, 1762; Lieutenant Governor and Administrator of the Province of Quebec, 24 Sept., 1766—26 October, 1768; Governor in Chief of the Province of Quebec, 26 October, 1768—27 June, 1778; major-general, 1772; Knight of the Bath, 1777; Commander in Chief in North America, 1782-3, with headquarters at New York; granted an annual pension of £1,000; raised to the peerage, 21 August, 1786, by title of Baron Dorchester; Governor in Chief of the Province of Quebec, 23 October, 1786—25 December, 1791; Governor in Chief and Captain General of the British Provinces in North America, 26 December, 1791—15 December, 1796; General, 1796. He left Quebec for the last time, 9 July, 1796.

merchants [would sell] to the Americans, and further, that if the Americans insisted upon having the posts, a merit should be made of giving them up; that if they were determined to have them, they were so numerous they could take them when they thought proper; that I did not believe Great Britain would undertake a war to defend them. I showed him what posts it would be proper to take to form a communication, &c. He asked me to put in writing my ideas on the subject.

Mathews was called after me and almost the same questions put to him, desiring him to put his ideas in writing when he had joined his regiment.

(Printed in the Report on Canadian Archives by Douglas Brymner, Archivist, 1889, pp. 286-7.)

FROM W. W. GRENVILLE TO LORD DORCHESTER.

(Private and Confidential.)

WHITEHALL, 3rd June, 1790.

My Lord,

I think it right to take this mode of mentioning to Your Lordship rather than by an official dispatch, that previous to the receipt of Your Lordship's dispatch No. 20, I had submitted to His Majesty the name of Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe for the Lieutenant Government of Upper Canada, supposing the proposed division of the Province of Quebec to be carried into effect, and that I had been directed by His Majesty to express to that officer His Majesty's approbation of his appointment.

In making this selection, I have not overlooked the situation and services of Sir John Johnson, but motives of very considerable weight in my opinion induced me to think that the nomination of a person belonging to that Province, and possessing such large property in it, was not desirable, especially in the formation of the new Government. The disadvantage to His Majesty's Service which might be expected from the effect of local habits, connections, and interests appear to me to be more than sufficient to counterbalance those benefits which may be stated as arising from the same circumstances.

I mention this more particularly to Your Lordship because it is uncertain whether, in the event of hostilities with Spain, Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe may not be employed on some different service, and because even in that event I think it right to apprise Your Lordship that great objections would, in my opinion, subsist against naming Sir John Johnson.

I have no positive information how far Sir John Johnson has been induced to look to this object, nor what his probable line of conduct would be in case of disappointment. Your Lordship will, of course, see that it is very material for me to receive confidentially your opinion on this point, on account of the great embarrassment which might be thrown in the way of Government at its first outset in the new Province, if all the members of the Legislative Council were appointed at the recommendation of any person, however distinguished in point of situation or services, who was not cordially and sincerely disposed to co-operation with the King's representative.

I have the honour to be, &c.

The Right Honble. Lord Dorchester.

W.W. GRENVILLE.

JOURNAL INTIME DU GENERAL HALDIMAND.

(Extrait.)

Dimanche, 11e Juilett, 1790.

.....

dinné ches Mr. Davisson apres avoir passé ches le Baron Alvensleben qui étoit allé à Vendsor Mr. Nepean qui s'y trouva me dit que Lord Dorchester reviendrait certainemt au printemps prochain et que vraysemblablemt il ne retourneroit jamais en Canada, le Gl Clerck dont il dit beaucoup de bien doit partir incesamment pr. Québec. Il ma promis de recomander le Dr Maban de la façon la plus forte. Davisson me fit d'autres confidences en me disant que le Col. Simpko étoit nommé pr. le nouveau gouvernement—que Lord Dorchester avoit recomandé le chev. Johnson de la façon la plus forte; & de nomer du Deyce pour être surintendant des Indiens. On voit par la que le J. Smith est toujours au gouvernail.

(TRANSLATION BY DR. DOUGLAS BRYMNER, F.R.S.C.)

12. *Monday.* Dined at Mr. Davison's, after having called at the Baron Alvensleben's, who had gone to Windsor. Mr. Nepean, who was there, told me that Lord Dorchester would certainly return next spring, and that probably he would never go back to Canada. General Clarke, of whom he speaks well, is to leave immediately for Quebec. He promised to recommend Mabane in the strongest manner. Davison gave me further confidences, by telling me that Colonel Simpko [Simcoe] was appointed to the new government; that Lord Dorchester had recommended Sir John Johnson in the strongest manner, and Deyce [Dease] to be superintendent of Indian affairs. It will thus be seen that Judge Smith is still at the helm.

(Printed in the Report on Canadian Archives by Douglas Brymner, Archivist, 1889, pp. 294-5.)

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

(U. S. Informal Agent in Great Britain.)

NEW YORK, August 12, 1790.

Dear Sir,

Your letter of May the 29th to the President of the United States has been duly received. You have placed their proposition of exchanging a minister on proper ground. It must certainly come from them, and come in unequivocal form. With those who respect their own dignity so much, ours must not be counted at naught. On their own proposal formally, to exchange a minister we sent them one. They have taken no notice of that, and talk of agreeing to exchange one now, as if the idea were new. Besides what they are saying to you, they are talking to us, through Quebec, but so informally, that they may disavow it when they please. It would only oblige them to make the fortune of the poor Major¹, whom they would pretend to sacrifice. Through him, they talk of a minister, a treaty of commerce *and alliance*. If the object of the latter be honorable, it is useless; if dishonorable, inadmissible. These tamperings prove, they view a war as very

¹Beckwith.

possible; and some symptoms indicate designs against the Spanish possessions adjoining us. The consequences of their acquiring all the country on our frontier, from the St. Croix to the St. Mary's are too obvious to you to need development. You will readily see the dangers which would then environ us. We wish you, therefore, to intimate to them that we cannot be indifferent to enterprises of this kind. That we should contemplate a change of neighbors with extreme uneasiness; and that a due balance on our borders is not less desirable to us, than a balance of power in Europe has always appeared to them. We wish to be neutral, and we will be so, *if they will execute the treaty fairly and attempt no conquests adjoining us.* The first condition is just; the second imposes no hardship on them. They cannot complain that the other dominions of Spain would be so narrow as not to leave them room enough for conquest. If the war takes place, we would really wish to be quieted on these two points, offering in return an honorable neutrality. More than this, they are not to expect. It will be proper that these ideas be conveyed in delicate and friendly terms; but that they be conveyed, if the war takes place; for it is in that case alone, and not till it be begun, that we should wish our dispositions to be known. But in no case, need they think of our accepting any equivalent for the posts.

(The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Collected and Edited by Paul Leicester Ford, Vol. V, pp. 224-5.)

OPINION ON THE EXPEDITION COMMANDED BY GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

(August 29, 1790.)

Opinion on the question whether it will be expedient to notify to Lord Dorchester the real object of the expedition preparing by Governor St. Clair.

On considering more fully the question whether it will be expedient to notify to Lord Dorchester the real object of the expedition preparing by Governor St. Clair, I still think it will not be expedient. For, if the notification be early, he will get the Indians out of the way, and defeat our object. If it be so late as not to leave them time to withdraw them before our stroke be struck, it will then be so late as not to leave him time to withdraw any secret aids he may have sent them. And the notification will betray to him that he may go on without fear in his expedition against the Spaniards, and for which he may yet have sufficient time after our expedition is over. On the other hand, if he should suspect our preparations are to prevent his passing our territory, these suspicions may induce him to decline his expedition, as, even should he think he could either force or steal a passage, he would not divide his troops, leaving (as he would suppose) an enemy between them able to take those he should leave, and cut off the return of those he should carry. These suspicions, too, would mislead both him and the Indians, and so enable us to take the latter more completely by surprise, and prevent him from sending secret aid to those whom he would not suppose the objects of the enterprise; thus effecting a double purpose of preventing his enterprise, and securing our own. Might it not be even expedient, with a view to deter his enterprise, to instruct Governor St. Clair either to continue the pursuit of the Indians till the season be too far advanced for Lord Dorchester to move; or, on disbanding his militia, to give them general orders (which might reach the ears of Lord Dorchester) to be ready to assemble at a moment's warning, though no such assembly be really intended?

Always taking care neither to say nor do, against their passage, what might directly commit either our peace or honor.

(The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Edited by P. L. Ford, Vol. V, p. 240.)

PROPOSALS FOR A CORPS OF TROOPS TO BE RAISED AND SENT TO
CANADA BY LT. COL. SIMCOE, NOV. 12, 1790.

I propose to raise a corps¹ of 12 Companies: each Company to consist of a Captain, 2 lieutenants, and one hundred rank and file, and of two troops of similar numbers, the whole forming 1200 rank and file, with 2 Majors, on the following terms.

That Government shall allow the usual bounty of five guineas: that the Officers shall be taken from full pay and have one step, with permission to sell their present Commissions for the regulation price. That the Ensigns shall be sold, and the money applied to recruiting. That each Officer be required to give a stipulated sum in proportion to his Commission for the purpose of recruiting, the surplus of which collection shall be funded for the benefit of the Soldiers to encourage an *Esprit du Corps* by proper rewards, and to furnish several smaller Establishments which would be of essential utility when employed on actual Service, this fund to be under the direction of the Captains and Field Officers of the Corps.

The Advantages proposed are that such a Corps being officered by chosen young Gentlemen, would soon arrive at all the essentials of discipline and would probably be raised in the Winter and embarked in April next. Some artificers added to it would speedily instruct a number of young men in their several Employments: in particular a few boat-builders would teach a sufficient number a competent bill in that very necessary branch of Military labour.

Twenty chosen men draughted from the Cavalry would be necessary to lay the Foundation for this necessary and most useful Corps, when in the hands of an Officer who knows how to apply them. The Corps itself should purchase horses in America of the Spanish breed, and by setting apart a tract of ground for breeding them, would in a few years lay the Foundation of an increasing and inestimable body of Cavalry:—at the same time, their exercises should assimilate them, whenever dismounted, to act as an useful body of Infantry, nor does it seem necessary that they should receive the pay of Cavalry.

If there should be Peace, the new Colony will certainly require an additional body of Troops. If it be a combined Corps, the best of all Military Arrangements, regiments, or even some independent Companies now raising, Lieut. Col. Simcoe is most anxious to be the Chief, that he may adapt the tactics and discipline of the Troops to the Country, and as far as possible render them of essential Utility to the Colony. Some of the great Objects have been stated. In the detail, he would propose that two days of the week should be appropriated to the Employment of the Soldiers on the public Works: two to Military exercises, and two for their private Advantage. The lands they should clear upon this account should be sold at a stipulated price which would readily be given by any Emigrant, as the greatest difficulty of location is this, the first labour. By this method, the Pay of the Soldier would be considerably increased, and when he should be dismissed, he would acquire that Habit of Industry which instead of a Burthen, as is too generally the case at present, would render him highly useful to the Community.

J. G. SIMCOE, *Lieut. Colonel.*

Henry Dundas, Secty. of State.

¹This is the earliest forecast of the employment of the Queen's Rangers in the public service of Upper Canada.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

Decr. 24th, 1790.

My Lord:

Having in a former conversation mentioned to Your Lordship That a *Canvass House*¹ similar to that sent with the Governor of Botany Bay might be highly convenient, if not necessary, in the various expeditions 'twill be proper that I should make in order to be an eye witness of the situation of the new Proposed Government & a faithful reporter to Your Lordship Thereon, if Your Lordship shall continue of a similar opinion, which I apprehend that you Then entertained, I shall be obliged to you to give instructions accordingly to Mr. Nepean, as the advancing Season admits of little delay.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. G. Simcoe.

Right Honble. Lord Grenville &c.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO SIR JOSEPH BANKS.²

Sir:

I was much disappointed that the variety of business in which my good friend Sir George Yonge was engaged, and my own avocations, prevented me from having the honour of being introduced to you, as soon as it was generally made known that I was to be appointed to the Government in Upper Canada. But, Sir, as it is possible that I may be hurried off, without having much time to spare, in endeavoring to procure in person such advantages for the community I am to superintend, as must necessarily result from the great encouragement this Nation under His Majesty's auspices, affords to those Arts and Sciences which at once support and embellish our Country, I am emboldened by letter to solicit that assistance from you, and on those subjects which I venture to point out, preparatory to my return to London, when I shall hope to have the honour of frequent communication with you, and to avail myself of your ideas and patronage.

The liberality of your character, the high station you fill, and the public principles which I apprehend that you entertain, leave upon my mind no hesitation in communicating to you *confidentially*, my views, and the object which irresistibly impels me to undertake this species of banishment, in hopes that you will see its magnitude and in consequence afford your utmost support to the undertaking.

I am one of those who know all the consequence of our late American Dominions, and do not attempt to hide from myself the impending calamity in case of future war, because neither in Council nor in the Field did I contribute to their dismemberment. I would die by more than Indian torture to restore my King and his Family to their just Inheritance and to give my Country that fair and natural accession of Power which an Union with their Brethren could not fail to bestow and render permanent. Though a Soldier, it is not by Arms that I hope

¹The famous canvas-house which Lt.-Governor Simcoe subsequently inhabited at his new capital, York, (now Toronto) during the summer of 1793 and following winter, as Rev. Dr. Scadding states (Toronto of Old, 61) had been the property of Capt. Cook, the circumnavigator. Lt.-Governor Simcoe had purchased it on its being offered for sale in London.

²Banks, Sir Joseph, 1743-1820, Fellow of the Royal Society, 1766; accompanied Captain James Cook in his voyage of exploration, 1768-71; visited Iceland, 1772; President of the Royal Society, 30 November, 1778 until his death. His reputation is more that of a liberal patron of science than of an active investigator.

for this Result; it is *volentes in populos* only, that such a renewal of Empire can be desirable to His Majesty—and I think even now, though (I hold that the last supine five years and every hour that the Government is deferred detracts from our fair hopes) even now, this Event may take place.

I mean to prepare for whatever Convulsions may happen in the United States, and the Method I propose is by establishing a free, honourable British Government, and a pure Administration of its Laws, which shall hold out to the solitary Emigrant, and to the several States, advantages that the present form of Government doth not and cannot permit them to enjoy. There are inherent Defects in the Congressional form of Government, the absolute prohibition of an order of Nobility is a glaring one. The true New England Americans have as strong an Aristocratical spirit as is to be found in Great Britain; nor are they Anti-monarchical. I hope to have a hereditary Council with some mark of Nobility.

For the purpose of Commerce, Union, and Power, I propose that the Site of the Colony should be in that Great Peninsula between the Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario, a Spot destined by Nature, sooner or later, to govern the interior World.

I mean to establish a Capital in the very heart of the Country, upon the River La Tranche, which is navigable for batteaux for 150 miles—and near to where the Grand River which falls into Erie, and others that communicate with Huron and Ontario, almost interlock. The Capital I mean to call Georgina—and aim to settle in its Vicinity Loyalists who are now in Connecticut, provided that Government approve of the System.

I am to have a Bishop, an English Chief Justice, &c.—This, Sir, is the Outline of my Plan, and I trust it will force its way, notwithstanding what circumscribed Men and self-interested Monopolists may allege against it. It must stand on its own Ground, for my extensive Views are not what this Country is yet prepared for, though the New England Provinces are by no means averse to them, and they are the Strength of America.

Now, Sir, not to trespass on your Time, you will see how highly important it will be, that this Colony, (which I mean to show forth with all the advantages of British Protection as a better Government than the United States can possibly obtain), should in its very Foundations provide for every Assistance that can possibly be procured for the Arts and Sciences, and for every Embellishment that hereafter may Decorate and attract Notice, and may point it out to the Neighboring States as a Superior, more happy, and more polished form of Government. I would not in its Infancy have a Hut, nor in its Maturity, a Palace built without this Design.

My friend, the Marquis of Buckingham¹, has suggested that the Government ought to allow me a sum of Money to be laid out for a Public Library, to be composed of such books as might be useful to the Colony. He instanced the Encyclopedia, Extracts from which might occasionally be published in the Newspapers. It is possible private donations might be obtained, and that it would become an object of Royal Munificence.

If any Botanical Arrangement could take place, I conceive it might be highly useful, and might lead to the introduction of some Commodities in that Country which Great Britain now procures from other Nations. Hemp and Flax should be encouraged by Romulus. In the Literary way I should be glad to lay the foundation stone of some Society that I trust might hereafter conduce to the extension

¹George Grenville Nugent-Temple, first Marquis of Buckingham, brother of Lord Grenville and cousin of William Pitt, the Prime Minister; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1782-3; Secretary of State, 1783; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1787-9, when he practically retired from political life.

of Science. Schools have been shamefully neglected—a College of a higher Class would be eminently useful, and would give a tone of Principles and of Manners that would be of infinite support to Government.

Sir George Yonge has promised me my old Surgeon¹—a young man attached to his Profession, and of that docile, patient, and industrious turn, not without inquisitiveness, that will willingly direct itself to any pursuit which may be recommended as the Object of Enquiry.

I am sure, Sir, of your full pardon for what I now offer to you from the Design with which it is written, and I am anxious to profit from your enlarged Ideas. I shall therefore beg leave to wait upon you when I return to London.

I am, Sir, with the utmost respect,
Your most obedient and faithful, &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

Sir Joseph Banks, Bart., President of the
Royal Society. January 8th, 1791.

(Printed by Rev. Dr. Scadding for private circulation, Toronto, 1890.)

FROM LORD DORCHESTER TO COL. GORDON AND MAJOR SMITH, COMMANDING THE UPPER POSTS.

QUEBEC, 20th Jany, 1791.

Sir,

The hostilities between the United States, and the Western Indians are much to be lamented—Could I be instrumental in putting an end to these calamities it would give me great satisfaction.

We are at peace with the United States and wish to remain so.

There is no power in this Country to begin a war.

But should the assertions ascribed to some of the prisoners, lately taken by the Indians, that the States mean to attack the Post of Detroit in the Spring, prove true; I can only repeat, that such a step must be considered as a commencement of hostilities on their part. And war must be repelled by war. The King's benevolence and friendship towards the Indians is undoubted, it continues to be manifested by His bounty every year.

All these principles have been fully made known to the Commandants of the Upper Posts, and to the officers of the Indian Department soon after my arrival in this Country, they have since been inculcated repeatedly; good sense must direct the application of them to the occurrences of the day, but they cannot be departed from, unless a different system should be enjoined from home, in consequence of the late events in the Indian Country in which case the necessary orders will of course be issued.

I am inclined to give the United States credit for too much good sense to begin a war with Great Britain, but notwithstanding this, I cannot too often repeat, that common prudence requires a constant vigilance and readiness on our part to meet such an event, however improbable.

I am with regard,

DORCHESTER.

Lieut. Col. Gordon & Major Smith.

Indorsed. 15 In Lord Dorchester's to Mr. Grenville No. 79 of the 23rd Jany. 1791.

¹Dr. James Macaulay. (See p. 45, *infra*.)

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

February the 10th, 1791.

My Lord,

I enclose for your Lordship's perusal a list of such Things as I conceive to be necessary for the immediate prosperity of the intended establishment in Upper Canada. The difficulties which an Infant Colony has to struggle with will be extreme unless supported by the fostering Hand of Government and it is an obvious Truth inculcated by Experience as well as by Mercantile Analogy that a certain sum of money laid out *at once* with foresight and Prudence will be infinitely better than many similar donations annually given & which in the aggregate may arise to a much greater Amount. I have already, my Lord, described the necessity of a Military force of a peculiar Constitution and at the least as fully adapted to Military purposes as any of our present establishments but which might have infused into it a principle of Labour from which the Colony would reap the most immediate & permanent good effects & Great Britain might expect in a speedier manner than by any other method an increasing Revenue to defray the expences of the new Establishments.

I have also mentioned to your Lordship my Idea that the temporary Barracks of the Troops (and their attendant Artificers) be built by the head of the Navigation of the Rivers, whilst the Troops shall be employed in opening the different Roads of Communication should be so erected as to be converted into publick Houses to become the property of Government to be let by Auction for the purpose of Revenue & that an Act of Assembly should pass to prevent the licensing of any publick Houses but in similar Circumstances & for erecting them where it may be thought expedient.

I have to propose that Government shall also furnish the necessary materials for *some Grist & Saw Mills* to be erected in Spots carefully selected for that purpose & of which Government shall also become the *Proprietor* & shall be let by publick Auction for such term & under such Stipulations as shall appear most proper.— The *Grist Mills* are universally necessary & will be a great inducement to speedy Settlement of Lands in their Vicinity.

The Saw Mills will be indispensable in the necessary erection of publick Buildings & I apprehend upon Comparison will be a cheaper method than has been hitherto adopted even did it not continue in the hands of Government & contribute to the speedy settlement of the Country.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your most obt. & most humble srt.

J. G. SIMCOE.

To the Right Honble. Lord Grenville, &c., &c.

Endorsed:—London, 10th February, 1791. Lt. Col. Simcoe. (1 inclosure.)

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO EVAN NEPEAN.

Dr. Nepean,

You was so good as to promise me the Civil Establishment of Nova Scotia (or what was proposed for Upper Canada,) could you add to it the Naval Armament on the Lakes? & the Indian Superintendencies? I am sure the Civil Establishment of Upper Canada must be formed on a different Plan from those of the other Districts—and that the Shipping and Indian Superintendencies require modification and separate Investigation.

Ever yours,

February 22nd.

J. G. SIMCOE.

Endorsed:—To Evan Nepean, Esqr., U. Secretary of State, 22 February 1791. Col. Simcoe.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO EVAN NEPEAN.

March 16th, 1791.

Dr. Sir,

Many additional Reasons to those which I formerly mentioned to you press upon me the great Utility it appears to me would result from my going to Congress on my way to Canada on the purpose of mediating for the Indians—The Canada Merchants are very desirous of this step.

It is rumoured about that Mr. Elliot¹ has declined the original object of my wishes, the Embassy to the United States—why might I [not] perform that Office where there [are] any particular negotiations in agitation as they principally must concern the affairs of Canada, while in general the *Consul* would be sufficient for common mercantile matters? particularly as I should save the expences of the Salary[not] requiring nor wishing for any more than my traveling & residentiary expences, so let me know what Lord Grenville has decided on this matter.

Your faithful srt.

J. G. SIMCOE.

Endorsed:—To Evan Nepean, Esqr. March 16th, 1791. Col. Simcoe.

EXTRACTS FROM GENERAL KNOX'S INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.²

The Posts at the Miamie Village are intended for the purpose of awing and curbing the Indians in that quarter, and as the only preventative of future hostilities. It ought, therefore, to be rendered secure against all attempts and insults

¹Andrew Elliot.

²St. Clair, Arthur, 1734-1818, a native of Scotland; educated at Edinburgh University; studied surgery with the celebrated William Hunter, ensign in Royal American Regiment, May, 1757; was present at the sieges of Louisburg and Quebec; made a wealthy marriage in Boston, Mass., and resigned his commission, 1762; purchased a large tract of land in Pennsylvania on which he settled; member of the Executive Council, 1770-1; judge of the Court of Common Pleas, 1772; became an ardent supporter of the revolutionary movement and early in 1775 proposed an expedition to surprise Detroit; colonel of militia, December, 1775, and recruited a regiment to join the Continental forces in Canada, which arrived before Quebec, 11 May, 1776, just before the place was relieved; brigadier general, 9 August, 1776; distinguished himself at the battles of Princeton and Trenton; promoted to rank of major general and appointed to command the Continental troops on Lake Champlain; forced to evacuate Ticonderoga and his force was dispersed in its retreat; severely criticised by popular opinion but exonerated by Congress; served as a volunteer in Sullivan's expedition against the Indians and at the siege of Yorktown; President of the Continental Congress, 20 February, 1787; Governor of the North West Territory, 5 Oct., 1787-22 Nov., 1802.

of the Indians. The Garrison which should be stationed there, ought not only to be sufficient for the defense of the place, but always to afford a detachment of five or six hundred men, either to chastise any of the Wabash or other hostile Indians, or to secure any convoys of provisions.

The establishment of said Post is considered as an important object of the campaign, and is to take place in all events.

Having commenced your march upon the main expedition, and the Indians continuing hostile, you will use every possible exertion to make them feel the effects of your superiority, and after having arrived at the Miami Village, and put your work in a defensible state, you will seek the enemy, with the whole of your remaining force, and endeavor by all possible means to strike them with great severity.

The establishment of a force contemplated for the Garrison of the Miami Village and its communications has been from a thousand to twelve hundred Non-Comd. Officers and privates.

The establishment of a Post at the Miami Village will probably be regarded by the British Officers on the frontiers as a circumstance of jealousy.

It may therefore be necessary that you should, at a proper time, make such intimations as may remove all such disposition. This intimation had better follow than precede the possession of the Post, unless circumstances dictate otherwise, as it is not the inclination or interest of the United States to enter into a contest with Great Britain. Every measure tending to any discussion or altercation must be prevented.

The delicate situation of affairs may therefore render it improper at present to make any naval arrangements upon Lake Erie.

Given at Philadelphia, March 21st, 1791.

H. KNOX.¹
Secy of War.

FROM LORD DORCHESTER TO COLONEL GORDON,
COMMANDING THE UPPER POSTS

QUEBEC, 14th April, 1791.

Sir,

Notwithstanding some late pacific appearances it is not improbable that armed parties may again make their appearance in the Indian Country, and perhaps in the vicinity of some of the King's posts.

Common prudence therefore requires we should be on our guard, and prepared to meet all events.

'Tis not enough that the posts under Your command be in a thorough state of defence, You must be prepared to march forward should the turn of affairs render this absolutely necessary. To carry this operation into effect with proper

¹Knox, Henry, 1750-1802, a bookseller in early life; superintended the conveyance of captured ordnance from Ticonderoga to Cambridge, Mass., and appointed colonel of artillery, 1775; directed bombardment of Dorchester Heights; commanded Continental artillery in battles of Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, and at siege of Yorktown, major general, 1782; founded Society of the Cincinnati, 1786; Secretary of War, 8 March, 1785--2 January, 1795.

importance a part of the Garrison of each of the Posts of Niagara and Detroit with a considerable draft from the Militia and some field pieces should be in readiness to move upon a short notice.

You will be pleased to inform me, with what force You think you may march forward from Niagara, and with what force from Detroit should it be so ordered, and what You may still want for this purpose.

The Gunboats and King's Vessels should likewise be ready for Service at a short notice.

I am &c.

DORCHESTER.

Colonel Gordon.

D.

Indorsed:—25. In Lord Dorchester's to Lord Grenville No. 84 of the 14th June, 1791.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, April 17, 1791.

(Extract.)

As to myself, I hope we shall give the Indians a thorough drubbing this summer, and I should think it better afterwards to take up the plan of liberal & repeated presents to them. This would be much the cheapest in the end, & would save all the blood which is now spilt: in time too it would produce a spirit of peace & friendship between us. The expense of a single expedition would last very long for presents. I mentioned to the gentlemen, (Secretaries of War & the Treasury and the Vice President) the idea of suggesting thro' Colo. Beckwith our knowledge of the conduct of the British officers in furnishing the Indians with arms & ammunition, and our dissatisfaction. Colo. Hamilton said that Beckwith had been with him on the subject, and had assured him they had given the Indians nothing more than the annual present, & at the annual period. It was thought proper however that he should be made sensible that this had attracted the notice of government. I thought it the more material, lest, having been himself the first to speak of it, he might suppose his excuses satisfactory, & therefore they might repeat the annual present this year. As Beckwith lodges in the same house with Mr. Madison, I have desired the latter to find some occasion of representing to Beckwith that tho' an annual present of arms & ammunition be an innocent thing in time of peace, it is not so in time of war: that it is contrary to the laws of neutrality for a neutral power to furnish military implements to either party at war, & that if their subjects should do it on private account, such furniture, might be seized as contraband: to reason with him on the subject, as from himself, but so as to let him know that the government thought as he did.....

(The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, edited by P. L. Ford, Vol. V, pp. 321-2.)

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, April 24, 1791.

(Extract.)

The intimation to Colo. Beckwith has been given by Mr. Madison. He met it on very different ground from that on which he had placed it with Colo. Hamilton. He pretended ignorance & even disbelief of the fact; when told it was out of doubt, he said he was positively sure the distribution of arms had been without the knowledge and against the orders of Lo. Dorchester, & of the government. He endeavoured to induce a formal communication from me. When he found that could not be effected, he let Mr. Madison perceive that he thought however informal his character, he had not been sufficiently noticed: said he was in N. York before I came into office, and that tho' he had not been regularly turned over to me, yet I knew his character. In fine he promised to write to Lo. Dorchester the general information we had received & our sense of it; and he saw that his former apologies to Colo. Hamilton had not been satisfactory to the government.

(Ibid. Vol. V, p. 324.)

RETURN OF THE 1ST, 2ND, 3RD BATTALIONS, NASSAU MILITIA.

NASSAU, the 2d May, 1791.

Distribution	Lieut. Colonels	Major	Captains	Lieutenants	Ensigns.	Serjeants	Privates	Staff
Married men from 18 to 40 years of age. . . . .	..	..	14	11	11	47	514	2
Unmarried from 18 to 45. . .	..	..	1	3	7	4	155	..
Married men from 40 to 60. .	1	..	2	2	..	2	39	1
Unmarried from 45 to 60. . .	..	1	..	..	..	..	6	..
Infirm and above 60. . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	..
	1	1	17	16	18	53	726	3

D.

N.B. Privates may be turned out for immediate active Service without essential injury to the Agriculture of the settlement. 155

JOHN BUTLER.
Lieut. Col.

10 copy.

Endorsed:—Return of Nassau Militia, 2nd May, 1791. In Lord Dorchester's to Lord Grenville No. 98 of 27 July, 1791.

FROM THE GOVERNOR'S SECRETARY TO SIR JOHN JOHNSON.

QUEBEC, 9th May, 1791.

Sir:

.....
 Besides great watchfulness in the Officers of your department to obtain and communicate the Earliest intelligence of all movements in the Indian Country, His Lordship wishes them to consider, whether in the case of an approach of an army, the safety of the King's posts may not require that detachments from the garrisons and Militia should march forward from Niagara and Detroit, and occupy certain stations at a distance, what stations they think most eligible for this purpose, and by what force and means they should be occupied.

Upon all these matters they should communicate their opinions fully to the Commanding Officers of the respective posts, as well as to you.....

HENRY MOTZ.¹

Sir John Johnson, Bart.

Indorsed:—27. In Lord Dorchester's to Lord Grenville No. 89 of the 14th June, 1791.

FROM LORD GRENVILLE TO GEORGE HAMMOND.

May 24, 1791.

It having been determined to send a person to America without delay, who should be authorized to assume the character and deliver the credentials of a Minister there on His Majesty's part, in certain cases which will be explained to you, I have had the honour of submitting to His Majesty your name for this mission, and the King has been pleased to approve of this nomination. It is therefore extremely important that you should use the utmost expedition in your return to this country, as the season is already so far advanced as to make it desirable that no time shall be lost in your proceeding to America.

(Historical Manuscripts Commission. The Dropmore Papers, Vol. II, p. 80.

¹Henry Motz, born in Switzerland, had been an officer in the Royal American Regiment. He acted for some years as Civil Secretary to the Governor and subsequently became a member of the Legislative Council for the Province of Lower Canada.

Return of the Detroit Militia, fit for active service who can be drafted without injury to the necessary agriculture of the settlement—with the number that can move as Cavalry, 8th June, 1791.

Companies	Strength of the Companies				Remarks and extracts from the Captains' Returns.
	as Cavalry	as Infantry	Remains	Total	
Major McGregor's	10	20	75	105	On ne peut, sans préjudice aux travaux en ôter et ils n'ont point assez de chevaux pour leur propre ouvrage. du quel nombre je ne puis ôter personne, sans causer quelque préjudice aux travaux des habitants. Pour les chevaux, le nombre considérable mort, depuis quelques années, les met dans l'impossible d'en fournir. Pour les chevaux il n'y en a pas suffisamment pour les travaux de terre à cultiver. Je ne crois pas qu'on puisse prendre personne sans préjudice à l'agriculture de la terre.
Maisonville's.	..	..	134	134
Moran.....	..	..	70	70
Campeau ..	..	..	88	88
Captains					The whole of the Company present, has voluntarily offered to go on service, yet as they are all, more or less engaged in mercantile business they would suffer in their absence, were more than half of the whole present called on."
Monforton...	16	9	51	76	
Askin.....	28	..	10	38	
Gamelin.....	12	18	90	120	
Benac.....	12	20	78	110	
Total.	78	67	596	741	River aux Raisins, about 40 Miles from Detroit.

GREGOR MCGREGOR,
Major Commanding the Militia.
D.

A true copy.

11 Copy.

A. GORDON,
Coln.

Endorsed:—Return of the Detroit Militia, 8th June, 1791. In Lord Dorchester's to Lord Grenville No. 98 of 27 July, 1791.

MEMORANDUM FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

It appears to me that the Colony of Upper Canada in its original form should contain within itself an Epitome of those Establishments, Civil & Military, which must be gradually but necessarily extended hereafter as it shall encrease in numbers, in political & commercial consequence & become capable of supporting its own expences or contributing to those of the Empire & that the utmost Attention should be paid that British Customs, Manners, & Principles in the most trivial as well as serious matters should be promoted & inculcated to obtain their due Ascendancy to assimilate the Colony with the parent state & to bear insensibly all their habitual Influence in the Support of that British Constitution which has been so wisely extended to that Country & I shall endeavour as concisely as possible to explain why such a general system ought *instantaneously* to take place & not be procrastinated to a future Season and this I shall hope to accomplish by such Reasons as have induced me maturely to adopt those Opinions.

I hold it to be *determined* upon & incontrovertible that Great Britain is to maintain her Possession of Canada.

It will be therefore absolutely necessary to establish the frontier Government between the Lakes Ontario, Erie & Huron on the most solid and unassailable Basis.

The form of Government which has been already bestowed on Upper Canada may be considered as the foundation of this important Fabrick. There are thousands of the Inhabitants of the United States whose affections are centered in the British Government & the British Name; who are positively enemies of Congress & to the late division of the Empire, many of their Connections have already taken refuge in Canada & it will be true Wisdom to invite & facilitate the emigration of this description of people into that Country.

It being obvious that from such Emigrants, their Descendants (& in some measure all classes of People) will adopt that habitual attachment to the British Nation which is a great bond of Union between the Subjects of any State & a powerful Barrier against any attempts which may be made to overthrow or undermine the existing form of Government, nor let it be supposed that this aversion from Congress, so advantageous to the new Colony, if rightly improved on, has or is near dying away; the contest of the natives of Great Britain with the Subjects of the American States was decided by Arms & terminated by Treaty.

That of the American with the American still exists under all the injurious Remembrances of open or covert Vexation under the Taunts of triumph, taxes, & family Confiscations.

Other classes of Americans will emigrate to better their fortunes & whose Indifference to any form of Government may be converted into zealous attachment to that under which they shall live, whenever they shall feel the advantages of its beneficence & Wisdom, of the Equality of its Laws & its protection from the *probability of foreign Invasion*. Emigration of hardy, industrious & virtuous Men may be reasonably expected from the northern parts of Great Britain.

To settle these various descriptions of men so as to promote the cultivation of the Land, to give power & energy to civilization, Efficacy to just Government, & to combine a force whose appearance may prevent the very meditation of Hostility, It is *indispensably necessary* that a *Capital* should be established in some central situation and that as soon as possible, almost instantaneously, a great Body of Emigrants should be collected in its Vicinity so as to become the very transcript & Image of the British People & to transfuse their manners, principles, & attachments thro' the whole Colony.

2. I conceive the peninsula surrounded by the waters of the Great Lakes (a kind of lesser continent) to be the most favorable situation in nature for a British Colony. It is the Country in which Champlain, the founder of Canada, intended to have made great Establishments, but which has been since neglected except by the casual erection of a few Posts.

There are but a very few Indians who inhabit within it, the greater part of the soil has been purchased & the whole ought to be before it will become of value, as the Indians will not want for suggestions to enhance its price.

I consider the Country to be of immense value, whether it is regarded in respect to its *immediate advantages*, the future prospect of *Advantage*, or the probable Grounds for supposing it will remain the most *permanent foreign Possession* of Great Britain.

The *immediate advantages* which will result to Great Britain are that it is a soil, climate, & situation better adapted to allure American settlers than any she possesses, that the very circumstances of its peninsular situation is likely to prevent emigrations from this to the circumjacent Shores till the whole Country shall be filled up; & that this *condensation* of a numerous, industrious Agricultural People is the real force of a nation & the most desirable strength of a frontier Colony.

The *future prospects*, This peninsular Country holds out is that proportionately as the surrounding Countries become populous, It will become the secure medium, as Holland is to Germany, of the most profitable Intercourse with all the Inhabitants between the Apalachian Mountains & the Mississippi, now colonizing in a fruitful climate, capable by a little commercial Encouragement of being made to produce a variety of raw materials which Britain at present procures from foreign, if not from hostile Nations & which will be exchanged for British Commodities & this commercial Intercourse may acquire establishment at the very period when every Nation seems to aim at acquiring Commerce & naval power by Imposts and acts of navigation of its own.

The Spanish Court is particularly jealous in preventing these trans-Apalachian Americans from passing down the Mississippi, in consequence they must be reduced to the paths over the Mountains to obtain all those Commodities which they are necessitated to import from Europe or they must procure them by means of their Rivers which are navigable within Twenty or Thirty Miles of the Lakes.

It is our business to seize hold of the opportunity while the League of Congress with the House of Bourbon prevents them from assisting their trans-Apalachian Subjects in forcing the passage of the Mississippi & while those new Settlements are in their Infancy, which would render such an attempt on their part without the Aid of Congress, tho' the Indians should remain neutral, precarious & difficult. It seems to be our business to grasp at this moment to possess ourselves of this growing trade & to turn it by all the powers of first possession and Habit into this advantageous Channel bearing always in mind the Immense strength which the carrying Trade of this increasing Commerce & which by means of Quebec we shall exclusively possess, will add to the Bulwark of Great Britain, its naval power.

The *permanent prospect* of this Peninsula ever remaining subject to Great Britain arises also from its situation—There may be a distant period in which it may be possible that the Inhabitants of the Sea Coasts of Canada & on the River St. Lawrence shall conceive that an unrestrained Trade shall be more beneficial to them than a dependant connection with Great Britain but such can never be the Ideas of the Inhabitants of Upper Canada.

3. The Wisdom of Great Britain has secured to that Province all her Commodities at as cheap a rate as possible in return for such raw & merchantable

materials as she shall receive from her neighbours or be enabled to raise by her own Industry. Lower Canada must possess herself of a capital & credit equal to that of the British Merchants before in a commercial view It will be the interest of Upper Canada to wish herself to be independent of the Crown of Great Britain & to place her total reliance on the Inhabitants of Quebec or Montreal for the cheap importation of European Commodities. This very circumstance may prevent any similar Ideas or attempts that might be given way to in the more doubtful Province of Lower Canada.

It is therefore apprehended that it should be the true policy of Great Britain to give efficacy to the very form of Government, which at so critical a period she has given to her Canadian Subjects by not losing a moment in opening this by facilitating its settlement & by establishing it in such force, Union & civilization as may render it impracticable & unwise in any of its neighbours to aim at its destruction.

To effect these purposes at The *quickest, easiest & cheapest* rate, I propose that there should be a Corps of Troops raised independent of those of the Line, & who should be employed to the civil purposes of the Colony, in the construction of the various public works, of Buildings, Roads, Bridges, & communications by Land & on the Waters, that this Corps should also take upon itself as soon as it shall be duly instructed therein, the navigating of the King's Vessels on the Lakes for the various purposes of which they may be required & it should be carefully taught the duties of Sailors on those fresh water Seas. The Establishment of This Corps to consist of four independent Companies of an Hundred each, Rank & file. Three Officers only & The usual Staff to each Company. To these Companies it is essential that a Body of Military Artificers should be added. This Corps will be infinitely less expensive than which was allowed for the Establishment of Georgia in 1744.

To the more general & public Utility It may be added that no inconsiderable advantages will accrue to the Community as the Individual Settler will be enabled solely to attend to the cultivation & extension of his own Lands & that a variety of soils & situations will be opened to the Emigrants, Circumstances that would not happen were those Individuals necessarily to be employed on the duties which it is proposed that the soldiers should perform, at the same time Government will have it in its choice to retain in its own hands for the purposes of Revenue such portions of Land as may appear from peculiar Circumstances to be likely to become valuable from its productions or situation.

The Military Utility of this Corps, tho' a very secondary object, remains to be separately and cursorily treated upon.

4. Some additional force will be *indispensably* necessary for the *personal security* of the Officers of Government, even should they not depart from the post of Cataraqui. If the Capital should be erected in the central part of the peninsula, Its communications must also be preserved.

The Neighbours of the Colony are the Indians & the United States.

The Indians are individually as eminent for that neglect of Being & passion for Glory which when duly regulated renders Armies invincible, as any Europeans of the best principles whatsoever & far excell all Mankind in their patience of fatigue & tolerance of Hunger. They are at present confederated in a War against the United States.

How that may terminate it is not easy to foresee; but it is probable that neither misfortune nor Victory will disunite the Confederacy, while these People remain Hunters they must remain Warriors. They are an Enemy most seriously to be

dreaded by any Infant Colony as their Warfare is by surprize, devastation, torture & destruction.

If the American States give the Indians such a boundary as they shall be satisfied with, & by these means Without the intervention or mediation of Great Britain make peace & obtain an interest in their Affections, on whom will their young Warriors wish to exercise their prowess or whom will the Congress point out as a proper Enemy? The answer is obvious, the Colonist of Upper Canada & nothing will intimidate the Indian but the reality or appearance of a formidable Force & a much Smaller force than would otherways be necessary is rendered formidable by true discipline, not military pedantry but by that Service which adapts itself to the nature of the Enemy it has to contend with & aiming at superiority in those Points in which He places his hopes & confidence.

The United States are governed by a set of men who divided as they are in parties & seperated in their Interests by their own declarations, find no such bond of Union as pretended dread or real enmity of Great Britain. The best security that the United States will not openly attack her settlements is the present condition of France & that they themselves are *vulnerable* in all their most valuable possessions.

In the neighborhood of Upper Canada Congress is now aiming at establishing posts and it has the numbers of hardy Hunters, Backwoodsmen, as expert & more savage than the Indians themselves, from whom or rather from similar Employments they have derived a skill in the method of War peculiar to these woody Regions, very superior to the limited system of discipline in which European Troops have been & are at this moment instructed.

Congress must acquire a superior naval Force on the Erie or Huron before she can act with any permanent effort against Upper Canada, while the Forts & above all the Post of Detroit is retained in British Possession. The four Companies proposed to be raised might on an Emergency be solely applied to the navigation of the Lakes & the fighting a very formidable Armament & which it would require considerable labour & expence in their Enemies to cope with.

This Corps should be of no further Expence to Government than its usual Pay, altho' employed on duties & labours which would require additional Cloathing, &c., &c., to obtain which It is proposed that it should be employed alternately on publick Works & in clearing Lands, which when so cleared, should be sold by Auction among those Settlers only to whom Lands shall be granted & of course would bear a very moderate price to the Purchaser, & at the same time sufficiently reward the Soldiers for their Labours, that would be of that nature, which are the most severe for the individual settler to perform & at the same time most conducive to rapid colonization of the Province. This Corps should also build in the Capital & other Stations, Barracks, Store Houses, Government houses & The *Fortifications* which might be necessary as their stated duty on account of Government, & the private houses for their own stated emoluments.

5. The proper situation for a Capital must be the Object of local Information and mature & personal enquiry but it appears that any station by which in the first place the Rivers that fall in Huron & Ontario & those which run into the Erie & Lake Sinclair may be united with the greatest facility & the easiest Communications will be the most centrical spot for all civil purposes, & at the same time that it is the best adapted situation for self-preservation on account of its distance, It may avail itself of its Rivers & their Communications for the most speedy Union of whatever force may be now or hereafter scattered in the different Settlements.

On the navigable Heads of all those Rivers it is proposed to erect *saw mills, flour mills, & Inns*, as the first steps to form different settlements, & to let them from time to time for the benefit of Government & occasionally to station part of the Troops on such Communications, & to settle in their vicinity the Soldiers who might from time to time be discharged, which should generally be permitted to be *married* Soldiers, who without any expence to Government should get a recruit of a proper description in his room from any of the neighbouring states.

The Buildings which have been mentioned, many other Resources which may start up, & the setting apart certain portions of Land for the publick, It may be hoped, would shortly raise a Revenue which in its progress as its first Object should pay the Expenses of the Corps which has been proposed & politically considered, it may be no trifling Advantage to lead & mould the minds of the Colonists into the principle of paying themselves for their own Military Establishments by shewing them their Utility in Peace as well as the probable protection they may afford in War. There is no doubt but the civil Exigencies of Government will provide for themselves, & will always be cheerfully paid. The Military ones require foresight which is the Province & duty of those who Govern, & being of more distant necessity are consequently less popular.

This Corps should be disciplined in the desultory manner of fighting in which the Indians Excell, united to European regularity; & above all The Savages at any accidental Conferences should be convinced that the Soldiers of it were better marksmen than themselves.

It is proposed that the Officers should be principally taken from the Half pay o f the late Queens Rangers or 1st *American Regiment* who have offered themselves for the Service.

It would be unbecoming in me not to state that they are men who fought for, & who won the honor of being enrolled in the British Army. That They were among the first who took up arms in defence of the British Government. That They are Loyalists on principle & who having learnt to measure their own Duties by the Standard of what they owe to the publick would undertake jealously & vigorously to perform what should be required of them, tho' not in the general system of military duties, nor is it of small moment That having been accustomed to obey & confide in their old Commander they would readily enter into his designs for promoting the civil Works of the Province & in case of Military necessity would carry that Experience and Ability into Action (and Command) which in the terms of their Recommendation for British Rank has been attributed to them by Sir H. Clinton who recommended "That his Majesty's Army might not on a future day be deprived of the Services of so many experienced & valuable Officers."

In entering into the detail of this Corps I by no means offer my opinion of what force is sufficient for the Military protection of Upper Canada, that must depend on relative circumstances in which Government only can determine. It is a continental Frontier, & as such & from its distant situation cannot be considered as on a Peace Establishment.

6. I hold it to be indispensably necessary that a Bishop should be immediately established in Upper Canada.

The State Propriety of some form of public Worship, politically considered, arises from the necessity there is of preventing enthusiastick & fanatic Teachers from acquiring that superstitious hold of the minds of the multitude which Persons of such a description may pervert & are generally inclined to pervert to the Establishment of their own undue consequence in the State & often meditate & not unfrequently to turn such an Ascendency to its injury & destruction,

& this prescribed form of Worship becomes more or less necessary as the minds of the People are more or less susceptible of superstitious Impressions, & as attempts to turn them from the national Form of church Government are more or less prevalent. Those who shall be bred in solitude & seclusion which the first settlers must necessarily be, & to whom perhaps the stated periods of publick Worship are the only ones in which in their meetings & associations they shall become acquainted & sympathize with each other. Such a Description of men will be the fittest Instruments for the mischief making Enthusiasm of the Sectaries to work upon and this at a Period when we know that all Men read & only one description of People write; & when the Aim of the Sectaries is avowedly to destroy the national establishment.

At this very moment we see Episcopacy happily introduced or introducing into all the United States, nor in Parliament or the Canada Bill have we seen any objections taken to the Episcopal Function, which was supposed to take place of course, but to the admission of the Bishop to a seat of the Legislature, which it is to be hoped, while there is an Establishment, the Wisdom of this Country will always insist upon.

There are duties of Office in respect to the Laity of the Church of England which a Bishop only can perform. It is of the most serious importance that his power & supervision over the Clergy should prevent or censure clerical offences & inculcate thro' all Ranks & Descriptions of People a sober, an industrious & religious & conscientious spirit, which will be the best security that Government can have for its own internal preservation. Schools & Seminaries of Education must be created or there will be no considerable Emigration. These should be under the Superintendency of the Bishop, without this Head The Leveling Spirit would infect the very teachers of the Episcopal Church & which at an after period the Introduction of a Bishop may not have sufficient Weight to counteract, in short an Episcopal Church without a resident Bishop seems to be an absurdity in fact as well as a Contradiction in terms; therefore We know that in the earliest periods the Bishop preceded and Established the settlement of the Church in his foreign missions & it is to be supposed that while a body of Men shall be set apart for religious Duties while an Episcopal Church shall be established by Law, It is to be supposed that such a National Church will not for a moment be suffered to remain in our distant Colonies deprived of all its useful Qualities, Civil & Ecclesiastical, & exhibiting a spectacle of degradation & inferiority in that very Colony where the British Constitution has been more effectually & eminently introduced.

7. I have recommended Mr. Peters¹, late of Connecticut, to the Enquiry of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Grenville as a proper Person for the Episcopal Function.

I shall not here expatiate on his Loyalty & his sufferings, his Ability & Integrity, but I shall merely state some political considerations why I think He may be eminently useful in the settlement of the new Colony.

At the time of the American Revolt out of Three Hundred Congregations There were *Seventy Three* Episcopalians, Eighty Old Lights, Eighty seven new Lights (both these latter descriptions are the Ancient Puritans & Modern Methodists) There were but two *Presbyterian* Churches, the remainder were composed of People who followed the Tenets of their respective Teachers.

¹ Rev. Dr. Samuel Peters, who, because of his Loyalist principles, was driven out of the United States and for several years resided in exile in England. He was the author of a history of Connecticut, which appeared anonymously in London in 1781. His daughter was the wife of Mr. Secretary Jarvis of Upper Canada.

The Episcopalians were all Loyalists and from them the Provincial Forces in the Service of Great Britain were principally raised, the Queens Rangers & Browne's were entirely composed of them. There are few or no doctrinal Tenets in which the Puritans differ from the Church of England, their Ground of secession was taken out of Hatred to the Cruel & unjustifiable use which that Church in the days of Laud made of its secular Power; and since the Peace many of the Puritans & in great numbers have flocked to the Episcopal Church in that State.

Connecticut is so populous that annually Great numbers of Young people emigrate from that circumscribed Country. Vermont has been principally founded from it & its inhabitants are now sending out fresh Swarms to those Lands which the Congress have admitted *solely* to belong to Connecticut, westerly of New York & Pennsylvania & southerly of Lake Erie. The Indian War, it is presumed, will check these establishments. The Settler from the other Colonies is generally solitary & sets himself down where it suits his convenience at the moment. The Emigrants from Connecticut generally go out together, mark & fix upon some township, & become the most industrious of planters.

I should propose that Mr. Peters, if appointed Bishop, should immediately go to Connecticut; that he should invite Six Loyal Clergymen of the Church of England or of those Puritans, who would embrace its doctrines, to settle & to form with their Parishioners & such settlers as they might engage in the proposed Capital, to these Clergy (on the performance of certain Conditions), Men of pious & virtuous Lives, should be given the Stipend which Government & the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel allow to the Missionaries, bearing always in mind that the *price* of all Necessaries but *Food* must be double in Upper Canada to what it is in the Lower from the distance & from the Circumstances of the navigation.

The political advantages resulting from this pure source of Emigration would be that future Emigrations from Connecticut might be expected to flow into this Channel & that a connection might be formed between the Colony of Upper Canada & Connecticut & its offspring of Vermont & the *new Settlement* on Lake Erie which would baffle or prevent all attempts which Congress would make on Quebec, (and probably on Detroit) their natural Citadel and Emporium.

8. The Administration of public Justice has been nobly provided for in the selection of a Gentleman¹ to fill its Principal Office of such respectable personal & professional Character as may ensure the equal & just execution of its responsible Duties. It is not to be doubted that great care will be taken in filling up the Inferior Stations.

There are many Offices of great trust which it will be highly necessary should be carefully guarded against being made the property of *incapable* Men. There are American Loyalists sufficient to execute the whole of them with Ability & Integrity.

It would be particularly useful if some man of known & tried Integrity and Ability was appointed to watch over the public Expenditure & all accounts. He might also collect the Rents of Government for what should be let in a publick manner. An Officer of this nature in the process of time will be required & every oeconomical principle should be laid down at the outset that when the Colony shall be able to pay its own Expences it may find that they have been regulated on the most simple & perspicuous plan, & that every check has been provided that can render it improbable that Frauds can take place in the collection or application of the Public Revenue.

There are some Objects of importance which I have not thought proper to

¹Hon. Chief Justice Wm. Osgoode.

commit to writing. Others may require fuller explanation which I shall be happy to give.

To conclude every Officer in every department should be appointed upon the public principle of his being capable of performing his duty & being zealous, active & honest therein. There should neither be a *sine cure* mind nor a *sine cure* Body thro' the whole Province & the whole mass of Men of such a Description animated by one spirit for the public Good will lay the foundations for an Empire which may remain if justly administered for ages united and attached to the Parent State.

J. G. SIMCOE.

London, June 30, 1791.

To the Right Honble. H. Dundas.¹ &c. &c.

Endorsed:—Coll. Simcoe's ideas respecting the Establishment of the Province of Upper Canada.

FROM MAJOR JOHN BARNES TO LORD DORCHESTER.

QUEBEC, 21 June, 1791.

Sir:

I beg leave to Represent to you that there will be required in the course of this Summer Thirty Seamen for the Marine Department of the Province to Replace those Dead, Deserted, and those whose time will Expire when they have applied to be Discharged. The great Difficulty I find in Entering Seamen I conceive to be owing to an Ordinance Passed the 12th April, 1790 "more effectually to prevent the Desertion of Seamen from the Merchant Service," Altho, upon Referring the question to the Solicitor General he tells me that in his Opinion that Ordinance do not prevent Seamen belonging to, and in the Merchant Service Entering to Serve on Board any of His Majesty's ships or Vessels Navigating on the River and Lakes in North America, provided for by an act of Parliament of the 2 Geo. 2, Chap. 36, Sec. 13.

It appears to me that if the Crown Lawyers were authorised and directed on my application to sue for the Wages of such men as should Enter for the Service of the Marine Department of the Province, there is little doubt but that a Sufficient Number may be Entered. This is a question I should Conceive at all events

¹Dundas, Henry, first Viscount Melville, 1742-1811; Solicitor General for Scotland, 1766; elected to the House of Commons for Mid Lothian, 1774; Lord Advocate, 1775; Treasurer of the Navy and in charge of the entire Government patronage for Scotland, 1782-3; again Treasurer of the Navy, 1784-1800; President of the Board of Control for East Indian Affairs, June, 1795; Secretary of State for Home Affairs, June, 1791; Secretary of State for War, 1794-1801; created Viscount Melville, 24 Dec. 1802; First Lord of the Admiralty, 15 May, 1804-9 May, 1805, when he resigned in consequence of a vote of censure passed by the House of Commons; impeached before the House of Lords on several charges of high crimes and misdemeanours while in office; acquitted on all counts but in some instances by narrow majorities. Writing to Archibald Constable from London, 12 June, 1806, George Chalmers said, "I never saw so much joy expressed by all ranks as I witnessed yesterday on Lord Melville's acquittal. It seemed to be the avowal of public sentiment on the discharge from persecution of a man who had served his country." Melville refused all subsequent invitations to take office. For thirty years his political influence had been supreme in Scotland. He was endowed with great political sagacity and untiring industry and was besides a convincing speaker in debate.

necessary to be Ascertained in case at any time the Exigencies of the King's Service should require an Immediate supply of seamen for the Lakes, should this mode not be approved of the only alternative to procure the Immediate Supply of Seamen that I can propose is by an Application to the Admiral Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships on the Station whilst here.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JNO. BARNES.

Dy. Q. M. Genl.

EXTRACT OF A PRIVATE LETTER FROM DETROIT TO MR. MOTZ.

dated 24th June, 1791.

"A few days before the last vessel sailed for Fort Erie application had been made by the Commandant to the Captains of Militia to ascertain the force to be depended upon should they be wanted without too much Injury to the Crop. I fear that from some misunderstanding my Lord Dorchester may receive contradictory reports on the same object and as I see with an impartial Eye it can do no harm to submit to His Lordship my sentiments on a subject so interesting to the Government. Upon the requisition of the commandant a meeting of the Captains was held, and the proposition fully explained to them. It seems that some of the captains in lieu of reporting from their Muster Roll on the strength of their own judgment assembled their companies, and misstating the Terms, enquired for Volunteers. The result strongly marks the Genius of the two People. The British and Irish Traders flattered with an appearance of confidence declared themselves ready to march and would not even offer an individual excuse where the same House offered more than one head. The Idea of a Cavalry being suggested one company agreed to mount themselves. The Canadians on the other hand, who were consulted by their captains, availed themselves of the supposed Liberty, and to a man refused voluntarily to encounter fatigue or Danger without further inducement. However this report may afford matter for political discrimination as to the modes of governing the two people, yet I presume to offer that the distinction in the two reports will not eventually evidence so great a failure on the part of the french Companies, as may strike at first. The british Traders and residents have all a personal Interest to preserve the Indian Trade, and doubtless a warm attachment to the King's Government, but had they received the first Intimation by an order to march it is probable that they would have moved with regret, cavilling with the order, consulting the Ordinance, and murmuring against its provisions, whereas the Companies of Maisonneuve, Moreau, and others, which appear the strongest and afford not a Volunteer would on receiving their orders obey without murmur, or an Idea of resistance, and once in the field, a single Example of severity for breach of Discipline, would make them useful partisans.

D.

Endorsed:—12. In Lord Dorchester's to Lord Grenville No. 98 of 27th July, 1791.

COLO. McKEE'S' SPEECH TO THE FOLLOWING NATIONS OF
INDIANS, AT THE FOOT OF THE MIAMIS RAPIDS,
1st July, 1791.

Mohawks.	Munseys.
Hurons.	Mingoes.
Delawares.	Connoys.
Ottawas.	Moheekins.
Pottawatomies.	Nantikokes.
Miamis.	Moravians.
	Shawanese.

Children,

Your Fathers, the Commander in Chief and Superintendant General of Indian Affairs have directed me to meet you here, to deliver the annual presents which your Great Father, the King of England, has been pleased to order. And his affection for his Children and his sincere wishes for their comfort and happiness has caused him to observe with much concern the troubles, which for some time past have disturbed your Country, your Families and your friends; I am directed to consult with you what means could be fallen upon, consistent with your honour and your interest, to put an end to the fatal disputes between you and the United States.

You may believe me when I assure you, that his desire of knowing your sentiments on this subject, is for no other purpose, than that of promoting your future welfare and happiness; therefore what I have to desire of you is to enable me to inform him, on what terms you believe it would be for Your own Interests, to restore the tranquility of this Country, consistent with your Engagements with all your Confederates; and that if it be in your Father's power to assist in accomplishing it, he will be happy, that through his means, any misfortune to you may be avoided.

I have been here near four months, waiting for the present opportunity, to acquaint you with this matter, but the constant alarms you have been in, has prevented it sooner, and I flatter myself as the principal Chiefs of the Nations, most concerned, are now assembled, that they will take into their serious consideration, a subject of so much importance to themselves.

Be satisfied, that whatever the result of your deliberations may be, or what you Judge best for the General Welfare, shall be faithfully represented to the Commander in Chief and the Superintendant General of your affairs.

Strings of White Wampum.

FROM COLONEL GORDON TO CAPTAIN DAVID BETTON.

NIAGARA, 4th July, 1791.

Sir,

The present situation of Affairs, making it necessary that the greatest Attention should be given to the Safety of the Vessels navigating the Upper Lakes--

¹ McKee, Alexander, interpreter and deputy agent for Indian Affairs at Fort Pitt and Pittsburgh, 1755-75, under Sir William Johnson and George Croghan. He was particularly influential among the Shawanese, with whose language he was familiar. In 1774, they broke away from his control and engaged in the hostilities known as Lord Dunmore's war. In 1775, he was imprisoned for some time by the revolutionary leaders at Pittsburgh, but succeeded in making his escape to Detroit, where he joined Lieut. Governor Hamilton's expedition to Vincennes; returned to Detroit and exerted his influence with success to retain the good will of the Indians and was engaged in Captain Bird's expedition to Kentucky, and the actions at Sandusky, Bryant's Station and the Blue Licks in 1782. At the end of the war he was appointed deputy agent for Indian Affairs at Detroit and on the organization of the district of Hesse, judge of the Court of Common Pleas in conjunction with William Dummer Powell, and Lieutenant Colonel in command of the militia. Appointed Lieutenant for the County of Essex, 2 Nov., 1792.

I am induced to order that no private Ship or Vessell be permitted to Sail from Kingston unless in Company with or under the Orders & Convoy of one of His Majesty's Armed Vessells.

You will please to Communicate this Order to Captain Porter Commanding at Kingston.

I have the Honor to be, &c,

A. GORDON.

Colonel Commanding the Upper Posts.

Captain Beatton, Senior Naval Officer,
Lake Ontario.

FROM RICHARD CARTWRIGHT TO CAPTAIN R. PORTER.

KINGSTON, 7th July, 1791.

Sir,

I am much obliged to you for the early Communication which you have been pleased to make to me of an Order from Colonel Gordon to Captain David Betton, senior naval officer on Lake Ontario, requiring him not to allow any private Vessel to sail from this Port except under the Orders & Convoy of one of His Majesty's armed Vessells.

As the Enforcement of this Order may materially interfere with the Trade of the upper Country by very much retarding at Times the Transport of Goods, and it is perfectly irregular & illegal, however I might be disposed to comply with it as far as respects myself, yet being principally interested as an Agent for the Merchants concerned in this Trade, I cannot be justified in voluntarily consenting to any Delay of their Business that this Order may occasion, whether from the Reduction of the Garrison at Oswego, and other Circumstances, neither Government nor the public in general appear to have the smallest Apprehension of Danger in this Quarter.

The Law authorising the Navigating of private Vessels on the Lakes, very properly gives the Governor a Power on *great and urgent* Occasions to modify the Regulations of that Act by orders under his Hand & Seal, but his Pleasure in this Respect to have any legal Efficacy, must be declared with the same Notoriety that accompanies the Publication of the Law which it was intended to modify; and though the Governor himself is vested with this Power, he is not authorised to delegate it to any Person whatever—And it is to be observed that from the Face of the Order in question, Colonel Gordon leaves it to be supposed that he acts from his own Authority merely.

I trust that it will be understood that I make this Representation, not from a View of throwing any Embarrassment in the Way of a Measure that the Commander in Chief may perhaps think proper to adopt, but merely to point out the regular Mode in which it ought to be conducted, if the Situation of Affairs should appear seriously to require it.

I have the Honor to be, &c.

RICH'D CARTWRIGHT, JUNR.

To Captain Rich'd Porter,
Commanding at Kingston.

FROM CAPTAIN R. PORTER TO MAJOR LE MAISTRE.

KINGSTON, July 7th, 1791.

Sir,

I have the Honor to enclose Copies of two Letters received from Colonel Gordon Commanding Upper Posts, &c., by the Onondaga this Morning.

I shall, as is my Duty—endeavor implicitly to attend to any and every superior Order as far as is compatible with my Situation and the Orders I may have already & hereafter receive at the same time I must beg leave to observe that the present Orders from Colonel Gordon to the Senior Naval Officer are to me mysterious & inexplicable from these Circumstances I have therefore to request this with the enclosure and what I now offer on the Subject may be submitted thro' You to the Consideration of His Excellency Lord Dorchester and when He shall have leisure and be pleased to decide thereon—I may be honored with his Directions how to act—should any Similar Circumstances again Occur. I would not presume, Sir to Comment on the Orders of the Legislative Council but as I am enjoined to pay strict Attention to such Parts of them at least as immediately concern the District I have the Honor to command—I must take the Liberty of referring you to the last Clause but one of the 3rd Chapter of the Ordinances respecting the Inland Navigation—which Clause leads me to a[d]vert to the latter Part of Colonel Gordon's Letter to the Senior Naval Officer beginning "I am induced to order" and from which sentence have originated my present Hesitation and Doubts in giving sanction to these Orders, for by the Clause aforementioned it appears that no Innovation can be properly made or any power of innovation delegated unless under the Hand & Seal of His Excellency the Governor or Commander in Chief in Canada.

Had Colonel Gordon said in his Letter (I am induced by Authority vested in me by His Excellency the Governor, &c.) I should then have been justified in acting peremptorily—on the Senior Naval Officer communicating his Orders received from Colonel G. I shall intrude no more at present—and in the mean time (till I receive further Directions) lest Colonel Gordon should imbibe unjust Ideas concerning my Attention & Obedience to his Order, I shall direct the Senior Naval Officer to take in charge the Lady Dorchester which is the only private Ship sailing from this Port & will be ready to sail for Niagara in a few days.

I have the Honor to be, &c.

RICHARD PORTER.

Capt. 60th Regt.

Comm'g Kingston, &c.

P.S. I enclose a Letter addressed to myself fm. Mr. Cartwright this Instant received.

Major Le Maistre, M.S., &c., &c.

FROM P. COLQUHOUN¹ TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GEORGE STREET, ADELPHI, July 29, 1791.

On the 15th of April I had the honor of conveying to your Lordship a message from Colonel Smith, expressive of the just sense he entertained of the politeness he had experienced by the detention of the packet until he should arrive at Falmouth. I have now the further satisfaction of enclosing your Lordship the extract

¹Patrick Colquhoun, 1745-1820; born at Dumbarton; in mercantile work in Virginia, 1760-6; lord provost of Glasgow, 1782-3; founded the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce; justice of police, London, 1792; police magistrate, London, 1798-1818.

of a letter which I have received from that gentleman announcing his safe arrival at Philadelphia, and stating the good consequences which resulted from the means which he was authorized to use for destroying those false impressions, injurious to this country, which some busy emissaries who are hostile to our prosperity had been at pains to disseminate, principally with a view to advance the French interest in the United States, and to embarrass and render difficult every negotiation which Great Britain might, in future, think it expedient to enter upon for the purpose of extending and securing the consumption of our manufactures, protecting our merchants, or regulating advantageously the commercial intercourse between the two countries.

Some papers and verbal facts have lately come into my possession which are explanatory of the views of a very formidable party in America, whose measures are directed to objects hostile to the interest of this country; and it being of importance that these facts should be early known, I am impelled by a genuine desire to be useful to my country to solicit the honor of an interview, merely for the purpose of *stating these facts*, whenever your Lordship's convenience will permit me to wait upon you.

Enclosure.

Extract of a letter from Colonel William Stephen Smith, late Secretary of Legation at the Court of London from the United States of America, to P. Colquhoun.

1791, June 17, Philadelphia—"I arrived at New York on the 5th instant, and immediately set off for this place, being convinced of the importance of an immediate communication of those friendly impressions made by Lord Grenville on the 9th April; and I can assure you that never was anything more fortunately timely, for, from other quarters, other impressions were rapidly gaining ground, springing from other representations than those I was authorised to make, and which I flatter myself will overturn those false statements, and contribute to produce on our part every friendly disposition which our trans-Atlantic friends could wish America to nourish. It was surely a most critical period, and fully justified my decision and rapid movements, of which I shall say more to you hereafter.

(Historical Manuscripts Commission, Dropmore Papers, Vol. II, pp. 145-6.)

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

Sir:

As the Season is almost worn away in which it will be practicable for any ships to reach Quebec I must beg pardon for desiring you to decide upon that preliminary Establishment which I have generally stated in the Letter I addressed to Lord Grenville some months ago, (& of which I did myself the honor of transmitting to you a Copy) & without which Establishment in Justice to my Country I shall feel myself under the very severe mortification of declining a trust on the success or failure of which It is the general Opinion that not only our future possession of Canada but that of our fisheries, those nurseries of our seamen, & of our West India Islands, ultimately depend,

I have the honor to be with the greatest Respect, Sir,
Your most obedt. & most humble srt.
J. G. SIMCOE.

London, July 23d, 1791.

Addressed:—To the Rt Honble H. Dundas, &c., &c., at the Grange, near Alresford, Hants.

COPY OF MR. DUNDAS'S ANSWER TO THE ABOVE.

WIMBLEDON, 30 July, 1791.

Sir:

I have the Honor of your Letter. I shall be extremely sorry if any circumstance should deprive the public of the Benefit of your Services in Canada, but in the present moment, it is impossible for me to give you any decisive answer to the Question you put to me, as the solution of it does not depend exclusively on my opinion. I hope very soon to have the whole of the Canada Business considered and decided upon and I shall lose no time in Apprising you of the Result of the Consideration respecting the point you have more immediately submitted to me by your letter of the 22d.

I have the honor to be, &c., &c.

HENRY DUNDAS.

FROM LORD DORCHESTER TO LORD GRENVILLE.

(No. 98)

QUEBEC, 27th July, 1791.

My Lord,

I enclose some further information concerning the frontier on Lake Champlain, and the affairs of the Western country, in continuation of my letters No. 94 and No. 95.

Having taken all occasions to rouse the officers commanding at the several posts towards our frontier from a security, always imprudent in military men, but particularly dangerous, when large bodies of any description whatever are in arms, or expected in the neighbourhood, and having suggested the manner of caution, which might eventually become necessary, the Commandants of Niagara and Detroit have in consequence called upon the Commandants of the Militia of their respective districts to know what assistance might be expected from the settlers in case of emergency.

The inclosed returns No. 10 and No. 11 are answers to these applications.

Finding they did not correspond with the return of the Militia of the western districts, transmitted last autumn in my letter No. 75, and that there was an appearance of backwardness in three of the companies at Detroit, I have called upon Sir John Johnson to make inquiry concerning the causes of the difference, and the real state, and probable motives of the conduct, of those three companies. The inclosure No. 12 is an extract of a private letter from Detroit on this subject.

Your Lordship will from many instances perceive the necessity of an Officer of abilities and trust being stationed more at hand than at present, to manage the affairs of the western settlements, the distance between Quebec and Niagara being upwards of 500, and thence to Detroit 300 Miles more and the communication interrupted during a considerable part of the year.

I am with much respect and esteem,

Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

DORCHESTER.

The Right Honble. Lord Grenville.

FROM P. COLQUHOUN TO LORD GRENVILLE.

August 8, 1791, GEORGE STREET, ADELPHI.

Since I had the honor of attending your Lordship on Saturday I have seen an American gentleman who is an intimate friend of Colonel Smith, and who I know to be a good deal in the confidence of the present Government of the United States, and whose sentiments with regard to this country are the same with those of Colonel Smith. This gentleman informs me that he is to embark for America next Wednesday evening, and that immediately on his arrival at New York, it is his intention to proceed to Philadelphia for the purpose of conveying to the President of the United States the earliest account of the occurrences of this country so far as they relate to America.

With every possible regard to prudence and caution, I have not failed to convey such impressions as I am sure will be useful to this country. But as this gentleman is extremely intelligent in the affairs of America, it has occurred to me that it might be of importance, at this particular crisis, that your Lordship had an opportunity of conversing with him previous to his departure in which case I shall, with great pleasure, execute any commands you may be pleased to honor me with for the purpose of promoting an interview, if it shall be thought necessary. The gentleman's name is *Cutting*.

(Historical Manuscripts Commission, Dropmore Papers, Vol. II, p. 160.)

FROM P. COLQUHOUN TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GEORGE STREET, ADELPHI, August 5, 1791.

Permit me to convey to you through the medium of this letter certain interesting particulars which have lately come to my knowledge.

The rising population of the United States and the increasing resource for the sale and consumption of our manufactures, with a prospect of augmenting those sales from *three millions sterling annually* as at present, to *six* or even to ten millions and upwards in the course of 20 to 30 years, has certainly attracted the notice of other European nations, particularly the French who, notwithstanding their apparent convulsed state, I observed (in consequence of a recent visit to that country) were not only in a train of a progressive increase of the cotton and printing manufactures, but are likely to be greatly assisted in their future exertions by means of legislative encouragements heretofore unknown in France, and also by means of a much larger proportion of the capital of the country being thrown into this line than formerly.

I observed also, with a degree of regret calculated to excite jealousy, that several articles fit for the American market were even cheaper than in England; and that there appeared a tendency to a progressive improvement which, I confess, increased my anxiety for the establishment of such a system as would, if possible, defeat the favourite object of the present French Government, of opening by degrees a sale for their manufactures in America, and of obtaining from Congress such facilities as would accomplish their purpose; to effect which they derive at present, considerable aid from what is called the French party in America, in which are Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, and some other leading characters, chiefly in the Southern States, who are zealously pursuing every measure that can tend to give

them paramount influence in the councils of the United States, to be employed in favour of France and to the injury of this country.

It was by means of the friends of this party in England that the erroneous statements were sent out which induced Mr. Washington to *believe*, and to represent in his message to Congress dated the 14th of last February (No. 5), *that there was no disposition in the Government of this country to enter upon any commercial arrangement with the United States*. It was the same spirit of misrepresentation which produced the subsequent report on this message (No. 2), which would have terminated in a law the most embarrassing and distressing to the commerce of this country with America, had not the moderate party (consisting of the vice-President Mr. Adams, General Knox Secretary at War, and others friendly to this country and with whom Colonel Smith is connected) procured a delay by a reference (No. 3) which was officially made to Mr. Jefferson as Secretary of State, a man of considerable ability and personal weight, and known to be particularly hostile to this country and warmly attached to France.

It has fortunately happened, however, that while the framing of this report was in progress, under an almost general impression in America, industriously disseminated by the French party, *that England would enter into no negotiation, and that she treated America with ineffable contempt*, Colonel Smith arrived at the critical moment; and, armed with the assurances your Lordship had given him relative to the *true* disposition of this country toward America, he exerted the influence he justly possesses in that country in preventing the mischief which had arisen and was likely to result from former misrepresentations, by assuring the leaders of the Executive Government *that England would speedily manifest her good disposition to cultivate a friendly intercourse with America by the appointment of a Minister who, he hoped, would arrive (if possible) before the next meeting of Congress in October*. In this confidence the friends of the British interest in America have increased and they bowie [buoy] themselves up with the hopes that they shall defeat the hostile party and prevent any embarrassing restrictions on trade, at least until a friendly discussion shall intervene; but it seems at the same time to be the general opinion that their success in this respect will depend much on the appearance of a British Minister in America before Mr. Jefferson's report can be made in October next.

Nothing could be more grateful to these leading members in the American Government who are favourable to the interest of this country than Colonel Smith's communications of the good dispositions of this country from such respectable authority; and it is supposed that the President and Mr. Hamilton are among the number who will feel satisfaction on the prospect of an opportunity soon being given for settling all matters of variance between the two countries by means of friendly discussion.

If, however, any accident should prevent the appearance of a British Minister before the meeting of Congress in October, and that the party hostile to this country should prevail, there is scarcely any doubt but a law, similar to what is drafted in the Report No. 2, will be passed in Congress, which will probably produce a war of statutes between the two countries, of which foreign nations will take advantage to the prejudice of Great Britain, and, by degrees, may accustom the Americans to their manufactures.

It is, however, the decided opinion of the British interest in America that, by sending over a prudent, well informed man upon those subjects which will fall to be discussed, of plain but conciliatory manners, and whose name and character had not been known in the transactions of the war, everything favourable to this country would be the result; and, although the Americans certainly do aim at

privileges which it will be difficult if not impossible for this country to concede, that still, by prudent management, many useful arrangements may be made, without any material sacrifice on the part of Great Britain. I expect daily some interesting intelligence from Colonel Smith, which, with some other particulars of importance, I hope to have the honour of communicating to your Lordship personally at any time you shall be pleased to appoint an audience after my return to town on Thursday next.

(Historical Manuscripts Commission, Dropmore Papers, Vol. II, pp. 157-8.)

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

LONDON, August the 12th, 1791.

Sir,

As I apprehended from the Conversation which I had the Honor to hold with you when I waited upon you at the Treasury, that, (as tomorrow) the detail of the Upper Canadian Government would undergo Discussion & final Settlement: I take the Liberty of stating for your Determination such Arrangements as I have had the Honor at various periods heretofore to suggest to you, with the names of such persons as I am anxiously desirous should be appointed to the Execution of the various Duties of the Government.

1. In regard to the Episcopal Establishment, it is impossible for me to be more anxious that such an Arrangement should take place than I have uniformly shewn myself to be; and that I firmly believe the present to be the Critical Moment in which that system so interwoven & connected with the Monarchical Foundations of our Government may be productive of the most permanent and extensive Benefits, in preserving the Connection between Great Britain & her Colonies. The particular Mode in which I conceive an Episcopal Establishment may not only add to the general Interest which Great Britain is necessitated to maintain throughout the United States, but strikingly cement into one System the most powerful Colonies, who (as appear by the Map and Books published in America), claim the greater part of that Country, which almost encircles Upper Canada, and will probably Colonize and possess the whole. Such a Mode, I have done myself repeatedly the Honor of Submitting to His Majesty's Ministers as well as to yourself.

2. In regard to the Military Establishments, I feel myself under great Difficulties.

Had my Lord Dorchester returned to England, I should certainly have submitted whether from a Part of his Government, less exposed to present danger under the existing circumstances of Affairs, a Battalion might not be spared, added to the additional Companies I have proposed, by occupying a central Position, would not only watch over the different Posts extended to the Circumference, but might render it more difficult & impracticable for an Enemy to form a solid attack upon them, than by any other Position whatever; and at the same time give protection to those Companies who are to be employed in Opening the Roads & Communications? But, Sir, agreeable to those Principles of Military Subordination, which without the least regard to Personal Considerations I shall always feel & exemplify, it is impossible for me to suggest the slightest Alteration in any military Arrangement but thro' the Commander in Chief of the District. At the same time I am perfectly convinced (and I beg leave to state that Conviction) that a British Battalion at this Moment of the Establishment of the Government of Upper Canada (& when that of Lower Canada is to undergo so material a change), ought to be sent to that Country totally free from the immediate Protection of the Garrison there.

And it gave me singular pleasure in a conversation that I held with the Duke of Richmond to find that His Grace's Ideas foreran the Explanation that I meant to give, and that He conceived the occupation of this central Position would be a very powerful addition to the Security of Quebec.

To be unprepared is to invite attack: and I feel it my Duty to say, that if agreeable to the Expression of the Americans in their Conversation and writings, they could possibly in one winter seize on Quebec & Canada, no apprehension of the consequences (politically considered) ought to prevent them; and the attack on Oswego after General Conway's remarkable Motion was notified to Mr. Washington, proves that Leader to be by no means averse from such Attempts. But if there be a Single Point of Force to rally to in Upper Canada, it will become an object of serious Consideration to the Congress how they suffer attack to precede Negotiation.

3. Having spoken of the necessity of a Company of Artificers, I shall hope to be supplied with them, either from the Duke of Richmond's Establishments, (so highly approved of by the Military Judges of this Country), or on the original Plan for Canada by Captain Twiss, (as detailed in your Office), to raise them by draughts from Corps with this Exception that such draughts should be from British Regiments and under my direction, not that of the Engineers.

I think it very material that a small field Train on the improved Construction should be allowed for the Services in Upper Canada.

4. In regard to the Independent Companies, I have so much expatiated on them, that little remains for me to say, but that I consider them as the vital principle of the Colony, that I have the firm Hope, that they on *Soldiers' Pay* shall be able to execute those Works, which either by subtracting from the labours of the Peasant, or by requiring additional Allowances from Government, have hitherto been a Burden upon the Country. Following the great Masters of the World, the Romans of Old, I propose to consider the Winter Stations of these Companies as the Germs of so many well affected Colonial Cities. There I propose the disbanded Soldiers shall have their Allotment of Land: and I should be inclined to discharge them early in life, provided that without expence to the Crown they should be able to procure substitutes from the Americans, who might be disciplined by similar Employments to British Attachments, and ultimately might attain to equal Provisions. And to execute this Purpose I am happy to have it in my Power to propose Officers who mean to become settlers with their families in that Country; and who are second to no men whatsoever in the knowledge of the Substance of Service, and who had greater opportunities of exemplifying their talents in Separate Commands & self dependent Action, than in the course of long lives fall to the share of the greater Part of the General Officers of Europe.

Captains David Shank,

John McGill, for Captains,

Captain Æneas Shaw¹ as Captain Lieut. These Officers are all upon half pay. Captain Shaw, tho' a Captain, would be well content to serve under me on the full

¹"I walked up a new road through a wilderness of eleven miles extent, to see the Highland settlements on the river Nashwack, and came to the house of a captain Shaw, a native of old Scotland and county of Inverness, where I slept that night.

"September 6. (1791). Captain Shaw, at whose house I was entertained very hospitably, is married to a Yanky young lady, by whom he has four boys and two girls. The mother is bare headed, and so blooming and well looking, that I supposed her to be a maiden, until I heard the children call her Mama. I fell into the like mistake often; as all the married women here go bare headed except when dressed.

"The captain, who is an intelligent gentleman, being the preceding day employed with his man, clearing and burning wood off his land, came home in the evening as black as a collier.

pay of a Lieutenant, taking his chances for future Promotions. To these Officers I beg to add Lieutenant Spencer, now of General Meadows' Regiment, for the Rank of Captain Lieutenant. This Gentleman is an Officer of the most useful capacity; and I have of late received a Letter from my Friend Colonel Ross, stating that from his inferior Regimental Rank, Lord Cornwallis, who had the Perfect recollection of his Services & abilities, much lamented that he feared it would not be in his power to promote him. There are some Circumstances with which Mr. Pitt and Lord Cornwallis are acquainted concerning this Officer, which may lead them to patronize this request of mine for the Rank of Captain Lieut. for him. He is perfect Master of the Spanish Language, which might be of use in case hereafter there should be any Intercourse with that Country. I have had many Offers for Lieutenants, but should be inclined to prefer the settlers that I shall meet with on half pay in that Country, in case I find them calculated for the Service & that by their being employed in it the Militia in the District would not lose its greatest support. I beg to recommend Adjutant McGill of the 16th Regiment for Ensign & Adjutant, and Mr. Leonard Browne, the son of an Old Officer with a large family & who had the good fortune to save the life of a particular friend of mine, for the second Ensigny.

5. I should propose that these Companies, or Part of them, should be composed of Draughts from the Regiments at home, and of such Description of men as might be useful. Sir George Yonge long informed me that in consideration of the difficulties that I must necessarily meet with in pursuit of this arduous undertaking, I may depend upon every Assistance in his Power, and that he will as far as in him lies acquiesce in my Recommendations. In consequence, Surgeon McCaulay, late Mate of Lord Cornwallis's Regiment resigned the Surgeoncy of the Botany Bay Corps, which on Colonel Yorke's and my Recommendation had been given as a reward for his Services, and Sir George Yonge has promised him the appointment of Surgeon to the Garrison. Mr. Burnes, who was recommended to my protection by Sir A. Campbell, three days preceding the death of that excellent Man, I propose for the Surgeoncy of the Independent Companies.

In favour of Captain Smith, on the half pay of the Queen's Rangers, who is as worthy of the compassionate Attention of Government as any Loyalist whatsoever who bled in its Cause during the American War, I mean to avail myself of Sir George Yonge's Kindness, and to appoint him Commissary of Stores. Captain Smith and Captain Shank (who has been heretofore mentioned) and Mr. Jarvis, whom I shall have occasion to recommend to your notice for a Civil Office, are the three Gentlemen for whom I am most particularly & personally interested. I propose to take for my Brigade Major, or, (in case I should have the American Rank of Major General), for my Aide de Camp, a friend of mine now a Captain on half pay.

As you informed me that Lord Grenville had done me the Honour of submitting my Letter to you, in which I spoke of the Rank of Major General: I shall only say that Sir John Johnson had that of Brigadier General. That my Ideas are totally to prevent *Circumstances*, that in the absence of Lord Dorchester, the Death of Major General Clarke, or the Attack of the Provinces, might happen. That the substance of responsible Command is certainly what I aim at, and not the shadow, and that my claims for Military notice, which His Majesty has been so graciously pleased heretofore to acknowledge, point to another Channel, and which

This, I find, is the general practice and employment of all the industrious gentlemen in this part of the country; and indeed the state of their lands, and the produce thereof, fully evince their laudable attention."—P. Campbell, *Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of America*, Edinburgh, MDCCXCIII, pp. 42-3.

I shall certainly avail myself of an opportunity most humbly to state to His Majesty before I leave England, as in justice to myself I most assuredly should have done at the moment I was included in the Brevet of Colonel, had not the appointment to Upper Canada, naturally suspended my most dutifull Representation.

6. The Superintendancy of Captain Barnes, the Deputy Quarter Master General of Lower Canada, over the different Establishments in the upper Country, must naturally cease on the Division of the Government; but the necessity for that important Office being filled by an Officer of Capacity and Integrity, and in whom the Commanding General has personal Confidence & Reliance, is most obvious. For these reasons, and as it is generally customary that the Commanding General should choose his own D. Q. Master General; I very early looked out for a Person in whom I might find the proper Union of Qualities for this necessary Office; and I beg leave to recommend Captain Stevenson, the eldest Captain of the 5th Regiment, now serving in Canada, for this Post with the usual Allowance. The Importance of this Office in War is second to none in military estimation, but that of Commander in Chief, and I should, in my own Conception of my Duty, but ill deserve that good Opinion which has recommended me to the protection of His Majesty's Ministers, did I not turn my mind to events which all must consider possible, and which from the continuance of the Indian Warfare I cannot but consider as probable.

The System of internal Defence must rest upon an intimate knowledge of the Country and the possibility of combining its various Powers into an Arrangement of Force. A due knowledge in this important Point cannot be acquired by any one Person but must be taken from Report, the fidelity of which often depends as much upon Ability as it does upon Integrity. In this View it certainly must be of the highest Import to have capable Men to assist him upon whom Responsibility must inevitably devolve. But to carry Military Ideas further, and to acquire a Knowledge of the Country which is in foreign possession, & its military Features can only be done by the interposition of inferior Officers and not by a person in my responsible station.

It was therefore an early object of my search to find out an Officer, (who in Compliance with His Majesty's general wishes might belong to one of the Regiments in Canada), and who might agreeable to my Ideas have been used to real Action—the only true test of Military Men. And in my researches Captain Stevenson, to whom I was scarcely known, was recommended to me by the best Authorities; and on further Acquaintance I conceive that he will be a most valuable Assistant.

In the Civil Department the D. Qr. Master General has the Arrangement & Supervision of the Shipping on the Lakes Ontario, Erie & Huron. I propose to throw the superintendence of every military Department under his Discretion, & in particular that of the Roads & Communications, which in Lower Canada are confided to separate Departments. The Public on the Report of the Commissioners of Accounts, has generally reprobated what all the true military Men of the American Army early did reprobate, the Estrangement of the active & sublime duties of the Qr. Master General's Office from the supervision of public stores & accounts, and its Degradation to the villifying employment of Contractorships.

In recommending Captain Stevenson, I recommend an Officer, who is anxious to learn every part of his Profession; who will exercise the military Duties of his Station with Ardour: and in his Superintendancy over the inferior Departments will enter into my Views to preserve the strictest Order and Economy.

From the State of that Country, & the Dearness of every kind of necessary, I am persuaded that the usual allowances made to the D. Qr. Mr. Generals will be inadequate to his necessary expences and would be found so were they to

be allowed him in place of Salary. On this Consideration, should His Majesty's Ministers approve of my Recommendation of Captain Stevenson, and on the more important one, that by holding out to the Army that this Office is purely Military & that its proper object is Rank; and to rescue it from every Idea of its being a lucrative Station, I should hope that Captain Stevenson might as an appendage to the Office obtain the Brevet Rank of Major, in particular as he is so old a Captain that in all probability he must naturally acquire that Rank in the next creation of Brevets, and in the intermediate Season have the hardship of seeing Officers daily rising over his head, who probably did not serve thro' the whole of the late War or shall be engaged in the incessant Duties & fatigues which the employment of D. Qr. Mr. General in Upper Canada must of necessity occasion.

7. In regard to the legal Appointments, the placing so respectable a Man as Mr. Osgoode at the Head of the law Department leaves me nothing to desire on that Subject, and I shall be well content without the slightest wish for Recommendation in any of the legal situations or vacancies that may happen, provided that secondarily to Integrity & Ability they be filled by such persons as appear to have the most Influence, and exert it in support of His Majesty's Government. But I beg to submit seriously to the consideration of His Majesty's Ministers, whether any of the Gentlemen of the Law (excepting the Chief Justice) should have a seat in the *Executive*, or even the legislative Council. Unless in the latter it be necessary to prevent the Judges from being elected in the House of Assembly, as is now the practice in New Brunswick.

It is highly necessary that Appeals to Great Britain should be prevented & discouraged as much as possible, insomuch as they are not only burthensome in themselves but will appear to the Inhabitants of the United States as Badges of inconvenient Subjection. The Pure Administration of Justice is most likely to prevent them, and the Influence that the Chief Justice may be enabled to acquire over the inferior Judges may discourage them. They have generally arisen, as I apprehend, more from the difference of Judges in political than legal opinions.

I am persuaded that proper attention has or will be paid to authorize the Civil Judicature to take Cognizance of all Offences committed by His Majesty's Subjects trading among the *Indians*, or *within the Posts* now retained from the United States.

8. Respecting the Appointment of the Executive Council, I have no particular wishes, as in truth I have but a very slight Information on that Subject. Captain Alexander Grant, (stiled the Commodore), is in the list which I have seen, and he is generally spoken of as an old & faithful Servant of the Crown.

Mr. William Robertson is also in that List. He is now in London, I have some slight acquaintance with him, and he seems to be a person of very good manners & good sense. He is a Merchant, and was adverse to the Opposition which the Merchants made to the Division of the Province. He resides at Detroit. I can only beg to submit, Sir, that unless His Majesty's Ministers have sufficient Information, it may be for the King's Service not to appoint without a more particular Enquiry, more Persons to the Executive or Legislative Council, than shall be necessary to give Birth to the Functions of the New Government.

9. I beg leave in the strongest Terms, and which I have heretofore had the Honor of expressing to Lord Grenville & Yourself to recommend Mr. William Jarvis for the Offices of Secretary and Clerk of the Council, as held by Mr. Odell in New Brunswick. I am convinced that he will execute these Offices to general satisfaction and that His Majesty's Government will find in this Gentleman that firm and faithfull attachment, which at a very early period of his Life led him & his family to take up Arms for its protection.

10. I have a proper Person who has offered himself to go as a Printer provided he has a Salary. The Office of Printer seems to be of the utmost Importance. It has been suggested to me, that by annexing the Office of Post Master to that of Printer a sufficient Salary may be annexed to induce some Person to expatriate. I submit this, Sir, to your consideration. But a Printer is indispensibly necessary; and tho' many may be found to rush into crowded cities, I see no likelihood that any Person will venture into a Wilderness and yet in the Infancy of this Establishment He will be found to be of the utmost Utility.

11. In a former Communication which I had the Honor to submit to you, I had stated the Propriety of my being assisted by some one whose particular Province it might be to watch over every Branch of the Civil Revenue & Expenditure. I had not at that time a knowledge of any Person to recommend to Government for whose Abilities & Integrity I could be responsible. But since that Period, Mr. Russell, whom Mr. Andrew Elliott had selected to accompany him as Secretary to the United States, having been disappointed by that Gentleman declining that employment, has been strongly recommended to me; and having expressed a willingness to undertake any Post that might afford a competent Income & respectable Situation, I lose no time in availing myself of the valuable Offer, and of recommending this Gentleman to your Notice & Protection, as a most respectable and capable Servant of his King & Country; and as he has thought it expedient to present a Memorial to Mr. Pitt to induce that Gentleman to confer on Mr. Russell the Office of Collector of the Customs at a certain Salary, and to combine with it the Office of Auditor & Receiver General of all Government Rents, Lands, & Profits, with such a Salary as shall be deemed competent to the Duties, And both in respect to these important Services, & to the Offices & Rank which Mr. Russell has hitherto borne, comparatively with those who at its outset must be introduced into similar Stations, I should hope that He may be appointed to a seat in the Executive & Legislative Councils.

12. The Office of the Surveyor General is of the utmost Importance. There have been made many Applications to me for Recommendation to this Appointment, and by People whom I should feel it a Duty to oblige in any Point, where the Superior Interests of my Obligation to my Country did not interfere. Unless some Person of acknowledged Capacity shall be offered to the Notice of His Majesty's Ministers I should hope that this Post might be of those, which should be left to my mature Consideration & Disposal after I shall arrive in Canada.

13. The difficulty of settling this Peninsula will principally arise from the Impracticability that those who shall emigrate thither will find in procuring Food for their subsistence on their first moving into this Country. Many of them will need the fostering Hand of Government in supplying Provisions, either on Mortgage of their respective Allotments, or, (what I should hope would be deemed true Policy), gratuitously, as has been done in the other Colonies to those who shall appear incapacitated from procuring them by Purchase.

The System on which I mean to provide for the Soldiers, by clearing small portions of the land to be allotted to Emigrants and selling it to them at a moderate Price, will I am persuaded facilitate the settlement of the Colonies.

There are many Loyalists in London, who are entitled to the Protection of Government, and who are in waiting for its expected Relief, who propose to emigrate to Upper Canada. They are Solicitous for a Passage. Several Germans, who are in London, have also applied to me. On these Heads I wish to receive Instructions; and particularly to know what specified Encouragement His Majesty's Ministers wish to be held out to those who shall incline to settle in Upper Canada.

14. The great difficulty of Carriage into Upper Canada has hitherto occasioned intolerable Expence to Government, whensoever a greater Quantity of Stores than has been contained in its Garrisons have been unexpectedly demanded. It is the Season in which the Merchants have uniformly taken advantage of Public Necessities. It is therefore to be presumed that His Majesty's Magazines will be kept abundantly supplied with Provisions & Ammunition; and in Particular that there will be no deficiency of Presents for the Indians in the Public Stores.

15. But while Experience points out that this Difficulty of Carriage & Inattention to supplies, have occasioned ultimately an enormous additional Expence to Government, it cannot escape Notice how much the Individual Settler must suffer from the enhanced Price of every Necessary of life, which he is obliged to purchase from Europe, upon Trust or the Anticipation of his future Harvest. And this Principle would have had so banefull an effect in lower Canada, that had not the feudal Tenure covered the landed property of the Canadian Peasant, the greater part of the cultivated Lands would have been seized by the British Merchants in payment for their debts. It is therefore that I must strongly urge His Majesty's Ministers' attention to this important Object. I have formerly submitted to Lord Grenville a List of such Materials and Tools which Government must either purchase from the Merchants or transmit from England for the erection of those Public Buildings to be erected by the Corps of Artificers & Soldiers. And if my Ideas are adopted of erecting saw Mills & flour Mills to be let for its Advantage after such Buildings shall be completed; the requisite Materials which are manufactured in England should also be transmitted early in the Spring.

Perhaps Tools suited for the Peasantry of that Country, to be sold at prime Cost and free from freightage might be the most usefull means of serving the Colony: And such might be conveyed whenever Government Vessels employed for other purposes should not be fully laden. The smallest Assistance of this Kind would by no means in its Consequences be of petty or trivial Utility.

16. In a Conversation which I had the Honor to hold with Mr. Pitt I submitted the great Convenience that would result from the Payments in that Country being made in one Species of Money. I am aware that this object is extensive and admits of an infinite Variety of Considerations. But I beg leave to offer to your Decision, whether for the Purposes of Change, it might not be proper to carry out a certain Quantity of Copper Coinage to be issued out to the Soldiery.

17. The Colony of Upper Canada may justly be considered as the Rival, for public Estimation & preference, of the American Governments near to which it is situated. To the Infinite Superiority of Constitution, it certainly will be no inferior Part of Policy to aim at superiority in Morals, in Manners, in Industry, in Arts & Sciences. It is therefore with great pleasure that I have apprehended that Lord Grenville was inclined to allow me a Sum of Money to be laid out in the purchase of such Books as I should deem proper to lay the Foundations of a Public Library. My Ideas are to procure the Encyclopedia & Books of that Description, Extracts from which might be published in the periodical Papers for the purposes of facilitating Commerce & Agriculture; and I had intended to have solicited by public Advertisement the Assistance of such Persons as were desirous to promote the Welfare of this Colony either by the Donation of Books or of Money to be laid out in their purchase; but the lateness of the Season has prevented me from that undertaking. This Donation of Books will be a great Assistance to that literary Society which I shall certainly aim at establishing; and I have great pleasure in the belief that the professional & collateral Studies of the medical Gentlemen whom I have mentioned, and the Turn for Mineralogy

which is the Amusement of Mr. Russell, may not only contribute to local Embellishment, but to public Utility.

Thus, Sir, I have endeavoured to class as methodically as possible the Principal Subjects, which have impressed themselves upon my Mind, in a Detail of such unlimited Extent & affording such a variety of Materials, and I hope for your ultimate Decision upon them. I flatter myself that if you are desirous of any further Elucidation of the Subject, you will afford me an opportunity of Giving it to you as soon as possible in a personal Interview. In regard to the Troops to be raised, I am clear the main foundation must be taken from Draughts from British regiments, which can easily be replaced the ensuing Winter, and that they must be forwarded to Canada by the first Vessels in the Spring. Until their arrival, it will be neither prudent nor practicable for me to quit the Margin of the Lakes, and to make those internal Observations which it will be my Duty without loss of time to submit to His Majesty's Government.

I beg to offer you the Copies of three Letters. The one from the late General of Vermont, Ethan Allen, is now in my possession. In it, Sir, you will find the Substance of the Politicks which I have adopted relative to Vermont. When Sir H. Clinton entrusted me with his plan of operations, which were prevented by the Death of Major Andrè, I was directed to make myself Master by every enquiry in my power of the nature of the Ground & the Inhabitants in the Vicinity of the upper parts of Hudson's River. From that moment to the present Hour, have I been convinced of the Importance of Vermont & the real good Intentions of its Leaders to this Country. I think they may be of the utmost Utility in the present critical Moment.

Another Letter is to me from Elijah Clarke, a General of Georgia & who can neither write nor read. He took Augusta from us last War. The Third is from that Active Adventurer, Bowles. He had served when a Boy under my Command. I inculcated to him Peace, and to settle a Boundary, and a system of Colonization which I thought practicable & might be eventually of great Utility to this Country. You will perceive, to my surprise he talks of visiting me in Upper Canada.

The Indian War is so detrimental to Commerce and uncertain in its Events, that I am anxious to be permitted, (if it were possible), to mediate for its Termination. This will every Hour become more difficult, from mutual losses and multiplying mutual Enmities.

The last Accounts I have, state that on the 12th of June 4,000 Americans & a large body of Indians were within two days March of each other, and that our traders were got into Detroit.

I shall trespass no longer on you with these matters of great & Serious Policy, as I have fully expressed my Sentiments on that Head, and heretofore offered myself to Lord Grenville for this Service. But I must with the utmost Respect and Deference conjure you & His Majesty's Ministers to Consider this Colonial Establishment as most deserving of their Protection; and that the vigorous & systematic Support of it in its *Infancy* will speedily enable it to maintain itself, & soon rear it up, during this Interval of temporary Quiet, beyond the reach of Enemies, to become the means of preserving all the transatlantic Dominions of Great Britain by exemplifying the Felicities of its Laws & Government; and that the Reverse of such a conduct, half measures, trivial & procrastinated Assistance as has been formerly condemned in the Administration of the Colony of Georgia, may starve into a petty Factory for the accomodation of the Fur Traders, what,

if encouraged to attain its natural Dimensions would dilate itself into an increasing and Majestick support of the British Empire.

I have the Honor to be with the utmost Respect & deference,
Your most Obedient & Obliged Servt.

J. G. SIMCOE.

Right Honble Henry Dundas.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

Sir:

I beg pardon for giving you some further trouble, but the Friend whom I procured to copy the Memoir which I transmitted to you yesterday left out the enclosed sheet which in my hurry I did not miss, as it is of importance, may I beg of you to have the goodness to restore it to its place under the head of Deputy Qr. Master General.

I also transmit to you, as I understand you called for the General Recommendations of particular Persons to Canadian Appointments, those which have been transmitted to me. The Speaker, Mr. Addington spoke to me, but aloof, of a Person he thought would be an excellent Surveyor General. I am far from being of Opinion that it is necessary this Post should be filled by an Engineer or Military Man. It is of great importance to the tranquility of the Colony.

I also enclose the List of Legislative & Executive Council, transmitted by Ld. Dorchester.

I have the honor to be with the highest Respect, Sir,
Your most Obedt. & Obliged Servt.
J. G. SIMCOE.

August 16th.

Endorsed:—London, 16th Augt, 1791. Colonel Simcoe, Upper Canada.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE POSTS ON THE LAKES.

I have heretofore in a Memoir to Lord Grenville, assimilated them to what Calais formerly was to Great Britain. In time of Peace the *Emporium* of our staple Commerce, in time of War, Outlets into the Enemy's Country. Offensive Operations; or if we were obliged to a dangerous defensive, (always injurious to a Commercial Nation), such Posts, contracted around them the circle of War, and gave due preparation of the further attempts of the Invader. In regard to their Military Utility, they are to be considered relatively to the *Indians* & the *Americans*. The *Indian* is the formidable Enemy in our present Juncture of Affairs—because He has nothing to lose & is full of Martial Science & Spirit adapted to the nature of the Country—& because from being as he is at present our Friend, his Enmity would proportionately be lasting as it must arise from his *absolute belief* of our Weakness.

It has been truly Observed that the giving up of the Posts will have this tendency—Detroit is somewhat sacred in the estimation of the Indians, & in a meeting with the Americans, they termit the *ancient Council fire* of their *Fathers*.

All people who know the Indians concur that there is no such thing as a neutrality in their Ideas: They must have War *somewhere*, & their present Union will

probably prevent them from quarrelling amongst themselves, & it is not to be doubted but that Rivalry in Commerce will animate the Americans to whet them on to attack the British Subjects.

In regard to the Americans. The first Step they will take, if the forts be given up to them, will be to Establish a great depot of Arms & Commercial Goods at this Post & they will have the means, & their Policy will grasp at it, of filling the Lakes with commercial Vessels to the immediate destruction of all our fur trade to the *South* of Lake Erie.

The Objects of the American States seem to be Twofold. The Southern to admit a Commercial Intercourse with Great Britain—The Northern to preserve to itself the carrying Trade.

The Southern are governed by Men who *hate* Great Britain nor would they acquiesce in any Measure That might appear to neglect their United Interests with the northern States, had they not a great Object in View, & This object is to unite their partial States, (the Southern ones), in every possible Link, with the States now forming beyond the Apalachian Mountains, & when they shall be United, They will conceive themselves to be able to crush with the utmost facility, that power alone which disconnects their several Governments, & which if preserved, separate from them, must ultimately reduce to the proper size & State which nature intended them. This aggregation of Republicks, I mean the British Colonies of Canada. The Commercial Idea of the Southern States is that the bulky Commodities which the Inhabitants on the Mississippi & on the Banks of Those Rivers which flow into it shall raise will pass down the Mississippi into the Ocean, but that such manufactured European Commodities as may be bartered from them shall pass up the Delaware or Chesapeake & from thence be transported over the Apalachian Mountains to the Streams which communicate with the Ohio & Mississippi—such is the reasoning of the Leaders of the Southern States.

On the part of Great Britain, It is reasonable to hope, & I trust will be experienced, That she can transport her manufactures to Detroit & its Vicinity & afford them at a Cheaper Rate than the American Merchant can at Baltimore—on the other Hand if Detroit be surrendered, the most favourable commercial Intercourse will be founded on British Goods, paying at that Post similar duties to what are paid at the Sea Coasts, & *Guarda Costas* will be stationed in the Michigan, &c. to prevent That Commercial Intercourse which the Inhabitants on the Mississippi above its confluence with the Ohio, are naturally desirous of enjoying.

It is to be observed that the principal Body of People of Kentuckee are the Friends of Great Britain. They & the other Inhabitants on the lower Parts of the Country, should the Spanish Government have given them the free use of the Navigation of the Mississippi, They must still ask the Leave of the Indians before they can enjoy it & must be at the mercy of that capricious People. They may raise several Commercial Articles of great Consequence which will bear the Portage to Lake Erie, where they may be exchanged for British Manufactures. It is therefore in this light of future Commercial Policy that the delivery of the Posts to the Americans is to be seriously considered.

In regard to Power, *Detroit* delivers the navigation of Lakes Erie, Huron & Superior into the hands of the Americans by the natural effect of the Possession of its Commerce—Oswego & Carleton Island will give them Lake *Ontario* & the naval Force on these Lakes will leave our Settlements on the opposite shores subject in case of War to serious annoyance.

It is certainly well worthy of the Wisdom of His Majesty's Ministers seriously to consider what benefits they are to derive from a Commercial Treaty with hte

Americans. If the Affections of Vermont be preserved, & the fashionable democratic principles spread not among the french Canadians, there is no reason to dread the Power of the Americans—the Americans have never felt the ravages of War, the forces of Canadian Provinces *descend* the Rivers into their most flourishing Settlements & the Brave and Virtuous people of the North are daily becoming more friendly to their parent state; on the first Domestick convulsion the divisions of the unprincipled Province of New York, or in case of foreign War, The Island of Trinidad being given to them, (by no means the Object of the Southern States), will secure those Provinces to the Crown of G. Britain, at any rate to its federal Alliance.—I trust the Cultivation of that disposition which is so prevalent that the *Tory party* now possess all the inferior Offices of Magistracy, will equally attract attention, as the commercial advantages to be drawn from the South, which must always be precarious & subordinate to the Will & Power of the Poorer but more daring & virtuous settlers in the Northern Districts.

It is in the hope of being instrumental to the *Re-union of the Empire*, by sowing the Seeds of a vigorous Colony that I prefer the station I am appointed to & its fair prospects to any Post in his Majesty's Dominions of whatever Emolument. I am persuaded that it is the Interest of Northern America & G. Britain to be united in some mode or other, & that such an Union is neither distant nor impracticable.

J. G. SIMCOE.

August 26th, 1791.

To the Rt. Honble H. Dundas.

Endorsed:—August 26th, 1791. Lt. Governor Simcoe, Observations on the Posts on the Lakes. Copy to the Duke of Richmond, 24th Octr. 1791.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

My Lord:

The conversation which I had the honor of holding with your Lordship yesterday left upon my mind a very deep & painful Impression as I thought I understood that no Colonial Force is intended to be established in the Province of Upper Canada.

I should feel myself wanting in the personal Respect & Gratitude due to your Lordship for the good opinion with which you have honor'd me, & to the duties which I feel that I owe, if I conceal'd from your Lordship my Reasons for humbly hoping that this Arrangement is not finally taken. Your Lordship will do me the justice to recollect that in all the conversation which I have had the honor to hold with you upon this Subject, as well as in all the details which I have submitted to you in writing, I have invariably been of opinion that a certain Colonial Military Establishment, Independent of the Troops of the Line, in the various Garrisons is absolutely necessary to this Colony, by such an Establishment applied to Civil purposes of the Colony; The various public Works, of Buildings, Roads, Bridges, & Communications, as well by Land as on the Water, will be brought forward so as to establish his Majesty's Government in the shortest possible time upon the most solid foundations, by these Works, The Internal Parts of that Country will be opened to the Emigrants; a competent Number of the Inhabitants will be collected in a central Situation proper for a Capital, or in others adapted for Towns or Posts, so as to effect The great purposes of Civilization, of union of

Force & of Communications for commercial & political Purposes in which Canada has hitherto been eminently defective.

In a Military Point of View I may be allowed to say, that such an Establishment is indispensable; for by the Shew of an active force trained to exertions, to a system of discipline & of Service on Shore & upon the Waters differing from that which his Majesty's Regulations prescribe for his other Troops, supplied with a competent number of that essential Arm of Force, Military Artificers, & lastly unfettered by the Protection of Garrisons, by the very shew of such a force, it is probable that any hostile designs which the real Weakness of the Colony in its present state might suggest to the Indians or United States may be prevented & perhaps I may not be too sanguine in hoping that by such a Force, the General Face of the Country would be protected or the Garrisons supported better than by any other Body of men of equal Numbers that could be collected for that purpose.

These Ideas have been confirmed by every thing that I can collect from those Inhabitants of the Province, those Americans & those Military Men, with whom I have thought it my duty upon General Terms to converse; & they have been most eminently confirmed by the honor of a conversation which I have had with the Duke of Richmond upon the Subject, who seem'd, as a military man of the most respectable Authority, to consider such a Force as highly essential.

Under these Impressions, I confess to your Lordship, that I entertained sanguine hopes of rendering essential Service to my Country in endeavouring by unremitting Assiduity & exertions to repair the great Loss which Great Britain has sustained since the Peace from the Circumstances which have prevented her from availing herself of the immense Emigrations from the United States of Subjects, now settled beyond the Apalachian Mountains.

I had hoped that the active Exertions of the American Servants of the Crown might have placed in the course of a very few Years this Colony beyond the Reach of Insult from its Enemies, & as the Frontier to an Empire which Centuries would hardly compleat.

But if those exertions are cramped or wholly fettered by the want of the only means which appear to me capable of ensuring the rapid Establishment & Progress of this Colony beyond the slow, unsystematic, & unconnected Gradations by which the British Colonies in America have usually been formed, I feel, That I should deceive your Lordship, if I withheld from you my full & serious Conviction that the King's Servants & the Country will be disappointed in the Expectations which they entertain from the Establishment of Upper Canada; and if I am well founded in this persuasion, I fear that the situation to which Your Goodness destin'd me, may not hold forth any Inducement to that honorable Ambition which I have always preferr'd to all personal Consideration, The Ambition of rendering Essential and distinguished Service to my King & Country, but I cannot close this Letter without assuring your Lordship that no Man can feel more warmly every Sentiment of personal Respect & Gratitude towards you, & no one can more eagerly wish to stand corrected in points in which he may err by any Lights which your Lordship may think proper to hold out to him upon this Subject, but I felt myself called upon by every duty to state to your Lordship my earnest hopes that I may not be called upon to make the painful option to which I have adverted.

I have the honor to be, &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

To the Rt Honble Lord Grenville.

Endorsed:—(without date.) Copy of a Letter from Coll. Simcoe to Lord Grenville.

FORWARDED TO COLONEL SIMCOE.

At a Meeting by desire of His Excellency Lord Dorchester, at Quebec, the 17th August, 1791.

Present:—Major General Clarke, Lieut. Governor of Quebec,¹ Sir John Johnson, Bart.,² Superintendent and General Inspector of Indian Affairs, and Joseph Brant with twelve other Chiefs and Warriors of the Huron, Delaware, Mohawk, Cayuga, Tuscarora, and Seneca Nations, Deputies of Confederated Western Indians.

Major General Clarke informed the Deputies that they had been called together at the desire of His Excellency Lord Dorchester that they might fully explain the terms on which their Constituents, the Confederated Western Nations were disposed to make Peace with the United States.

Joseph Brant, on behalf of the Deputies, declared that their Nations were disposed to make Peace with the United States upon the basis of the following Boundary being established and inviolably observed between them, that is to say, a Line running up from the Confluence of the Cherokee River³ with the Ohio to the mouth of the Muskingum, thence to the portage which crosses to the Cayahaga, from thence in a direct Line across the Country to Venango, where it joins the Line agreed on in 1768, from thence along the said Line till it strikes the Line of purchase made by Pennsylvania in the year 1784.

The Line was marked upon the Map, and explained by all the Deputies present, who declared that the several Nations, their Constituents, had determined to abide by that Line, and that was their final Resolution.

ALURED CLARKE, M.G.

JOHN JOHNSON.

JOSEPH BRANT.

¹Clarke, Sir Alured, 1745-1832, born in England; ensign in 50th Regt., 1759; served in Germany under the Marquis of Granby, 1760-1; lieut. colonel, 54th, 1775; arrived in America, 1776; brigadier general in command at Savannah, Ga., 1778-9; Governor of Jamaica, 1782-90; major general on the staff in Canada, 1790; Lieut. Governor of the Province of Quebec, 8 Oct., 1790-25 Dec., 1791; Lieut. Governor of the Province of Lower Canada, 26 Dec., 1791-21 January, 1796; Administrator, Province of Quebec, 25 August, 1791-25 December, 1791; Administrator Province of Lower Canada, 26th Dec., 1791-24 Sept., 1793; transferred to the staff in India, 1795; second in command of the force which captured Cape Town, South Africa, Sept., 1795; lieutenant general and Knight of the Bath, 1797; commander in chief in Bengal, 1797-8; commander in chief in India, 1798-1801; field marshal, 1830.

²Johnson, Sir John, 1752-1830, born in New York; created a baronet, 22 Nov., 1765, in recognition of his father's services; major general, New York militia, 1774; recruited and commanded the Royal Regiment of New York, two battalions, 1778-84; conducted expeditions to Mohawk River in 1778 and 1780; brigadier general, 1782; Superintendent General and Inspector General of Indian Affairs, 1785; member of the Legislative Council of the Province of Quebec, 1786-91; colonel in chief, commanding six battalions of the militia of the Eastern Townships; member of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada, 1796. His possessions in the State of New York were as extensive and valuable as those of any colonial resident of his time, with the possible exception of Lord Fairfax in Virginia, and no person in America imperilled and lost more by his loyalty to the Crown.

³Now known as the "Tennessee."

MEMORIAL FROM MONTREAL MERCHANTS.

To His Excellency The Right Honorable Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester, Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Colonies of Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and their Dependencies, Vice Admiral of the same, General and Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's Forces in the said Colonies and the Island of Newfoundland, &c., &c., &c.

The Memorial & Petition of the Merchants of Montreal, Trading to the Indian or Upper Country.

Humbly Sheweth.

That your Memorialists being largely engaged in the Indian or Upper Country Trade of the Province are not a little alarmed for the safety of the property which they have trusted in the Indian Country, by reason of the late attempts of the Americans to establish by Force a Post or Posts on the Frontier of the Province near Detroit.

That should such an attempt be attended with success, it is evident that the whole of the Indian Trade to the South of Lake Erie must fall into their hands to the loss and prejudice of this Province in a sum not short of Thirty Thousand Pounds Sterling.

That from so near a vicinity to Detroit your Memorialists cannot help suspecting that views of obtaining Possession of that Key to the Western and North West Country are strongly entertained by our rival Neighbours, and they consider with much pain that should they possess themselves of Detroit they will have in their power the means of Commanding the whole Western and Northwest Trade which your Memorialists esteem to produce returns for British Manufactures, Chiefly in furs, to the value of one Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds Sterling.

Your Memorialists might remark other bad consequences which would follow, in Particular to the new Settlements, should our Neighbours become Master of the Post of Detroit, but knowing that your Lordship can better discern than they can point out the political Injuries which the Province would sustain in such an event, they confine themselves solely to the Indian Trade of which from long experience and extensive dealings they can speak with certainty and precision.

Your Memorialists take the liberty of observing that altho' the Route most generally used from Lower Canada to the Western and Northwest Country is that of the Ottawa or Great River leading immediately to a Communication with Lake Huron considerably North of Detroit, yet such is the poverty of the Country, that unless Provisions can be procured from Detroit, the Northwest Trade would cease to be carried on because of the insupportable expence that would accrue of transport in Canoes by the Great River.

Your Memorialists are aware that by the Treaty of Peace in 1783, a great part of the Indian Country was ceded to the American States, but having carried on the Trade of that Country as was usual before and during the War under the Protection and safe Guard of Government—Your Memorialists not having since the Peace encountered any difficulties from the Subjects of the American States, have been led to extend the Indian Trade farther West than formerly, from which circumstance their property & connections in that Country being greatly and more widely extended, any sudden check to their Commercial pursuits would occasion their ruin, nor would a less period than five years be sufficient for fully collecting and withdrawing their property in the event of such measure becoming necessary by the Posts falling into the Hands of the United States.

Your Memorialists can with confidence rely on your Lordship's watchful Government, the encouragement and protection which the Indian Trade has met

with assure them that the best measures will be adopted for securing free intercourse of Trade to the Indian Country, yet in a matter of such magnitude and consequence to your Memorialists they venture humbly to hope and suggest that thro' your Lordship's representation The Trade may not be interrupted for five years to come, in order that the British Merchants may be enabled to collect and withdraw their property and if at the end of that period it should seem fit to the Wisdom of the Government to cede the Posts that the Indian Country should be considered a neutral Ground free and open for the purposes of Trade as well to his Majesty's Subjects as to those of the American United States.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A CORPS OF INFANTRY.

Establishment of a Corps of Infantry consisting of Two Companies to be raised and sent to Upper Canada, Each Company to consist of:

- 1 Captain.
- 1 Captain Lieutenant.
- 2 Lieutenants.
- 2 Ensigns.
- 6 Serjeants.
- 6 Corporals.
- 1 Drummer.
- 194 Privates.

STAFF.

- 1 Adjutant.
- 1 Surgeon.
- 1 Surgeon's Mate.
- 2 Serjeants.

To be commanded by a Colonel Commandant without pay.

Endorsed:—Establishment of a corps of Infantry to be raised and sent to Upper Canada—Original received in a Letter from Mr. Secretary Dundas dated 29th August, 1791.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE WAR OFFICE

WHITEHALL, 29th August, 1791.

Sir/

His Majesty having taken into his Royal Consideration the situation of His Province of Upper Canada, has thought it expedient for His Service to direct that a Corps of Infantry should be raised to be employed in assisting in the Erection of Public Buildings, the Construction of Bridges, and forming Roads of Communications, and in any other Civil or Military Duties, either within or out of that Province which His Majesty's Service may require; I beg to enclose to you herewith an Abstract of the proposed establishment, and I am commanded to desire that you will receive His Majesty's pleasure with respect to the appointment of the several Officers, and that you will take such other measures as may depend upon you for

the raising the above mentioned Corps, in order that it may, if possible, proceed to the place of its destination in the course of the ensuing Spring.

The Right Honble Sir Geo. Yonge, Bart.,¹
Secretary at War.

FROM M. LEWIS TO J. G. SIMCOE.

WAR OFFICE, Sept. 1, 1791.

Sir/

In the Secretary at War's absence, I have just opened a letter to him from Mr. Secretary Dundas, signifying His Majesty's pleasure to form an establishment of a Corps for the service of Upper Canada; and desiring the Secretary at War to receive the King's commands with respect to the Appointment of the Officers, and to take such other measures as may depend upon him for raising the said Corps. Taking it for granted that you have not only fixed upon certain Officers to recommend, but have framed some Plan for raising the Corps, in such manner, as may best answer the purpose, I take the earliest opportunity of apprising you that it will now be proper for you to submit the said Plan, with a list of the Officers proposed, to the Secretary at War, who may take His Majesty's further pleasure thereon.

I have the honour to be, &c.

M. LEWIS.
pro Tem.

To Colonel Simcoe.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE RT. HON. LORD GRENVILLE.

To His Excellency George Hammond, Esq.,² dated Whitehall, 1st Sept. 1791.

"The subject of the Indian War will naturally connect itself with every discussion relative to the Forts, the knowledge which you have of the official correspondence of the Government of Quebec will enable you to disclaim in the most unequivocal manner any idea of Lord Dorchester's having encouraged the measures of hostility taken by the Indians. The British Government feel on the contrary that they have a strong commercial and political interest in the restoration of Peace, and nothing would be more satisfactory to His Majesty than to find himself enabled to contribute His good offices for that object thro' the medium of his Government in America.

"You will on all occasions endeavour to impress this idea, and to remove the prejudices which appear to have prevailed on the subject. The circumstances

¹Yonge, Sir George, 1731-1812, elected member of the House of Commons for the borough of Honiton in Devon, 1754, and with the exception of the years 1761-3, sat for that place until 1796. Simcoe's residence at Wolford Lodge is near by. He was a Lord of the Admiralty, 1766-70; Secretary at War, July, 1782-April, 1783; again from December, 1783 until July, 1794; created a Knight of the Bath, 1788; Master of the Mint, July, 1794-February, 1799; Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, February, 1799-January, 1801, when he was recalled. Dr. J. Holland Rose refers to Yonge as "that shadowy personage", who, although Secretary at War, "had no seat in the Cabinet."—William Pitt and the Great War, p. 128.

²Hammond, George, 1763-1853, born in Yorkshire, educated at Oxford; Secretary to David Hartley, Peace Commissioner at Paris, 1783; Chargé d'Affaires at Vienna, 1788-90; Chargé d'Affaires at Copenhagen and Madrid, 1790-1; Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States, 1791-5; married at Philadelphia; Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs and performed important services at Vienna and Berlin, 1795-1806; again Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1807-1809.

of the war, as far as they are yet known here, have been such as will probably render the Americans sincerely desirous of peace, and if any opportunity should occur, in which it should appear to you that your interposition or that of the Government of Canada, could conduce to that object, in a manner not inconsistent with the security of the Indians, You are authorized to exert yourself for that purpose, taking care always to adopt no measures respecting it, except in concert with His Majesty's Government in America, under whose direction, the superintendence of Indian affairs has been placed by His Majesty. It will not fail to be an object of your attention to inform yourself as accurately as possible of the relative situation of other nations of Europe with respect to America, but particularly of France and Spain. If, as appears probable, the discussions with the latter of those Powers should lead to serious disputes, or to measures of actual hostility, You are to be particularly careful to use no expressions which may in any manner commit His Majesty as a party in those differences. His Majesty's object in such case would be to interpose His good offices for preventing those differences from leading to an actual rupture. But if his attempts for that purpose should be ineffectual, you will endeavour to maintain with both the contending parties an uninterrupted and impartial friendship."

FROM HENRY DUNDAS TO SIR GEORGE YONGE.

WHITEHALL, 4th Sept., 1791

Sir:

In my Letter to you of the 31st of last month I had the honour of communicating to you His Majesty's Commands respecting the raising of a Corps for Foreign Service, intended to be employed in Upper Canada, and as there are a variety of circumstances relative to this Corps which may place it out of the line of regular Military Service, I think it right to state to you the views of Government upon this subject for your consideration previously to your fixing on any arrangements which you may conceive to be necessary for its formation.

The Establishment and Expence, I believe, are fully explained in the Estimate which accompanied my Letter above mentioned excepting with respect to the Commission of Commandant. That Commission it is now proposed shall be given to Colonel Simcoe, without Pay, and in case of his death, or of his leaving the Province, to the Lieutenant Governor for the time being.

It is intended that this Corps shall at first be employed in assisting in the making of Roads of communication between the different Parts of the Province, in building of Bridges, erecting of Barracks, clearing of Lands, navigating of Craft, and in short, on any Military or Civil Service which may occur. And, as an encouragement to the non-commissioned Officers and Men to enlist for this Service, it is proposed that they shall be allowed their Discharge after the expiration of five Years, and be accommodated with 50 acres of Land, free of any Expence, excepting the payment of the usual Fees for its location, provided they are capable of finding a substitute who may be approved by the commanding officer, and agree to be enrolled in the Provincial Militia. This Plan has been proposed with a view to the introducing generally the habits of Military Service, and of establishing by means of the Persons to be discharged in the manner above stated, such a Militia as may ultimately be capable in any event which may arise, of protecting the Persons and Property of His Majesty's Subjects inhabiting that Province, and thereby to render the Service of a part of the standing Army every day less necessary there.

Colonel Simcoe intends to propose to you that the two Captains and one of the Captain Lieutenants shall be selected from the Half Pay, and that a Lieutenant in one of the Regiments serving in the East Indies shall be appointed the other Captain Lieutenant; he has likewise some other arrangements to propose to you relative to the Subalterns, which as they will be fully stated to you by him, it is unnecessary for me to explain them. I think it right however to mention that as the officers who he means to recommend to you, to succeed to Commissions in this Corps are composed of Persons who formerly served with him in North America, and are represented to be perfectly well qualified for this particular line of Service, it appears to me to be likely to be of advantage to the Public Service that his recommendations should as far as they consistently can, be attended to. In adopting this Plan instead of promoting officers for the purpose of engaging their exertions in the Recruiting Service, it will naturally occur to you that some measures must be taken for obtaining a Supply of Non-commissioned Officers, and I submit to you whether it may not be advisable that you should endeavour to learn His Majesty's Sentiments relative to the drafting from each of the Regiments of Infantry, now in England, two or three of the Rank and File, capable of serving as Non-Commissioned Officers; I am aware of the difficulties which may present themselves, and if any other means than that of drafting could be devised, I should be inclined to prefer it, but at present no other mode occurs to me for obtaining this necessary Aid. I have therefore only to add that it is of much importance that steps of some sort or other should be taken immediately for raising this Corps, in order that it may embark for Canada as early as possible in the Spring.

In the interviews which I have lately had with Colonel Simcoe, he has stated to me the necessity of appointing a Deputy Quarter Master General, and of allowing him an Officer to assist him in his Military Duties in the capacity of a Brigade Major. As to the first of these appointments, I am aware of difficulties which will occur in encreasing the American Staff, particularly as it was understood when that establishment was fixed upon and provided by Parliament no Officer of that description was supposed to be necessary; But with respect to the latter, it appears from the best information which I can collect that such an officer will absolutely be wanted, and I feel inclined to recommend a compliance with Colonel Simcoe's wishes in that respect.

I am, Sir, &c.

HENRY DUNDAS.

Rt. Honble. The Secretary at War.

FROM HENRY DUNDAS TO LORD GRENVILLE.

Private.

September 5, 1791, WHITEHALL.

I send you a copy of a private letter I have thought right to write to Sir George Yonge in addition to my official one. I was induced to do it from feeling that such a corps is not likely to be popular at the War Office, and I am apprehensive that there may be difficulty in obtaining the draughts of a few soldiers to answer for non-commissioned officers. I explained fully to the King the utility and importance of this corps, and he was impressed with the propriety of it. My reason of writing is that, in case it should come in your way or he gives you an opening to it, you would encourage in him the sentiments I left with him, for if he refuses to allow the draughts for the non-commissioned officers I really do not see how the corps can get on at all. You need not urge the argument which weighs most with us, I

mean the prospect of a reduction of the regular force to be grafted upon it. I am afraid if that feature of the measure is made too prominent, it would not decrease the difficulties at the War Office, or anywhere else.

Enclosing a copy of letter to the Secretary at War on the subject of an army corps for foreign service, to be employed permanently in Upper Canada.

(Historical Manuscripts Commission, Dropmore Papers, Vol. II, p. 188.)

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

WOLFORD LODGE, Sept. 6, 1791.

Sir,

Apprehending that His Majesty is not inclined to give to me the Appointment of Brigadier General in America, (which I was promised,) in consequence of the Senior Rank which his Royal Highness Prince Edward¹ has ever held as Colonel, I beg your permission to state at large the Military Ideas I have always entertained upon that Subject, & my full conviction of the necessary justice & propriety of his Majesty's determination.

There is no man in his Majesty's Service can have felt in his own Person more severe uneasiness than I long have done, from my singular & unaccountable loss of Rank of Colonel. Tarleton who always had been my Junior in the British, as fortunately for me, He & the whole of the last Brevet of Colonels still, are, in the American Rank.

The hope, that some lucky coincidence of Circumstances might have happened that would have suffered his Majesty to have done away, in another Rank agreeable to the Intimation of the late Lord Sackville, The unmerited degradation I laboured under, had for years been the ruling Idea of my mind, & gave the Color to all my Military, & checked all my civil Pursuits. It was therefore long after my destination to the Appointment of Upper Canada when I understood that Prince Edward was ordered to Quebec, I *foresaw at once* the Impropriety of the Rank which I was to hold being given to me, unless his Royal Highness should be promoted at the same period, but such, I understood, was not his wish, & from the general Belief, It was not in his Majesty's Intention.

Under the Idea that I was *certainly* to be Brigadier General, I suggested, whether it might be more proper, that I should have the Rank of *Major General*, meaning it to be *local*, & strictly confined to the Province of Upper Canada? & I did this upon the following Reasons, I understand that by an order of His Majesty in Council, (made if I recollect rightly upon the Occasion of some dispute between the late Governor Johnson & the Officer who commanded in his Government), It was directed that Governors should command all Officers in their Governments, who were not *General Officers*.

I did and do still conceive, That it is very probable that his Majesty may deem it highly expedient, useful & proper That his Royal Highness Prince Edward with his *Regiment* should come into The Province of Upper Canada—I mean, Sir, to that central situation, where I have stated, (& I trust to its own intrinsic Propriety for the adoption of the measure,) a Capital should be formed, & a British Regiment be stationed, as Lt. Governor, I apprehend I must command his Royal Highness tho' a senior Colonel, had I the Commission of Major General, merely local (not in Canada but in the Province of which I am Governor) it appeared

¹Afterwards Duke of Kent and father of Queen Victoria. He was then the commanding officer of the Seventh Regiment, stationed at Quebec.

to me to be less likely to appear improper, than did I hold the Title of Brigadier, scarcely a British one, which is generally, I believe always, conferred on a Senior Colonel.

There were also other difficulties to obviate, I apprehend Sr. John Johnson has the Rank of Brigadier General, a frontier Province must always provide against War, & the Militia are the sole internal defence of that Colony, which whenever a War shall happen, will be instantly cut off from all possibility of receiving Orders or Instructions from the Officer Commanding in Chief at Quebec. The Brigadier General of Militia must therefore necessarily be called out to Action.

Such, Sir, were my Ideas: I have always explained that I have a dislike to nominal Rank. My *Local Provincial Rank in America* was senior to that of Major General Clarke, being early in 1776 a Lieutenant Colonel, tho' of course ranking as youngest I by no means wish to command or to wound the feelings of a Senior Officer, much less to interfere with the just Pretensions of the Son of my Sovereign. It is therefore that I beg you will have the goodness with all humble Reverence & duty to present me to his Majesty, as not hesitating a moment in declining all Thoughts of further Rank, but, Sir, there are some points which with all deference I submit to your Consideration.

I must beg That Sir John Johnson may be clearly made to understand, (if in consequence of the Order of his Majesty in Council, it shall be necessary to deprive him of his former Rank & Emoluments,) the Propriety of the measure that in my outset the Administration of his Majesty's Government may as little as possible be impeded by any personal offence He might naturally be supposed to take against me, did He conceive such an Alteration to have arisen on my suggestion.

I do also intreat, That in my Letter of Service for the *proposed* Upper Canadian Corps, it may not appear that those Troops are exclusively raised & confined to serve in *Upper Canada*, for did it so, at a future day, his Majesty's Service might not only materially suffer; but at present, I should be deprived of general Rank, & in case of War might not be able to serve out of the precincts of Upper Canada, which is not to be defended by remaining within them.

I take it for granted, That under whatever title may be thought proper to constitute the Office, either of D. Adjutant General, Brigade Major, or Aid de Camp, that I shall be permitted to employ Capt. Littlehales¹ (from half pay) in such a Capacity, whom I had selected when I understood I was to have the Rank of Brigadier General.

I have obtained of Capt. Stevenson, whom I have recommended to the Office of D. Q. Master General to relinquish the Idea of not joining his Regt. till the Spring, & to accompany me to Quebec, not thinking it fitting, in respect to the Commission with which I am honored, that if I should be blown off the St. Lawrence, into an American Port, that I should arrive there unattended, & in case of personal Accident that those whom I value more than Life might not be without a Protector.

I have the honor to be with the Utmost Respect,

Your most Obt. & Obliged St.

Honble. Henry Dundas.

J. G. SIMCOE.

Endorsed:—Wolford Lodge, 6th Sept., 1791. Col. Simcoe, R. 8.

¹Littlehales, Edward Baker, a captain on half pay; created a baronet, 1802; assumed the surname of Baker; Under Secretary for Military Affairs in Ireland, 1801-20. His "Journal of an Exploring Excursion from Niagara to Detroit," was first printed in the Canadian Literary Magazine of May, 1834, and reprinted by Rev. Dr. Scadding in 1889.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO M. LEWIS.

WOLFORD LODGE, Sept. 7, 1791.

Sir:

I was duly favoured with your Letter of the 1 Sept, and take the earliest Opportunity that the Hurry of business which I have of late been under, and a very severe Indisposition has permitted, to submit to you "that Plan for raising the Corps in such manner as may best answer the purposes for which it is intended."

I have in a memoir stated my Opinion to Mr. Dundas, that the Troops proposed to be raised should be principally composed of draughts from the Army. I am convinced that they should be altogether so, or it will scarcely be practicable for me to execute the purposes for which the Corps is intended, and any further procrastination of the Settlement of this Colony beyond the ensuing Summer, I conceive to be highly detrimental to the Interest of His Majesty's Service.

I have formerly transmitted a list of the Officers, whom I have to recommend, to Sir George Yonge: as an alteration has since taken place in the Establishment, I shall submit to him, as soon as possible, a list that I have to offer in Consequence.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

To Mr. Lewis, Under Secretary War Office.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SPEEDY AND EFFECTUAL MEANS OF
RAISING A CORPS FOR THE SERVICE OF UPPER CANADA.

There seems to be a great difficulty in keeping up the Establishment of the British Regiments with every aid that systematic arrangement and almost established position can give to the various Corps. This must be more particularly the case in the raising of a new Corps destined for especial Service, unless the principle be adopted of Officers obtaining Rank for their several Commissions; but this, in the instance of the Upper Canadian Corps, can never be admitted, as it would be a substitution of inexperienced Men, for those, whom the Nature of the Service requires to have the utmost Experience, and whose habits have been formed to consider Military Labour as by no means unnecessary or inglorious.

The only means, therefore, to give this proposed Corps any Equality in recruiting, is, 1st, to allow a few draughts, as the stamen of the Corps from the several Regiments in Great Britain; 2dly, to reduce the stature and age of the recruit; 3rdly, To give conditional advantages, superior to other Regiments. In regard to the draughts, it appears to be absolutely necessary that some should be allowed to recruit under the direction of the Officers, and to form those non-commissioned Officers, who must discipline the Recruits as fast as they arrive at Chatham, their destined place of Assembly.

The Objection would be on the part of the Corps that the Regiments would send men of infamous Character, but this can scarcely be the case, if in his Circular Letter the Secretary at War was to notify that His Majesty's pleasure would be directly to the contrary, and that if any of them deserted, they were to be immediately replaced. The Objection on the part of the Regiments would be, the supposed unwillingness to part not with their best men, for that could not be expected, but with good men: to this it must be answered that His Majesty's Ministers, having thought it expedient for his Service to raise such a Corps, they will not suffer it to be delayed from Service even should a larger proportion of Draughts

be called for than should be necessary in the first instance, which may materially prevent this necessity by enabling the Officers of the Corps to recruit with Vigour and Success. 2dly, on the reduction of the Age and Stature, there can be no doubt, but vigour of body and mind go together,—and as this Corps may possibly be immediately called into Service, in this light it would be advisable that it should be composed of active, hardy and full aged soldiers. On the other hand, the younger the men are the more easily will they be habituated to those particular Labours for which they are destined, and many of which, on the water for example, may not require that extreme strength which may be demanded for other purposes, but as the speedy filling up of the Corps is of the utmost importance, I should wish to be permitted to recruit at the lowest Standard in point of size, and at the youngest Period that recruits have ever been taken.

3rdly, Advantage might be held out, such as the permission to take their Wives and Children, and I do conceive and submit to the Wisdom of His Majesty's Ministers, that these latter, being considered in the light of Settlers, might as such, for two or three years, have an allowance of Provisions. The soldier might also be permitted his discharge in 5 years, provided, that he find such a Substitute as should be approved of by his Commanding Officer, and as a means to procure such a Substitute, he might be assured that it would be permitted to him to work in equal periods for the Government and for himself; and if he shall be discharged and his sober and orderly behaviour shall have merited it, he shall be entitled to 100 acres of land.

What injury would accrue to the general Service by this Indulgence?

J. G. SIMCOE.

FROM HENRY DUNDAS TO LORD GRENVILLE.

LONDON, September 9, 1791.

I think it right to send you the enclosed letter from Colonel Simcoe, understanding that Sir George Yonge is to be at Weymouth in two days, so that you will have an opportunity of conversing with him on the subject of Colonel Simcoe. What depends on me is done respecting that government. In case, however, you shall take occasion to show the letter to the King, which is probably what Colonel Simcoe wishes, it is right to apprise you that when his Majesty mentioned to me his negative to the rank of Brigadier-General, he did not put it on the circumstance of Prince Edward, but as a general military question; and although I may guess that to have been one of His Majesty's reasons, I doubt much if Simcoe has authority enough to state that, unless he was told so by Sir William Fawcitt. As to the promise which he mentions, you know how that stands, as it was before my intercourse with him began.

(Historical Manuscripts Commission, Dropmore Papers, Vol. II, p. 188.)

FROM THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO J. G. SIMCOE.

Goodwood, 15th Sept., 1791.

Sir:

I was yesterday honoured with your letter, for which I feel much obliged to you. I am happy to hear that you have undertaken the Lieut. Government of Upper Canada, and have no doubt but your going there now will be productive

of many advantages, although it were to be wished that you would have seen Lord Dorchester here previous to your departure, as undoubtedly many points could have been better managed between you in conversation than by letter.

I shall be happy to give you every assistance that depends on my Department, but as you well know, every Article the Ordnance supplies you with must be charged in an Estimate to Parliament under its proper head of Ordnance Supplies, for the new Government of Upper Canada. It will be for the Treasury and the King's Ministers in general, and not for me in particular, to decide to what extent such charge should go. I would therefore beg of you to consider of, and to make out for me, such a List of Articles to be furnished by the Ordnance, as you would wish to have. When I receive this List, I will have it estimated, that is, the Expence of each particular set opposite to it, and return it to you with such observations as may occur to me thereupon. You will then consider it yourself and consult with Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas as to making the proposition to Parliament, and to what extent.

In respect to the Military Artificers, I can have no doubt but that a Company of 100 Men would be extremely useful to you. The Expence of their Establishment is £1,924.1.8 per annum, exclusive of 9d per day per man, every day he works, and of provisions, which I suppose they would have given to them in Canada, and which is supplied by the Treasury, the Expence of which I do not know. Our Artificer Companies have no men that are conversant in Boat Building, and I should suppose that they could only be got as Civil Artificers. If a Company is sent you, the whole of these Artificers must of course be charged to Upper Canada, as well as about £500 for enlisting another Company, as we have full Employment for the six Companies we have at home, and I should be sorry if there was a less number at hand to supply sudden demands on the breaking out of a War.

In regard to Guns, I agree with you that the long three pounders on the new construction with their carriages and waggons, would, for the reasons you mention, be very serviceable, as well as the Howitzers, but at present we have none actually ready and are only making trials of the Expence and Utility of these Improvements. I imagine, therefore, that it would be some time before you could be supplied with them. You could immediately have any numbers of Six pounders or Wall pieces that may be thought proper.

As to the Posts to be maintained in Upper Canada, as you very justly observe, Lord Dorchester will, on his arrival, be able to give the best Information concerning them. It is impossible for me to say anything on that Subject till I have seen His Lordship. When it is settled what they are to be, they will of course be supplied with Guns of such Calibre as you may wish, subject to the Observation I have before made of the Expence. But I entirely agree with you in thinking that heavy Guns, as far as they are manageable, are by much the best for defence, and nothing can be more just than your Observation of the great Expence it would put the Enemy to, to bring into such a Country such a number of heavy Guns as would be necessary to silence those of large Calibre in our Forts.

A few large shells by way of Fougasses may certainly be useful.

I do not know enough of the Construction or Use of the East India Rockets to say how far they may be advantageous.

I am much obliged to you for your Observations respecting Government's having a large Depot of Gunpowder in Upper Canada, and supplying the Indians with it at a lower price than they now pay, which for the Reasons you give, seems a very good Idea. There is no doubt Government can make Powder better and cheaper than the Merchants, but at present our Royal Manufacture is not, I apprehend, sufficiently extensive to undertake such a Supply. We can make

but about 12,000 barrels per annum, and have many year's employ to fill our Magazines, with the best Powder in lieu of that which the Merchants have hitherto supplied us with, and a War soon calls for more than we can make, but we are by degrees extending our Manufacture, and I would be glad if you could inform me what quantity of Powder, you imagine, would be annually wanted for the Indian Market.

I have the honour to be, &c.

RICHMOND.¹

Colonel Simcoe.

FROM HENRY DUNDAS TO LORD DORCHESTER.

(No. 1)

WHITEHALL, 16th Sept., 1791.

The Right Honble Lord Dorchester.

My Lord:

Your Lordship's Dispatches numbered from 79 to 100, inclusive, have been received, and with their several inclosures have been laid before the King.

His Majesty, on the perusal of some of those Dispatches, felt great Concern that the disagreements between the American States and the Indians had been carried to such a length as to terminate in hostility and from some of the communications which have been lately made to your Lordship from the upper Country, there is but too much reason to apprehend that if the Americans continue to assert their claims to the Indian Lands, the contest will not be likely soon to terminate.

I have the satisfaction of informing Your Lordship that the Instructions which you have given to the Officers under your orders respecting the line of conduct to be observed by them, appear to be of a nature perfectly consonant with His Majesty's Sentiments, and His Majesty earnestly trusts that whatever may have happened between the contending Parties, His Officers have constantly observed the strictest system of neutrality, and have in no degree involved this country in these unfortunate disputes. A steady adherence to that line of conduct is rendered the more necessary by the suspicions entertained and the Language held by persons in the service of the United States, to counteract the effects of which is one of the objects mentioned in the Instructions to Mr. Hammond, a copy of which accompanies this.

His Majesty conceives it to be indispensably necessary to the interests and happiness of the American States, and equally so to the Indians, that some plan should be formed for adjusting the several matters which have drawn them into this controversy; But exclusively of any considerations which might result from this opinion, it is but too evident that unless some means are taken to put an end

¹Lennox, Charles, third Duke of Richmond and Lennox, 1735-1806; served in the army, 1753-9, principally in Germany; Ambassador to France, 1765; Secretary of State for the Southern Department, 1766-7; 2 June, 1767, moved a series of resolutions favouring the establishment of a civil government in Canada, which were defeated in the House of Lords; 18 May, 1770, moved eighteen resolutions for the redress of grievances in the Provinces of North America, which were likewise defeated; Master General of the Ordnance, 30 March, 1782-3 April, 1783 and again 27 December, 1785-February, 1795. He was ever most active and vigilant in the discovery and exposure of abuses, real or imaginary, constantly harrassing every department in turn with inquiries, and attacking the administration of the Army, the Admiralty, and the Treasury. His plan of reform proposed in 1780 became the "six points" of the Charter in 1838. While Master General of the Ordnance, in the judgment of Dr. J. H. Rose, he "distinguished himself by his incapacity and his ridiculous orders."—William Pitt and the Great War, p. 137.

to the further Progress of the War, this country must sooner or later be placed in a very unpleasant & embarrassing situation; on this ground, as well as a desire on the part of His Majesty to show every consistent mark of attention and regard to the Indian Nations, who have given such decided proofs of their attachment to the British Interests, it is His Majesty's pleasure that every measure which your prudence can suggest should be taken by you for healing the differences that at present exist, and for effecting if possible, a speedy termination of the War.

If from the conduct which Mr. Hammond is, on his arrival in America, directed to hold in this respect, any overtures should be made by the American States, for the advantage of your interposition to effect that desirable end, your influence cannot be better exerted than by prevailing on the Indians to listen to any reasonable propositions to that effect. In any arrangements, however, which may be proposed by you, the chief object to be attended to will be that of securing to them the peaceable and quiet possession of the Lands which they had hitherto occupied as their hunting Grounds, and such others as may enable them to procure a comfortable subsistence for themselves and their families. If this point can be accomplished it will be extremely desirable that the extent of such Lands should be clearly and distinctly ascertained, and if it should fortunately be effected in consequence of His Majesty's interposition, it will be extremely expedient that measures should be taken by you for assisting the Indians in adjusting the several Limits, and in forming such regulations as may appear to be necessary for placing their affairs on a permanent foundation. Your Lordship's experience and knowledge of the British Interests in America supersede the necessity of my enlarging upon these topics, but I cannot help adverting to the consideration of our trade with the northern and northwestern parts of the Continent of America. If the Indians are either extirpated from their Countries, or rendered insecure in the possession of them, our trade in that quarter, and which Your Lordship and the Merchants of Montreal state to be so valuable, must be much injured, and the enjoyment of it rendered altogether precarious.

The subject of the Posts in dispute between this Country and America are unfortunately connected with what I have just adverted to. The measures taken by Your Lordship for securing the possession of those Posts, as well as the several Lands contiguous to the Line which separates those Countries over which His Majesty still retains the Sovereignty, are fully approved. The discussion of these points Your Lordship will find by Mr. Hammond's Instructions, has been given in charge to that Gentleman and it is hoped that the reasons assigned for omitting on our part to fulfill the Terms of the Treaty, will carry with them sufficient weight to induce the American Government to refrain from any step which may reduce Your Lordship to the necessity of adopting measures of force for putting a stop to their proceedings. Mr. Hammond as soon as he shall be able to discover the intentions of the States on these Points will communicate the same to your Lordship; and in case of your absence to Major General Clarke or Colonel Simcoe, and it will on every account be desirable that any proceedings which may take place on the Frontier, or any information you may be possessed of, which may throw light on the several points which have been left for his discussion with the American Government should from time to time be communicated to him.

I am perfectly aware of the force of your Lordship's reasoning on the necessity of having a person of judgement and discretion in the neighborhood of those Posts which are situated so distant from Quebec, to regulate such measures as may be necessary to be taken on any events which may arise, and I have the strongest reason to believe from the character of Coll. Simcoe, that he will fully answer that description. His present Ideas are to fix his place of residence in a situation

which seems likely to afford him a convenient access to Detroit, the Spot where that discretion appears now most necessary to be exercised.

The difficulties which occur with respect to the Superintendant General of Indian Affairs, as stated in Your Lordship's Letter No. 83, will immediately be removed, by recalling his present and granting him a new Commission, as from the nature of that appointment that department must necessarily be subject to the command and control of such officers as His Majesty may from time to time think fit to entrust with the Government of either of those Provinces wherein the Residence of such Superintendant may be necessary, but particularly that of Upper Canada.

The Supply of Merchandize which has been recommended by Your Lordship, has been ordered to be provided, and forwarded to Quebec as early as possible in the Spring and measures have been taken for making a strict enquiry into the overcharges represented to have been made on Articles which were forwarded to Your Lordship in the course of the last Fall.....

Endorsed:—Drat. to Lord Dorchester, Sepembr, 1791. [No. 1.]

FROM HENRY DUNDAS TO LORD DORCHESTER.

(No. 3)

WHITEHALL, 16th Septemr., 1791.

The Right Honble Lord Dorchester.

My Lord,

I herewith transmit for your Lordship's information copies of two letters I have lately wrote to the Secretary at War respecting a Corps to be raised for the services of Upper Canada.

The immediate nature and Purposes of the Corps will appear from the perusal of those Letters, but I think it right more particularly to explain to Your Lordship some leading Principles which I have weighed forcibly with His Majesty's Ministers in advising the adoption of this Measure.

It is in every point of view highly essential to adopt any plan which has for its object the gradual encrease of the Internal strength of the remote dependancies of the Empire, because however just it is that in their Infant state they should be maintained and protected by the Mother Country, it is undoubtedly the Duty of Government at home to adopt every Plan which can promote the wealth & Population of its Colonies and attend to their Progress in those respects, with the view of gradually relieving this Country from the Expences of its Colonial Establishments, It occurs that the corps now to be raised will not only be of essential benefit to the Colony for which its service is intended in respect of its immediate purposes, but it will lay a solid Foundation for the gradual encrease of military strength for the defence of the Province in the shape of a Militia of yeomanry. During the time they form part of the Independent Corps, they will be taught the Regular Exercise and Military Discipline, and will at all times after they have earned their discharge be ready on a call for Military service, if the Exigencies, of the Province shall require their service, and this encrease of Military strength is attended with no expence to the Public, it being an essential Requisite of their Discharge that they shall obtain a young Recruit in their Room, and the allocation of Lands the

discharged Soldier obtains, has been cleared by his own Labor as one of the Corps with which he was incorporated.

It is scarcely necessary to observe that within a very short period the effects of this system will be felt not only as productive of internal security to the Province but as enabling this country to relieve itself in a great degree from the expence of those Military Establishments now appropriated for the advantage of their Families that such Provision should be commuted for a permanent settlement in Land and it is probable that many of them would prefer that mode of provision to the precarious one they now have depending on the chance of their own Lives, without any future Provisions for their Families. To those of this description it is certainly wise and humane on the part of Government to take their wishes under consideration, and to enable them according to their respective situations to carry that Plan into Execution. Part of the Lands brought into cultivation by the corps now to be raised may be appropriated to this purpose, and if to that portion of cultivated Land there should be added a Tract of Land still to be cleared, it seems of all others the best mode of making a comfortable and permanent Establishment for them and their families and would answer the other object of relieving the subjects of this country of the Burthen which their munificence has imposed on themselves for their support.

The same observation to a certain extent applies with equal Force to those Loyalists for whom no compensation or support has been yet provided. Altho' they have no positive claim on the justice of this Country, still it must afford matter of just regret, if Persons of that description, and whose cases plead strongly to the humanity of the country, are left in a situation altogether destitute merely because either from the negligence of themselves or Agents they have omitted, or from unavoidable accidents have been prevented from bringing forward their Pretensions at an earlier Period, and it is certainly an additional Inducement in support of those considerations to reflect that in exercising these Acts of humanity and munificence this country is at the same time contributing to the rapid prosperity of these valuable Colonies.

As the occasion of this Dispatch was to communicate to your Lordship His Majesty's Intention of raising the corps in question for the service of Upper Canada, my other observations have naturally been confined to that Province; but it is by no means my intention to confine my own consideration of the subject or your Lordship's observations to the Province of Upper Canada only.

It appears to me, that whenever, either in Lower Canada, or in any other of His Majesty's colonies in North America, there are large Tracts of uncultivated Land, the same principles and the same observations apply, and that the same beneficial consequences both immediately, and with a view to futurity, would result from the establishment of such a corps as that now adopted for the service of Upper Canada.

There are, no doubt local circumstances which might render some differences in the Detail of the measure necessary, but the general principles which have suggested the measure appear applicable to all our colonies where Public works are to be performed, and where large tracts of Land remain to be cleared.

It has not been thought expedient to carry the system further into Execution at present, than by the Levy of this corps for the service of Upper Canada but it is His Majesty's Pleasure that your Lordship shall take under your immediate consideration, the Particulars I have stated, and report to me such observations as occur to you upon the whole subject, pointing out any Errors which may appear to you either in the Plan itself, or in the Detail of its Execution, and particularly

adverting to the suggestion of how far the system can with propriety be extended to other Parts of His Majesty's Dominions in North America.

Endorsed:—Drat. to Lord Dorchester, Septemr., 1791. (No. 3).

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

WEYMOUTH, Sept. 20th, 1791.

My Lord Duke:

I am this moment honoured with Your Grace's Letter of the 15th. I am very sorry that my hourly Expectation of sailing prevents me from endeavouring to form that List of Ordnance Stores which appears to be necessary for Upper Canada; my Object was limited to a small and well chosen Field Train, to be stationed with a central Force in the Capital. The extent of this Train, I beg to submit to Your Grace's Consideration as in all respects more competent to judge of that than I can properly be. I do not understand that it is likely any Train whatsoever can be spared from the other Provinces under Lord Dorchester's Government, and it must be obvious to Your Grace that in case of War, my Lieut. Government must instantaneously be cut off from all Assistance and become self-dependent. A certain reasonable Augmentation of Force is not only in itself indispensable but must be naturally expected by all descriptions of People as the present Consequence of establishing a new Government. As Your Grace will have the Opportunity of conversing with Lord Dorchester, I trust that he will point out such Ordnance Arrangements as he shall think necessary, and that at any rate, such part of them as I have submitted to Your Grace, and which you may think proper to furnish, whatever may be the Extent or Limitation, may be sent out in the Spring Ships, which will carry the Corps destined for Service in that Country, till whose Arrival it will not be safe for me to quit the Shores of the Lakes, or possible to effect any purpose of public Utility.

I fear that it is not probable that His Majesty's Ministers will consent to raise a new Company of Artificers for Upper Canada, tho' as solely applied to that Object I think they would be of inestimable Value. Some Master Artificers would certainly save to the Public a great deal of future Expende. I am happy to find that Your Grace confirms me in the Idea of the great Importance of heavy Guns in Upper Canada, added to the use Shells may be of as temporary Fougasses. I conceive they might be secretly inserted in the piers of any Bridge that might be constructed over any important Pass or outwork, where they might remain until it should be necessary to use them.

In the defence of the Ditch of any Blockhouse, I imagine, for it is but conjecture, the Indian Rockets would act as a tremendous species of hand Grenade.

Since I had the honour of writing to Your Grace I have seen Mr. Davison, the Contractor for the Indian presents: among them Gunpowder is enumerated, and he perfectly agreed with me in my Ideas that the annual quantity should be furnished from the Ordnance, and means, as I apprehend, to apply accordingly. It appears to me to be absolutely necessary that all the presents furnished by Government to the Indians should be of prime quality. I shall write immediately to Mr. Davison to transmit to Your Grace the return of the annual consumption

of Gunpowder in Indian presents, as I fear I should not have time to receive myself and transmit an Answer to Your Grace's Enquiry.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

His Grace The Duke of Richmond,
Ordnance Dept.

FROM SIR GEORGE YONGE TO J. G. SIMCOE.

WAR OFFICE, 21st Sept., 1791.

Sir:

I have the honour to acquaint you the King has been pleased to direct that a Corps of Infantry shall be forthwith raised for His Majesty's Service, with the particular view of being stationed in the Province of Upper Canada; in order to assist in the erection of public Buildings, the construction of Bridges, and the formation of Roads of Communication, and in any other Civil and Military duties either within or out of that Province, which His Majesty's Service may require. The Corps is to consist of two Companies, and each Company of one Captain, one Captain Lieutenant, Two lieutenants, two ensigns, six sergeants, six corporals, one drummer, and one hundred and ninety-four private men. It is to be under your command, as Colonel without pay and without a Company, so long as you shall continue Lieut. Governor of Upper Canada; and it is to have an Adjutant, Surgeon, and Surgeon's Mate; as also a Sergeant Major and Quarter Master Sergeant, exclusive of those above specified. The pay of the Officers is to commence from the dates of their Commissions, and the pay of the non-commissioned Officers and private men from the dates of their respective attestations.

It is to be clearly understood that none of the Officers, who shall obtain appointments in your Corps, are to expect to dispose of their present Commissions; Nor are they to be considered as purchasers in the new Corps, as they receive their Commissions therein without stipulation in regard to raising men.

The Establishment of the Corps is to commence on the 20th December, 1791 next, and in case of reduction, the Officers will be entitled to half pay.

You will be allowed levy money at three guineas and a half for each recruit, approved at the head quarters of the Corps, by a General or Field Officer, appointed for that purpose, of which sum, the man is to have one guinea and a half only.

The recruits are to be enlisted generally, without limitation, either as to time or place of Service; and no man is to be under five feet 4 inches and a half in height; nor under sixteen, or above thirty years of age.

Enclosed I send you a list of the Officers whom His Majesty has been pleased to appoint in compliance with your recommendation: and I am to add that it being required that the Corps shall be ready to proceed to the place of its destination in the course of the ensuing Spring, every exertion on the part of the Officers whom you leave in this Country on the recruiting Service, will be necessary that there may be as little occasion as possible to take draughts for its completion from Established Regiments.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GEORGE YONGE.

Colonel Simcoe on half pay, Queen's Rangers.

P.S. The Commissions of the Officers will bear date from the 1st instant.

LIST OF OFFICERS FOR A CORPS OF FOOT IN UPPER CANADA¹

Colonel Commandant—John Greaves Simcoe, from the half pay of the late Queen's Rangers.

Captains—David Shank, from the half pay—ditto.²

“ Samuel Smith,— ditto.³

Capt. Æneas Shaw,— ditto.

Lieutenants

Geo. Spencer from 73rd Foot.

Lieutenants.

2nd Lieut. Arthur Holdsworth Brooking from the Marines.

Lieutenants.

Ensign Robert Eyre from the 32nd Regt. of Foot.

Adjut. John McGill from the 16th Foot.⁵

James Givings.⁶

Leonard Browne.

John Whitmarsh Pearse.

Adjutant John McGill from 16th Regiment of Foot.

Surgeon David Burnes.

Surgeon's Mate—John Flood.

A true copy.

J. G. SIMCOE.

¹The Queen's Rangers were disbanded by a General Order, dated 10 June, 1802, in pursuance of the reduction of the army, following the Peace of Amiens. Most of the officers and men remained in Upper Canada.

²Shank, David, a native of Scotland; lieutenant in the Loyalist corps of Queen's Rangers, March, 1777; captain, October, 1778; placed on half pay, 1783; captain, Queen's Rangers, 20 Dec., 1791; bt. major, 1 March, 1794; lt. colonel, January, 1798; placed on half pay, 1802; lt. colonel commanding Canadian Fencible Light Infantry, Sept. 3, 1803-1811; major general, 1811; lieutenant general, 1821; died at Glasgow, Scotland, 16 October, 1831.

³Smith, Samuel, 1756-1826, born at Long Island in the Province of New York; ensign in Queen's Rangers, 1777; captain, 1780; half pay, 1783; captain, Queen's Rangers, 20 Dec., 1791; lt. colonel, 1801; member of the Executive Council of Upper Canada, 11 Oct., 1815; administrator of the Province of Upper Canada, 11 June, 1817-13 August, 1818 and again, 8 March to 30 June, 1820; died at York, 20 October, 1826.

⁴Shaw, Æneas, a native of Scotland; served in the Queen's Rangers in the American war and afterwards in the 30th Regt.; captain in the Queen's Rangers, 20 Dec., 1791; member of the Legislative Council for Upper Canada, 1793; member of the Executive Council of Upper Canada, 1795-1807; brigade major, 1803; colonel, (local) 10 March, 1808; adjutant general of militia for Upper Canada, 1808-11; major general, 4 June, 1811; died 1815.

⁵McGill, John, a native of Scotland, emigrated to Virginia in 1773; served in the Queen's Rangers, 1777-83; assistant to Commissary General at Quebec, 1788-9; Commissary of Stores and Provisions for Upper Canada, 1793-6; honorary member of the Executive Council for Upper Canada, 1796; member of the Legislative Council, 1797; member of the Executive Council, 1808; Inspector General of Public Accounts, 1801; Receiver General for Upper Canada, 1813; died, 1834.

⁶Givins, James, recommended by Lord Amherst for his knowledge of Indian languages; served in Queen's Rangers as ensign and lieutenant, 1791-1802; captain, 5th Regt., 19 Nov., 1803; agent of Indian Affairs at York; provincial aide de camp to Major General Brock, 14 August, 1812; mentioned in despatches for his services at Detroit.

FROM SIR GEORGE YONGE TO J. G. SIMCOE.

WAR OFFICE, 21st Sept., 1791.

Sir:

I have the honour to acquaint you that in the absence of Lord Dorchester, Major General Clarke, by virtue of his Letter of Service, will have the chief command of the Troops that may from time to time be stationed in either of the Governments into which the Province of Quebec has been divided.

It being probable that other Corps beside that of which you are Colonel Commandant, may from time to time be stationed in Upper Canada, His Majesty has judged it necessary for the prevention of any ill consequences which might arise from the want of clearly understanding the line drawn between your station as Lieut. Governor and the Officers commanding Regiments in your district of Government, that you should be furnished with the annexed extract of His Majesty's instructions on that Subject: the regulation therein set forth will distinctly point out to you that all troops stationed within your district of Government should be *issued* by the Officer commanding them; to whom agreeably to His Majesty's instructions, you are empowered from time to time, to give orders for the marching of the Troops under his Command, the disposition of them, the making or marching of Detachments and Escorts, and such purely public and Military Services, but that you are not to interfere in any respect with the detail of Regimental Duty or Discipline.

These Regulations, you will observe, exist only in their fullest extent, while Major General Clarke may have command, by virtue of his Letter of Service; but in case of his removal, the Command in Chief over the King's Troops within your district of Government, so long as their immediate Commanding Officers shall be of inferior Rank to that of a Brigadier General, must be vested in you, and of course all General Orders must issue under your Direction and be punctually obeyed: but at the same time it is not intended that you should interfere with the Regimental Discipline or Economy of the Troops.

To prevent at the same time any Misunderstanding in respect to your own Military Rank, I think it right to mention that you cannot avail yourself of it, until the Corps of which you are Commandant or some part of it, shall be actually on Service with you, but when that happens, you will be entitled to take Rank and exercise Command as Colonel from the 18th Nov., 1790, being the date of your general Rank in the Army and in America; in case of your serving with Officers of equal British Rank with yourself, but with the Rank of Lieutenant Colonel of a later date than the 23rd June, 1779 (the date of your American Rank of Lieut. Colonel), you will take Rank and Command over all such Officers in America only.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GEORGE YONGE.

To Colonel Simcoe,
Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada.
Quebec.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

WEYMOUTH, Sept. 21, 1791.

My Lord Duke:

The Canadian Commissioners not having arrived, I found an Opportunity of conversing with Mr. Pitt and of shewing him Your Grace's Answer of the 15th Sept. to my Letter. Mr. Pitt seemed inclined to raise another Company of

Artificers to replace one of the existing Companies, if Your Grace should have no Objection to detach it to Upper Canada: this Method, of course, would answer all my hopes of a speedy and effectual Establishment. Mr. Pitt did not enter further into the matter, as he told me that he should have an Opportunity of conversing with you upon the Subject previous to any possibility of their being forwarded to that Country. I will trespass no longer upon Your Grace's time than to assure you that you may depend upon my utmost Exertions to deserve Your Grace's Consideration.

I am, &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

His Grace The Duke of Richmond.

FROM THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO J. G. SIMCOE.

GOODWOOD, 26 SEPT., 1791.

Sir:

I was honoured with your two letters from Weymouth, and will not fail to consult with Lord Dorchester on the Subject of them. I am glad to find that Mr. Pitt seems inclined that the Province of Upper Canada should be furnished with a Company of the Royal Military Artificers, and that one should be raised here to supply that which we can send in the Spring. When I see Mr. Pitt, I hope he will have made up his mind to our inserting this Article in our next Estimate.

I have the honor to be, &c.

RICHMOND,

Master General Ordnance.

To Colonel Simcoe.

EXTRACT FROM INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN TO CIVIL GOVERNORS ABROAD.

In cases where no specific Orders have been given by the Commander in Chief or by the General Commanding in the District, the Civil Governor in Council, and where no Council shall subsist, the Civil Governor may for the benefit of his Government, give Orders for the Marching of Troops, the Disposition of them for making and marching Detachments, Escorts, and such purely Military Services, within his Government, to the Commanding Officer of Troops, who is to give the proper Orders for carrying the same into execution provided they are not contradictory, or incompatible, with any Orders he may have received from the Commander in Chief or the Brigadier General of the District; & the Commanding Officer is from time to time, to report with all convenient Expedition to the Commander in Chief, or to the Brigadier General, such orders as he may have received from the Civil Governor.

That the Civil Governor shall give the word in all places which shall be within his Province, except when the Commander in Chief or Brigadier General shall be in the same place.

That the Return of the State and Condition of the Troops, Magazines and Fortifications shall be made to the Civil Governor as well as the Commander in Chief and Brigadier General.

That the Civil Governor is not to interfere with the Detail of the Military Regimental Duty and Discipline, the Reports concerning which are to be made to the Commanding Officer, who is to make his General Report to the Civil Governor.

When the Commander in Chief or Brigadier General shall be present, all Military Orders are to be issued by them only.

GEO. YONGE.

War Office, 7th Octr, 1791.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY AT WAR,

Dated Oct. 5, 1791.

"With regard to your Uniform, I find at last that there is no official Objection to the Queen's Rangers having their old colour, so it shall be ordered accordingly.

As to the two vacant Lieutenancies, one is already filled up by Lieut. Dunlop, late of the Queen's Rangers, whom at your request I brought upon full pay, and who now wishes to serve again under you, the other shall be filled up well. Everything else shall be done that I think likely to meet your wishes, as far as lies in my power."

GEO. YONGE.

FROM SIR GEORGE YONGE TO J. G. SIMCOE.

WAR OFFICE, 7 Oct., 1791.

Sir:

I have the honour to acquaint you that His Majesty has been pleased to consent that the uniform of the Corps now to be raised under your Command, shall be green, and of the same pattern as was worn by the late Corps of Queen's Rangers, which you commanded during the late War.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GEO. YONGE.

To Colonel Simcoe, Quebec.

FROM P. COLQUHOUN TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GLASGOW, September 24, 1791.

I availed myself of what personal influence I possessed with some leading characters in America, and particularly with the Honorable Robert Morris (the most intimate friend of the President, and in the confidence of the present Executive Government of the United States) in order to prevent the mischiefs which were likely to result from any step on the part of the Congress arising from erroneous and unfriendly information sent from this country. And in consequence of the wishes which your Lordship expressed to be informed of every piece of correct

intelligence I might receive from leading characters in America, I have now the honor to enclose you the extracts of two letters which I have received from Mr. Morris.

Extract Number 2.

ENCLOSURE.

ROBERT MORRIS TO P. COLQUHOUN.

PHILADELPHIA, July 28, 1791.

"I communicated to the President of the United States and to the Ministers that paragraph of your letter relative to the President's message, and the determination of your Court to send a Minister, with which they are well pleased; and, for my own part as a friend to both countries, I wish it were done. A Minister will be sent to Britain in consequence."

(Historical Manuscripts Commission, Dropmore Papers, Vol. II, p. 197.)

FROM GEORGE HAMMOND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

Private.

PHILADELPHIA, November 1, 1791.

In addition to the account of my conversation with Mr. Jefferson contained in my dispatch No. 2, I think it necessary to observe to your Lordship that, as that gentleman dwelt so much upon the delay (of even two months) that must necessarily take place if the President should fix upon any gentleman who might be at a very considerable distance, I informed him that, in that case, which is not a very probable one, I should consider an assurance from the President of his having offered the appointment to a gentleman at a distance, and of his waiting only for the account of his acceptance to make it public, as a sufficient justification for me to present my credentials. I flatter myself that your Lordship will not regard this as a material deviation from my instructions, not only as I conceived such a latitude might be fairly given to the term nomination, but as I concluded that the existence of such a cause of delay could not be in your Lordship's contemplation at the time of giving me those instructions, and as I was unwilling to impress the public with an opinion either that I entertained any distrust of this Government, or that I was too scrupulously tenacious in my adherence to forms.

Since my arrival in this country I have received every mark of politeness and respect from the persons of consideration in this Government. As far as I have hitherto been able to learn, a majority of the leading characters in the country is not only well inclined, but solicitous, to promote a good understanding between Great Britain and America, in preference to a connection with any other European power.

Your Lordship will readily imagine that the French Revolution has attracted a considerable degree of attention in this country; but it does not appear to have excited so much admiration and applause as might have been expected. Paine's pamphlet, though it has not added to the popularity of that writer, has produced a very open diversity of sentiment between Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams. The

latter gentleman in conversations (and I understand also in writing) is very warm in his animadversions upon that event, & in his defence of the English Constitution.

(Historical Manuscripts Commission, Dropmore Papers, Vol. II, p. 228.)

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

QUEBEC, Novr. 12th, 1791.

Sir,

Captn Murray¹ meaning to sail this evening for Halifax I do myself the honor of informing you that the Triton arrived early on the morning of the eleventh in the Harbour of Quebec.

I propose writing by a Merchant Vessel which is to sail on the fifteenth but am unwilling to risk the Notification of my safe arrival on the possibility of the Vessel's losing her passage. I have the honor to inform you that I delivered the letter which his Majesty was pleased to entrust to me for his Royal Highness Prince Edward & I have the pleasure to add that I found the Prince in perfect Health.

I have the honor to be with the most perfect Respect,
Your most Obedt & most faithful &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

To the Right Honble. Henry Dundas, &c., &c.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 12th Novr, 1791. Lt. Govr. Clarke, (sic) R. 30 Dec. Read by the King.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO SIR GEORGE YONGE.

Private.

QUEBEC, Novr. 12, 1791.

Dear Sir,

I flatter myself it will give you pleasure to learn that after a blustering passage, we anchored safely at Quebec on the 11 November. I have scarcely had time to look about me as yet, having been occupied in getting our baggage on shore as Captain Murray of the Triton is in haste to proceed towards Halifax lest he should be frozen in.

I understand that the Americans have made an Expedition to take Post at the Miamis that flows into the Erie and the Sandusky.² They have acted most wisely in the carrying on of these Military Operations against the Savages. It has been by a Succession of Expedition after Expedition, the one following the

¹ Murray, Captain George, R.N., born in 1759; entered the Royal Navy as a midshipman in 1772; captain and appointed to command the Triton, 1792; Naval commander in chief in the operations against Buenos Ayres, 1807; Vice Admiral, 25 Oct., 1809; K.C.B., 2 Jany., 1815.

² General St. Clair had commenced his advance from Fort Washington at Cincinnati late in September. His instructions directed him to establish "a strong and permanent military post at the Miami village . . . for the purpose of awing and curbing the Indians, and as the only preventive of future hostilities." On the 4th of November, after reaching a branch of the Wabash, his force was defeated and almost annihilated.

Return of the preceding one, and the present Force is said to consist of 4,000 Troops. I am convinced that my System is just, to prevent War by the Appearance of Force, and by its Concentration. I do therefore most earnestly hope that the Companies, a British Regiment and a good Field Train, will be established in my intended Capital. It is understood that a Thousand men will be left in the American Post at the Miamis.

I have written most strongly to Mr. Dundas to desire that I may have a Letter of Service as Colonel in America. I hope it will be expressed generally, though the Prince's being here has prevented me for the present from obtaining the Rank of Brigadier General: there is no Reason that I know why I should be unable of acting till such time as my Corps arrives from England. I would not waste an hour, much less Months. I hope that you have been good enough to have forwarded the Letter explanatory of my Rank, &c. &c. which you sent to me at Weymouth, if not, may I beg that it may be sent by the first Opportunity.

If, by the Appearance of Force and the diffusion of the pay of our Troops, Peace shall be preserved in Upper Canada for five years, I am confirmed by those with whom I have conversed in this Country that it will sustain itself. My wife joins me in best wishes to Lady Yonge, and I am,

Dear Sir George,
Your ever obliged,
J. G. SIMCOE.

To Sir Geo. Yonge.

FROM LIEUT. GOVERNOR CLARKE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

QUEBEC, 12th November, 1791.

No. 10.

Sir,

I have the honor to acquaint you that His Majesty's Ship Triton, with Colonel Simcoe on board, arrived here yesterday, by whom I received a new Commission appointing me Lieutenant Governor of Lower Canada, with the undermentioned dispatches addressed to Lord Dorchester vizt. No. 1, 2, 3 & 4 letters of the 16th September last, accompanied by the Act relative to the Government of this Country passed in the last Session of Parliament and a Warrant authorizing the Governor of the Province of Quebec to fix and declare the Commencement thereof—also a Commission under the Great Seal revoking Lord Dorchester's former Commission as Governor of the Province of Quebec and vesting him with the chief Government of Upper and Lower Canada, likewise four separate sets of instructions under the Royal Sign Manual, together with other inclosures in said letters referred to—further a letter of the 15th September inclosing an order of His Majesty in Council for the dividing the province of Quebec into two distinct Governments and two Circular letters of the 8th & 21st September with their accompanying papers.

I have the honor to be with great respect, Sir,
Your most obedient and most faithful humble Servant,

ALURED CLARKE.

The Honble Henry Dundas.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 12 Novem., 1791. Lt. Govr. Clarke. No. 10. R. 3d Jan., 1792.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

Sir:

QUEBEC, Novr. the 13th, 1791.

I do myself the honor of informing you that I arrived in the bason of Quebec early on the morning of the eleventh. The Triton met with some very heavy Gales in her passage, particularly when in the River St. Lawrence but which she weathered without the slightest damage evidently owing to the professional knowledge & foresight of Captn Murray. She sailed this morning for Halifax.

I delivered Ld Dorchester's Commission & the Dispatches, Sr. John Johnson's Commission & his own to Major General Clarke—I beg leave to inform you that I delivered the Letter which his Majesty was pleased to entrust me with to his Royal Highness Prince Edward & I have the pleasure to add that I found his Royal Highness in perfect Health.

I have the honor to be with the utmost Respect, Sir,
your most obt & most humble St.

J. G. SIMCOE.

to the Rt. Honble Henry Dundas.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 13th Nov., 1791. Lt. Govr. Simcoe, R. 3d January, 1792.

FROM P. COLQUHOUN TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GEORGE STREET, ADELPHI, November 15, 1791.

As your Lordship was pleased to suggest that it would not be disagreeable to you to be informed of any authentic intelligence I might receive from America, through the channel of persons & rank and weight in that country, I presume to lay before you the enclosed letters.

Two enclosures.

1. ROBERT MORRIS TO P. COLQUHOUN.

1791, August 27, Philadelphia.—“I have learnt through the channel of a friend some particulars relative to the report of the Privy Council for trade in your nation relative to this country, and it seems a sentiment founded thereon that your Government want better information from this country than they possess. Let a Minister therefore be sent out as soon as possible. He should be a man of sense, family, and *weight of character*, or your nation will not do herself justice by an inferior representative.”

2. JOHN BROWN CUTTING TO P. COLQUHOUN.

1791, October 12, New York.—“Yesterday I arrived here. I despatch this merely to tell you so. I have already seen and conversed with many persons here. Much as I had anticipated concerning the credit and even the opulence of the United States, and the consequent improvements in agriculture, arts, and commerce, I had no adequate conception of either till I came on the spot.

“The Secretary of Finance had the whole 12 millions of Bank stock subscribed within half an hour. Offers of four millions of dollars extra subscriptions were

refused. Bank stock is selling current five hundred dollars a share. The six per cents to be delivered next January, sell here for 1£. 1 s. 10*d*, the pound, the other species of stock higher in proportion. The people feel themselves free and happy. I regret to add that most of those with whom I converse express an utter indifference, and even a repugnancy to a commercial treaty with Great Britain. I hope to find a different disposition elsewhere. But I much fear Mr. Hammond will come out too late. It would have been very advantageous to the two countries, in my opinion, if he had arrived long since. I hope I may find reasons at Philadelphia to distrust this opinion."

(Historical Manuscripts Commission, Dropmore Papers, Vol. II, p. 228.)

FROM GEORGE HAMMOND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

Private.

PHILADELPHIA, November 16, 1791.

Although I am fearful of trespassing on your Lordship's goodness, I am too solicitous of being justified in your opinion from the imputation of having either misunderstood or exceeded your instructions, not to take the liberty of troubling you once more on the subject of presenting my credentials.

In addition to the motives which I have had the honor of stating to your Lordship in my despatch of this day as having influenced my conduct upon this occasion, there were others resulting from a consideration of the actual political state of this country, which weighed not less forcibly upon my mind, in inducing me to assign some latitude (if in fact I have assigned any) to the interpretation of your Lordship's instructions.

The Congress has been assembled here ever since my arrival, and the circumstances that delayed my appearance in my public character could not have been secret to any individual in it. As my communications have necessarily been with Mr. Jefferson, to whose political principles your Lordship is not a stranger, I had no reason to expect from that gentleman a favourable, perhaps not a faithful or candid exposition of the motives by which I had been actuated. His adherents in the two Houses might not, to answer their purposes, have hesitated to throw out insinuations in regard to my scruples, which the friends of a British interest might have found it difficult to repel, or to which they themselves might in some measure have become converts. This is not merely a speculative opinion of mine, as I know that one or two Senators, sincerely desirous of cultivating a good understanding with Great Britain, have expressed apprehensions nearly to this effect, should I have manifested a more than necessary attention to punctilio and form.

There is another consideration of, perhaps, not less moment. Mr. Jefferson, in conformity to the order of last session, is expected shortly to make his report upon the relative commercial situation in which this country stands to the respective nations of Europe. It is said that he has uniformly encouraged the belief that England would never send a Minister to this country, nor evince a desire to enter into a fair commercial arrangement with it. If such is or was intended to have been the foundation of his reasoning on the subject of Great Britain, there is perhaps nothing that can be more embarrassing to him in the prosecution of such a mode of reasoning, or furnish a more satisfactory answer to it, if urged, than my actual appearance in a public character, prepared by your Lordship's instructions to enter into the immediate discussion of arrangements, commercial as well as political, upon fair and honourable principles of mutual benefit.

I could, my Lord, add other observations of a similar tendency if I were not unwilling to swell this letter to a greater length. I will therefore conclude it by expressing my hope that they are unnecessary, and that I shall have your Lordship's sanction to my opinion that the President's offer of an appointment under the circumstances of delay and distance which I have mentioned, is a nomination, or if not so literally, is as nearly equivalent to it as can be conceived.

(Historical Manuscripts Commission, Dropmore Papers, Vol. II, p. 229.)

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

No. 2.

QUEBEC, November 17, 1791.

Sir:

On the eve of my departure for Canada I received a Letter from Sir George Yonge, Secretary at War, describing the Rank I was to hold in America, & informing me that such a Rank could not take place until some part of the Corps of which I am officially as Lt. Governor of Upper Canada to be the Commandant, should arrive in that Country. My anxiety not to procrastinate the sailing of the Ship in which I was to proceed did not permit me to wait for such explanations upon this Letter of the Secretary's at War as I conceive the Good of his Majesty's Service necessarily required.

I therefore take this early opportunity of requesting that I may not wait for the uncertain Contingency of the Arrival of my new Corps before I can assume any military Authority or be capable of receiving its delegation, but that you will be pleased to move His Majesty that a Letter of Service may be expedited to me by the first Conveyance enabling me to exercise my due Rank as Colonel in America.

I need not recapitulate to you, Sir, the Circumstances which have so properly precluded me at the present from the Rank of Brigadier General; nor need I mention to you that I have always understood and it has been clearly pointed out to me by many circumstances that although at present I have not the name, I have all the power, station, & responsibility of that Office & I have the perfect recollection that you did me the honor of acquainting me That Lord Dorchester had requested That an Officer who might be responsible should be sent to Upper Canada & I do trust that in me his Lordship will meet with a man who is anxious to deserve his good Opinion & Confidence & zealous to give every proof of Military Subordination—I cannot but regret that I had not the Opportunity of a personal Interview with His Lordship that I might enter into his Ideas of what portion of Military Authority He should think proper to delegate to my direction, & in what points the Exigency of Affairs in his opinion to exercise & carry into Action The dictates of my own Judgement.

But Sir as the absence of Lord Dorchester, the Commander in Chief, prevents me from receiving his Orders in person, I think it not improper most respectfully to request of you as you have it in your power to obtain the Opinion of Lord Dorchester that the extent of my military Authority may be defined & properly notified to Major General Clarke now commanding his Majesty's forces in North America.

I am induced to make this Application as altho' the division of the Provinces & the request of Lord Dorchester may naturally occasion an alteration in the military arrangements in Canada, yet There may be an impropriety should Major

General Clarke during the temporary devolution of the Command of the forces upon him make any alterations which might not accord with the opinions of the Commander in Chief.

I think it necessary to state, Sir, my Ideas of the Command with which I presume I am to be entrusted as Senior Colonel in Upper Canada & its dependencies. I consider myself in all Respects to have the similar direction of his Majesty's forces as is now exercised by the Brigadier General Commanding in New Brunswick & Nova Scotia & this I conceive to be the intention of Lord Dorchester.

If, Sir, I am rightly founded in this Idea, I must be solely responsible for the Execution of such Orders as I shall from time to time receive from the Commander in Chief, or such Officer as in his absence shall be vested with similar authority, & to enable me to undertake this *Responsibility*, it appears to be a necessary Consequence that *all* the subordinate *Departments* within the Province of Upper Canada, or the Posts which depend upon it, should be under my direction & superintendence.

In particular the *Water force* of every description on the Upper Lakes, so necessary to victual & to preserve the Communications between the different Posts in the time of Peace, & so essential to the general defence of the Province in Case of War, must be subjected to my Authority.

Having felt it proper to state to you, Sir, my Ideas on this head I beg leave to add that altho' I am ready to undertake any responsible Situation whatever that may be entrusted to me by his Majesty's Ministers or my Commanding *Officer*, (Responsibility in my estimation being in the very essence of that which is the pursuit of my Life, Honor & Glory in the Service of my Country), yet my principles of subordination will lead me *cheerfully* & readily to acquiesce in any restriction or Limitation which my superior Officers may think proper to place upon my Authority, provided as proportionably & *apparently* my Responsibility shall be diminished.

I cannot but observe to you, Sir, that the communications between this Province & Upper Canada are carried on upon that wise Principle, (at least such it appears to me), of blending civil & military Advantages & which I have made the leading feature in all the plans which I have, from time to time, done myself the honor of submitting to you & his Majesty's Ministers for the Speedy Settlement & permanent Security of Upper Canada & as in the Creation of future settlements & the Establishment of a Capital, I should think it advisable to take up the same regulations & to extend them wherever there should be absolute necessity, I hope that His Majesty's Ministers will acquiesce in the Military Office of a Deputy Qr. Master General being established in Upper Canada & in my nomination of Captain Stevenson for that Confidential Employment. I cannot but fully persuade myself that under the existing Circumstances of Upper Canada, Lord Dorchester will think the employment necessary in the variety of military & civil Views which I have done myself the honor of detailing to you & to the Secretary at War, & the propriety of additional Rank being annexed to the Office to mark its respectability. I most earnestly hope that the Corps to be raised for Upper Canada, the Military Artificers, & the Field train will be forwarded the first moment in the ensuing spring & I am particularly anxious that a British Regt in addition to those in Canada should be stationed in the Capital of Upper Canada. I am sure, Sir, you will have the goodness to pardon the Repetition of this Request in which perhaps beyond any other man in existence, I am deeply interested.

I have been long convinced that the appearance of Force in Upper Canada is the best means of preventing a hazardous War, & this not merely as likely to

take place from the Ambition or Avarice of the United States but from the Indians, when they shall be depressed and intimidated by the superiority of their American Neighbours, nor, Sir, are my Ideas invalidated by the Circumstance of an Army being now sent against the Indians by the United States of a force which seems too formidable not to succeed in its Object, the erection of a Fort on the Miami River & strongly garrisoning it.

A very few years of Peace & Protection will build up the Government of Upper Canada, I most ardently hope, on most solid Military & agricultural foundations to protect itself from all danger of foreign Hostility.

I purpose sedulously to collect what information I possibly can, that may appear to be useful for His Majesty's Ministers to be informed of & whenever I shall receive the Letter of Service which I have requested I shall take the earliest opportunity of making myself personally acquainted with such of the Military Situations as may in any degree be of consequence to the Government of Upper Canada, previous to the arrival of the Civil Officers that I may waste no time in the Execution of the Important Office which his Majesty has been graciously pleased to confer upon me.

I have the honor to be with the utmost respect, Sir,

Your most Obt & most Obligated St,

J. G. SIMCOE.

To the Rt. Honble. Henry Dundas,
Secretary of State, &c., &c., Whitehall, London.

Endorsed:—Quebec, Novembr., 1791. Lt. Govr. Simcoe. (No. 2.) R. 11 Feby, 1792.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

No. 1.

QUEBEC, Novembr. 19th, 1791.

Sir,

In a conversation which I have had with Mr. Chief Justice Smith, He appears decidedly of opinion that from the moment Lieut. Governor Clarke shall issue his proclamation in December next agreeable to the Act of Parliament, by which the new form of Government is constituted in Upper & Lower Canada, there will be deficiency of that part of the Executive Government which is vested in the Governor or Lieut. Governor of Upper Canada; & He gave as instances that the Mercy of the Crown could not be extended in remitting fines or forfeitures, nor its justice exemplified in executing the Sentence of Death, and this defect he supposes not to admit of remedy for the present, as there is not in America a Major part of the Executive Council of Upper Canada to administer the Oaths necessary for me to qualify myself to take upon me the Government agreeable to my Commission, & he conceives it utterly impossible that Lieut. Governor Clarke, having received his commission as Lt. Governor of Lower Canada, can in any shape administer the Government of Upper Canada. Submitting to such high legal Authority as that of the Chief Justice I have only desired that his Opinion may not be publicly divulged and at the same time I have stated to the Chief Justice that I conceive all the inferior degrees of Magistracy do remain in full force, Authority, & effect as being derived from those Laws, Statutes, or Ordinances which in the 33d Clause of the Canada Bill are declared to operate as if the Province of Quebec had not been divided. The Chief Justice intimated his surprise that there was not inserted a clause in Lord Dorchester's instructions, which had obtained Generally in those of the Governors of the Ancient Colonies of Great Britain, to authorize the Governor to nominate executive Counsellors in case of the want of a sufficient

number, from whatever reason it might arise, to carry on the necessary Business of Government; and Executive Counsellors, he said, might exist, pro hac vice & under whatever limitations his Majesty in His wisdom should think fit. I cannot but think such a clause, Sir, to be well worth your Consideration as The Executive Council of Upper Canada is so very limited in point of numbers. The present executive Council consists of four members, viz. Chief Justice Osgoode, Mr. Robertson, Mr. Grant, and Mr. Russell, & by a Letter I received from Mr. Nepean, I understand that a Gentleman from Detroit is to be added to the number for whom a Blank is left in Lord Dorchester's Instructions for some other Person but for whom I have not the slightest Intimation.

I do not apprehend that Lord Dorchester or myself in His absence, has any Authority to fill up these Blanks.

I wish that Mr. Jacques Baby of Detroit may be appointed to the first vacancy both in the Executive & Legislative Councils, as I understand he is the most proper Person in that District, from whence it is but Justice that a French Gentleman of undisputable Loyalty should be selected, and the other vacancy I think it would be proper to empower me to dispose of as I shall think fit, to the Speaker or some member in all probability of the House of Assembly—There is not at present any one of this Executive Council in Canada except Mr. Grant.

The Season will probably be very late before such a number of the Executive Council can be convened beyond the Point au Boudet¹ as to invest me in the Office of Lieut. Governor.

I submit to your Consideration whether an instruction framed to enable me to call together a certain description of Persons for that *especial purpose* would or would not be an advisable measure.

The necessity of ordering all the Civil Officers of the Government to repair to *Montreal* as soon as possible will, I dare say, attract your notice.

I have the honor to be with the utmost respect, Sir,
Your most Obedt and most Humble Servt.

J. G. SIMCOE.

To The Right Honble. Henry Dundas, &c., &c., &c.
One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State,
Whitehall, London.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 19th Novemr, 1791. Lieut. Govr. Simcoe. No. 1. R. 11 Feby, 1792.

(One Inclosure.)

QUEBEC, 22d, Novr. 1791.

Mr. Smith's best Respects to His Excellency Governor Simcoe. The Idea suggested to him is that after the day for the Commencement of the new Statutes is fixed by the present Governor of the Province of Quebec he can neither as such, or as Governor of Lower Canada, exercise any authority in Upper Canada, and that in the Interval of that day and the Governor of Upper Canada's taking the Oaths, there will be, the 33d Clause of the new Statute notwithstanding, a Defect by a suspension of the Operation of so much of the present Laws of that Country as depends upon such Acts, as none but its Governor can perform.

Endorsed:—In Lieut. Govr Simcoe's (No. 1) of 19th Novr., 1791.

¹Point au Beaudet, immediately west of the outlet of the Beaudet River into the St. Lawrence. It is the starting place of the boundary line between Upper and Lower Canada. In official records at the present day, River Beaudette is the spelling in use. See p. 89, *infra*.; also order-in-Council dated 24 August, 1791, dividing the Province of Quebec into two provinces, Doughty and McArthur, Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, Canadian Archives, 1914, p. 4, (especially the notes.)

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

QUEBEC, NOV. 20th, 1791.

Sir:

I had done myself the honor to write to you by the Recovery, a Merchant Vessel, which has put back into the port to refit, having received some slight damage, to notify you my safe Arrival in this Port after a tempestuous Passage on the eleventh of this month.

I take the opportunity of a Merchant Vessel, the Union, which is to sail as this day to enclose to you two letters on different Subjects which I beg to submit to your Consideration.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most Obt. & most faithful St.

J. G. SIMCOE.

Novr. 23d.

The Merchant Vessels being closed in by the Ice, I forward this Letter by an Express that goes to New York but postpone the Letters I have mentioned to a more eligible opportunity.

To the Right Honble Henry Dundas &c., &c., one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

Whitehall, London.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 20th Novr, 1791. Lt. Govr., Simcoe. R. 3 Jan., 1792.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO GEORGE HAMMOND.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 29, 1791.

Sir:

In recalling your attention to the Seventh Article of the Definitive Treaty of Peace between the United States of America and his Britannic Majesty, wherein it was stipulated that His Britannic Majesty should, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any negroes or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons and fleets from the said United States, and from every post, place, and harbour within the same. I need not observe to you that this article still remains in a state of inexecution, nor recapitulate what, on other occasions, has past on this subject. Of all this I presume you are fully apprised. We consider the friendly movement lately made by the court of London, in sending a Minister to reside with us, as a favorable omen, of its disposition to cultivate harmony and good will between the two nations; and we are perfectly persuaded that these views will be cordially seconded by yourself in the ministry which you are appointed to exercise between us. Permit me then, Sir, to ask whether you are instructed to give us explanations of the intentions of your court as to the execution of the article above quoted?

With respect to the Commerce of the two Countries, we have supposed that we saw in several instances, regulations on the part of your government, which if reciprocally adopted, would naturally injure the interests of both nations.

On this subject, too, I must beg the favor of you to say whether you are authorized to conclude, or to negotiate arrangements with us, which may fix the Commerce between the two Countries on principles of reciprocal advantage?

(The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, edited by P. L. Ford, Vol. V, pp. 401-2.)

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALEXANDER GRANT.

QUEBEC, Decr. 1, 1791.

Sir:

His Majesty having been pleased to appoint me to the Office of Lieut. Governor of Upper Canada, I was happy to find that you were named in the List of those whom Lord Dorchester had recommended as a proper Person to be of the Executive Council of that Government, both from the personal Character which I have heard of you, and in respect to the very important Office, which you have filled for many years. I immediately made it my particular Request that you might be of the very few, to which a due attention of œconomy has restricted the Executive Council, and also that you might have a seat in this Council. These my particular requests have been complied with, and I trust, in the Administration of the very arduous task for which, unsolicited on my part, I have been selected, but which I have embraced with the most ardent zeal and satisfaction, I shall receive from you such assistance and advice as your tried experience must enable you to give, and which may tend to establish the Prosperity of the Colony of Upper Canada upon the most lasting Foundation.

My present purpose is to be at Cataraqui as early as conveniently possible, of which I shall give you information, and where I shall be glad to confer with you and proceed to execute those Functions which the Upper Canada Bill shall render necessary, to fix upon the most convenient Spot for the first meeting of the Legislative Body. I shall also wish to hear of your Opinions on a variety of other topics.

A Corps of four hundred men are now raising to be stationed under the direction of the Lieut. Governor of Upper Canada, to be employed in the construction of roads, Bridges and other public Works—agreeable to a Plan which has met with the approbation of His Majesty's Ministers. To these I have a reasonable expectation that a Company of Artillery Artificers will be added. You will perceive, Sir, that His Majesty's Ministers have not been merely attentive to the giving to Upper Canada the most excellent Constitution that ever was bestowed upon a Colony, but that, as far as a just attention to public œconomy will permit, they have provided means to assist its growth beyond what has hitherto been allowed to other Settlements.

I have to request of you that if you shall have the competent Information on the following, you will be so good as to afford me by the most convenient opportunity the depth of water in Toronto Harbour, the depth at the mouth of the Tobicoak River and how far navigable for Batteaux—the depth of water in the harbour northward to Long Point and at the bay of Grand River—how far navigable for boats, the same at the River Barbue on Lake Erie.

The depth of water and how far navigable for Batteaux on the River La Tranche on Lake St. Clair—what harbours have we on the north east side of Lake Huron.

I am, &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

Lt. Governor.

Commodore Grant.
Sent by Doyle.

PROPOSAL TO RAISE A COMPANY OF LOYAL PIONEERS IN THE STATE OF VERMONT.

Decr. 3rd, 1791.

Sir:

Permit me the honour of laying before your Excellency a plan for raising a Company of Pioneers at *my own expence* in the State of Vermont to consist of carpenters, the best narrow-Axe men and Farmers, who have been accustomed to clearing and cultivating new lands, since they were able to labour,—on the following conditions.

1. That their wives and children be allowed the same proportion of rations as was given the last war, or that their husbands may labour two days in the week for their support.

2. That the Company be allowed carriage for their families and effects from the frontiers of this Province to their station in Upper Canada.

3. That they be discharged in 3 or 4 years, and be allowed the same proportion of lands as at the present peace, and one year's provisions for themselves and families.

4. That the Officers be allowed half pay.

I am induced to lay the foregoing plan before Your Excellency from a personal knowledge I have had of the people of that State since the late War and of their fashion of emigrating into His Majesty's dominions.

Great numbers of them are loyal and have suffered as such during the late War. They are an enterprising People, fond of speculation, and noted for their perseverance in bringing forward new Settlements.

Many of their connections are already settled in Upper Canada and hundreds of families would follow their example who are possessed of considerable property, could they raise the money barely sufficient to pay the carriage of their effects through Lower Canada: though people of property it is not in their power to raise cash in that Country.

In the Winter of 1784, on my way through that Province, upwards of 40 heads of families in one town appointed me their Agent to endeavour to get lands granted them near the line 45 in Lower Canada, and obligated themselves to move in early in the Spring with their families and effects. From my own knowledge their principles of Loyalty could not be doubted.

Among the number were two of their Magistrates, then in the Commission of the Peace, one of whom has actually moved in since.

'Tis true, great numbers have emigrated since that time to their own frontier, but it is presumed the check they have lately received from the Savages will turn the tide of emigration to this Country; add to this, the present flattering prospects of being governed by laws similar to what they have been accustomed to under the British Government, and of having lands granted in free and common soccage, will induce great numbers of good Subjects to settle under Your Excellency's Administration, provided they could have some trifling Assistance from Government in transporting their families and effects through the Province.

I made the above minutes with a view of waiting on Your Excellency in person, but am diffident of my own abilities, and doubtful whether my plan, or anything similar to it, will meet Your Excellency's approbation, or be consistent with the present plan of Government, and having no pretensions to the honour of a correspondence with Your Excellency, I should not have assumed this liberty had I not been well informed of your Excellency's disinterested motives in accepting

that Government, that it is only with a view of rendering some important Services to Government, and to the Loyalists in particular.

I have only to say of myself, that tho' grown grey in His Majesty's Service, I have only acquired the Character of a plain, sober, attentive Officer, and if services and suffering for a period of years in the cause of my Sovereign has any merit, I have a just claim.

The reasons that may be assigned for there being so great a proportion of loyal subjects in the State of Vermont, is, that during the late war, it was the asylum for them, into which they fled as a place of safety out of the reach of Congressional authority, and with a flattering prospect that that part of the Country would at the Peace be comprehended within His Majesty's dominions, as that State was not during the War, nor till about a year past, subject to Congressional power.

There are likewise a number of good subjects in that State who actually served His Majesty during the late War, and for certain reasons, took up a temporary residence there—which reasons do not exist at present. If what I have said should be the means of introducing one good subject into His Majesty's dominions, who will produce one bushel of wheat extraordinary, I shall be amply rewarded for my labour.

An old Officer and Loyalist.

To H. E. Lieut. Governor Simcoe,
Upper Canada.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

Secret and Confidential.

MONTREAL, Dec. the 7th, 1791.

Sir:

The Inclemency of the Season having frustrated the various Attempts made by the last Ships that were to have sailed from Quebec to get out of the River, I have had no proper opportunity of transmitting to you such communications as seems to me to be of Importance.

I trust the Notification of my safe arrival at Quebec on the Eleventh of November will have been transmitted to you by the Letter which I did myself the honor of writing to you by the Triton Man of War which sailed for Halifax on the Twelfth of November & in all probability had an expeditious Passage. Captn. Stevenson of the 5th Regt. going to New York, I have thought proper to entrust him with my dispatches which the Post Master General has advised me it might not be prudent to transmit by the Mail.

I enclose therefore those dispatches which I had formerly written, that marked No. 1 lays before you an Error of Government in the Opinion of Chief Justice Smith in the not having the number of Executive Counsellors present to invest me in the Office of Lt. Governor.

I desired the Chief Justice not to divulge this Opinion, but to my surprize a Lawyer of Quebec, Mr. Ogden,¹ told me of it, & that he had written to consult the Lawyers of Montreal on the subject. I then desired of the Chief Justice his specific Opinion which is enclosed in No. 1 & which adverts to that Clause on which I have thought proper to controvert his Opinion, both at Quebec and Montreal.

I trust this Omission will produce no effect in suspending the Courts of Law

¹Probably Mr. I. Ogden, afterwards a Justice of the Court of King's Bench for Lower Canada.

or inferior Magistrates, which would be of greater Consequence perhaps than any future appeals, which may be founded on their incompetency to exercise the juridical Transactions.

It has been suggested to me by one of Mr. Ogden's Correspondents that a Cause of great Importance is to be tried at Kingston by Judge Powel,¹ & that in order to render his proceedings legal I ought to issue a Proclamation authorizing the Courts of Judicature to act under the Canada Bill. The Person, who has given the advice, of course is ignorant that my Proclamation would be illegal as I am not authorized to assume any such power without the Oaths being taken before the Executive Council.

If Judge Powell should refuse to Act I fear that the whole inferior Magistracy would follow his Example; in this Crisis I have to determine, (unless the inclement Season should afford a plausible pretext for Procrastination), whether it will be less injurious to the Public to permit the Opinion that Civil Government *has no existence* in Upper Canada to be carried to such an extent & direction as Accident or design may incline it, or whether the Public Service shall not receive less detriment should I issue the necessary Proclamation leaving it to the general Conjecture that I am empowered to create an Executive Council *pro hac vice* as Judge Smith has suggested & affirmed to have been the general usage in Colonial Government.

The Secretary, Mr. Coffin,² Genl. Clarke, & Judge Smith are alone privy to this Power being omitted in my Instructions, nor need there be any others acquainted with it but those whom I shall find it necessary to select for the purpose & on whose discretion I must in some measure depend. There is another course to pursue that may perhaps be better. It is to fill up the Blanks left for Canadians with two other Persons who might understand that it is *pro hac vice* & to summon Mr. Grant³ to the Point au Boudet,⁴ (if it be necessary as I apprehend that I issue the Proclamation in the Province), his arrival would make a quorum, but this the season will render impracticable. The Proclamation may then be issued & if It shall appear to his Majesty's Ministers to be necessary a future Instruction or Act of Parliament, founded on the absolute necessity of the case, may legalize it. Should Mr. Judge Powel make any application to me on the Subject I shall consult with the Chief Justice Smith & General Clarke before I carry into Execution what may appear to be most proper in so disagreeable a Situation.

The dispatch No. 2 is to request Orders & explanations on my Military Rank, conceiving myself to be subject to the Authority of Lord Dorchester, & when He is not present to M. General Clarke, (solely from his Letter of Service) in similar manner as the Officers who command in Nova Scotia or New Brunswick.

¹Powell, William Dummer, born at Boston, Mass. in 1755; educated in England and Holland; called to the Bar at the Middle Temple, 1779; came the same year to Montreal, where he practiced his profession for more than ten years; a Commissioner of the Peace for the Province of Quebec, 1789; removed to Detroit and was appointed Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the District of Hesse in conjunction with Alexander McKee; Commissioner of Oyer and Terminer for Upper Canada, 1792; puisne Judge of the Court of King's Bench, 1794; Chief Justice, 1815; retired, 1825; died at Toronto, 1834.

²Coffin, Thomas Aston, born in Massachusetts; private secretary to Sir Guy Carleton, 1782-3; Civil Secretary and Controller of Accounts for the Province of Quebec and afterwards of Lower Canada; died in 1819.

³Grant, Alexander, 1725-1813, senior naval officer on Lake Erie, then residing at Detroit; fourth son of the seventh laird of Glenmoriston in the County of Inverness; acting master and commander on Lakes Erie and Huron, 1759-1812; member of the Legislative and Executive Councils of Upper Canada, 1791-1813; Administrator of the Government, 11 Sept., 1805—25 August, 1806.

⁴On the St. Lawrence, at the eastern limit of Upper Canada, adjacent to the present Township of Lancaster in the County of Glengarry. Often written Baudet or Bodet.

The Provinces having been hitherto united what alterations may be necessary to take place, the Major General does not think himself authorized to make *without instructions*, being anxious not to diminish in any point the authority Lord Dorchester might chuse to preserve in his own hands, added to Military experience which will not permit me to wish for any Command where Commissioned & various subordinate Officers are not absolutely to obey my Orders, if the naval force on the Lakes Ontario, Erie, & Huron are not to be at my disposal, I shall be much embarrassed in carrying into Execution a variety of civil purposes.

I enclose for your perusal a Letter of Sir John Johnson in consequence of one which I had addressed to him & which it recapitulates. I had heard that He conceived himself ill used in not being appointed Governor of Upper Canada & that his dissatisfaction had been *perceptible* where it ought not to have been observed.

I therefore thought proper to address him & on the receipt of his Letter returned no other Answer than to express my surprize at its contents & to say that I should be at Montreal where I went purposely. The consequence has produced every appearance of good Humour on his side after the mistakes were explained. I had omitted Mr. Duncan¹ for whom he seems most interested in the List of Legislative Councillors, & he has given me the List which I transmit in his own hand that he originally sent to Lord Dorchester & which is very different from the one I copied at the Treasury as Sir John Johnson's. I explained to him the regard which Government had so justly shewn to him, (& that no small confidence had been placed in him on my part), not to object to his nomination of so considerable a majority of the Legislative Council & that the Expences of The Executive Council rendered a larger number inadmissable.

Sir J. Johnson's interest, if he chuses to exert it, will be very great in the Election of the members of the Assembly, & it appears to me of the utmost consequence to the future well being of the Colony that no ill humour should appear at its outset.

I trust in future that Government will have the means of bringing some of its Officers into the Assembly. It can scarcely be expected at present, Tho' never were more necessary to give that lead a form which I doubt not would be universally adopted by those whose situations have not hitherto accustomed them to such pursuits & employments, & Altho' There should not exist as I hope any just or worthy reasons for opposition to his Majesty's Government yet certainly all the Passions that influence them in other Countries may be expected to be proportionately active in Upper Canada. Sir John Johnson, I apprehend thro' the medium of Lord Dorchester, has solicited a favor of Government. I should hope that the very circumstances may be so modelled as to make it his interest not to embarrass Government, which to do him Justice, as far as I have seen of him, by no means seems his Inclination.

I am happy to have found in the Surveyor's Office an actual Survey of the River *La Tranche*.² It answers my most sanguine Expectations & I have but little doubt but that its communication with the *Ontario & Erie* will be found to be very practicable. The whole forming a rout which in *all* Respects may annihilate the political consequence of Niagara & Lake Erie.

Toronto, the best harbour on Lake Ontario, & the Long Point, the only good road on Lake Erie, are places admirably adapted for Settlements & together

¹Duncan, Richard, born in Scotland, came to America, in 1755; captain in the Royal Regiment of New York, 1778-84; member of the Legislative Council, 1792.

²The *Thames*. The survey plan is reproduced herewith.

This branch affords a number of mill seats, being a very rapid stream with high banks.

This is the most convenient place for a Village. In my place seen in the quarter having no help there to do for water up the River is found the small stream.

Wood land anywhere convenient to the river this far up.

The space between the dotted lines and the River represent all the

A Scale of Gunter's Chains



The parts coloured yellow are inserted from sketches

Timber black Walnut, Bass, & ash

Timber, chiefly ash, Oak, Maple, some black Walnut

The Meadows here much wider than on the other side of the river.

The Meadows on this side are from four to six miles wide.

Extensive natural

Extensive natural Meadows

with the Country between the *Grand River* & the *La Tranche* form a body of most excellent Land of which no grants have been hitherto made, and consequently such portions may be retained in the hands of Government as may be of permanent Advantage & profit.

It has given me singular pleasure to learn from Mr. Collins, The Deputy Surveyor, that he has been at & tasted of a salt spring which falls into the Trent above the Lake of Quinty, that according to the account of the Inhabitants yields a Gallon of salt to every Three Gallons of Water. This spring is not situated at a greater distance than Twenty miles from Lake Ontario & has been reserved for the Crown.

The Means which Government has put into my hands will, I trust, make this salt spring a most valuable acquisition by lowering the price to the Community & affording a Revenue for the Public Service. I am credibly informed that salt smuggled thro' Niagara from the salt licks in the United States sells for five pounds York Currency at the Post of Detroit.

I hope to explore this Salt *Spring* personally early in the season. My Ideas at present are to assemble the New Corps, Artificers, &c., at Cataroqui¹ & to take its present Garrison & visit Toronto & the Heads of *La Tranche*, to pass down that River to Detroit, to return & assemble the Legislature in the Autumn at Niagara, to winter at Cataroqui & early in the ensuing spring to occupy such a central position as shall be previously chosen for the Capital. If possible I could wish to begin a settlement at *Toronto*.

I have the honor to be with the utmost Respect, Sir,

Your most obedient & obliged St.,

J. G. SIMCOE.

Endorsed:—Montreal, 7 Decemr, 1791. (secret & confidential). R. 11 February, 1792.

FROM THE MERCHANTS OF MONTREAL TO J. G. SIMCOE.

MONTREAL, 9th December, 1791.

Sir:

As your Excellency is appointed by His Majesty, to the Government of a new Province on which almost the whole of the Indian Trade of this Country depends, We presume upon your goodness in not deeming it an intrusion upon your other vocations, if we endeavour to state to you such particulars regarding it, as we conceive to be of importance.

Deeply interested as we are in that Trade, above two-thirds of which passes thro' our hands, it will not be supposed that we could intentionally advance Opinions prejudicial to the Interests of our Mother Country or this.

The Commercial and Political Interests are so blended and interwoven as to leave almost no discrimination—what affects the one naturally affects the other. And no event would give so fatal a Stab to the growing prosperity and importance of these Provinces, as the Surrender of the Posts, We have ever deplored with the deepest regret, the impolicy and want of local information and lavish concession which induced the Negotiator of the Treaty with America to lay at her feet the most valuable branch of trade in this Country, by ceding so large a Territory, and thereby to present her with the means of our future subjugation by putting the Keys of our remaining Colonies into her possession.

¹Kingston.

Happily it can be proved, for to every man who has information upon the Subject, the fact is notorious that by keeping possession of these Posts the Trade would exclusively be preserved and this Country more effectually protected, at half the expence than by giving them up it will cost, (after the Trade is thereby forever gone), to have an appearance of solid defence of our remaining possessions—In place of having a Wilderness for a Barrier against the Attempts of an insidious and restless Neighbour, which they could not easily traverse with the implements of regular War, we would then have them at our own doors in force, protected by Forts, aided by a naval Force, and ready to avail themselves of every advantage, that so extended and thinly inhabited a Frontier, could present them. Arguments on this head are totally unnecessary to one of Your Excellency's penetration.—

We therefore proceed to ask permission to remark that the Fur Trade is not only a matter of magnitude with respect to the quantum thereof but the consequences which naturally flow from it. Its annual amount may fairly be stated at £200,000 Sterling, and occasions the consumption of a large quantity of Bulky British Manufactures, and being exclusively at present confined to Great Britain, the Fur returns produce yearly in Duties about £30,000. Part of these Furs being wrought up into Manufactures become a source of further Industry and emolument and as a large portion of different articles are again exported to foreign Countries they answer to an equal quantity of ready Money in the intercourse with them, and tend to keep down that ballance, which with one in particular (Russia) is so unfavorable to us.

Baneful as the late Treaty unquestionably is to these Provinces, and grating to all who are attached to their Interests, which are inseparable from those of the Mother Country where eventually center the effects of their prosperity or adversity—We may say Baneful as it is, yet the Articles are so indefinite, that they cannot be understood, and must sooner or later undergo a revision and Explanation. That moment we look forward to as the favorable time for a resumption of the sacrifices of Territory unnecessarily made, when nothing was obtained in exchange—And which the Americans, favorable as it was for them, have notwithstanding never had the faith to fulfil—Confining ourselves however to the Treaty so far as it relates to the subject matter in hand we can assert from personal knowledge that thereby the Fur Trade is nearly abandoned and the part that remains within our territory will be rendered useless by the great carrying place, pass, or road into the North West being at least fifteen miles within the American Line—The Line from the Lake of the Woods is Ideal, and can never have existence, because a West course from thence would never strike the Mississippi, being more Westerly than its Sources—and of course the Intentions of the Parties (so clearly manifest both in the American and Spanish Treaties) to have a free access to and Navigation on that River, could never be obtained on our part, therefore the Boundary named has not been understood, and cannot be such a one as was intended at the time.

The great object in another Negotiation would be to obtain a new line of Demarcation which comprising the Boundaries pointed out in the Act of Parliament commonly called the Quebec Bill, would follow the high Lands which divide the Waters falling into the Atlantic from those which fall into the St. Lawrence, untill crossing Lake Champlain in Latitude 45°—the Line strikes the River near St. Regis—from thence proceeding up the River, Lake Ontario and the Water Communication from it into Lake Erie, till it came to Buffaloe Creek, nearly opposite to Fort Erie, then striking across to the Ohio, and descending that River to its Junction with the Mississippi.

To obtain full security under this view of the matter, it would be necessary also to provide for the keeping of Niagara and Oswego with such extent round

those Garrisons as might be judged proper—But supposing so favorable a Line could not be obtained, it may be proper next to enquire what further succession of Boundaries could be pointed out, so as still to reserve a material part of the Trade—natural boundaries are most desirable where they are to be had without other inconvenience as being most definite—A Line might therefore proceed up Lake Erie (if Niagara should be ceded) to Cayahoga River, up that River to its source, then crossing to the nearest watercourse which falls into the Ohio, proceeding down as before—This would still leave this Country the Detroit, Michillimackinac and North West Trade—supposing *that* also could not be got—The next Line would be to strike the mouth of the Miamis River where it falls into the West end of Lake Erie, then tracing up the said River to the Miamis Town, and crossing to the nearest branch of the Wabash proceeding downwards to its junction with the Ohio, and thence to the Mississippi as before, or from the Miamis Town to the nearest branch of the Theakikie River¹ down that River to the Illinois River and thence also to the Mississippi—this would leave part of the Detroit Trade, all the Michillimackinac and North West. If a still greater sacrifice became indispensable, there is no other natural boundary but the middle of Lake Erie, and up the Water Communication of it and Lake Huron—Then along the south Western shore of that Lake to the Straights of Lake Michigan—thence along its Eastern Shore to Chicago River from thence into the Illinois River and down to its junction with the Mississippi—By this Detroit would be abandoned, all the trade depending thereon sacrificed, and much of that of Michillimackinac. If a still further concession was made, the Line might go down the Straights of Michigan, along its Western shore, up Green Bay to the Fox River, and from that River to the Ouisconsing, and down to the Mississippi—The Post of Michillimackinac would by this still be preserved to us, with a part of its Trade, and we would have access to the Mississippi by the Water Courses which the Boundary running thro' them would have in common—If even all this must be abandoned and still further concessions made under the Idea of the Spirit of the late Treaty—The Line should run from the Straights or Sault of St. Mary's, along the South Side of Lake Superior to the Twelve Apostle Islands, there ascending a River which falls into the Lake near them, usually called River au Serpent,² and striking across to another, called River Sauteuse (or Chippawa River) follows the stream to its emptying itself into the Mississippi at the south end of Lake Pessier³ in that River—no other River beyond this will admit of any useful Access to the Mississippi—Nor is this a good route, the last best being those of Chicago and the Fox River—The sacrifice here would be deplorable indeed, but it would remedy the defect of the present indefinite line, and leave the North West Trade *to us unfettered*—Whereas by the Treaty as it is, The Trade is supposed to be the property of this Country, but on examining into that more particularly it will be found that the means of carrying it on, are given away; by the Route or Great Pass⁴ that leads thereto, being as was observed before, at least fifteen miles within the American line—We have gone progressively on from Step to Step, with anxious hearts and hopes, that a stand may be made at each

¹Kankakee.

²Serpent River is here the name of Montreal River in Ashland Co., Wisconsin. On the map prepared by David Thompson in 1813-14, he marked a post of the Northwest Company upon this river. The Montreal merchants followed it, and thence by a well worn portage crossed overland to the Chippewa River, by which they reached the Mississippi. Radisson passed this way as early as 1661.—Wis. Historical Collections, XI, 67.

³Probably Lake Pepin.

⁴D. W. Smith, Gazetteer of the Province of Upper Canada (1799), describes it thus:—"Portage le Grand, on lake Superior, leads from the north-west of that lake to a chain of smaller lakes, on the communication to the north-western trading posts."

intermediate line we have pointed out, so that as little of the Country and its consequences be thrown into the scale of our Rivals as possible—We cannot bring our mind to conceive that a surrender of the Posts is meditated by Great Britain, but should circumstances unknown to us, render such a measure unavoidable in its full extent; We have firm but humble confidence that her justice will procure such a number of years previous to this surrender, as to enable those who have property there to withdraw it and wind up their affairs, which cannot be precipitately done, without utter ruin to every person Interested in that Trade—happy will it be for these Provinces if thro' your Excellency's representation and zealous assistance something can be obtained to place so valuable a Branch of Trade on a more stable and secure footing—Having already spun this detail to a length that is imposing upon your patience, We shall quit the subject with returning our warmest thanks for your indulgence and condescension in listening to our representations.

Permit us to have the honor of subscribing ourselves with most profound respect,

Your Excellency's Most Obedient and most humble Servants,

McTAVISH, FROBISHER & Co.
FORSYTH, RICHARDSON & Co.
TODD, MCGILL & Co.¹

FROM GEORGE BECKWITH TO J. G. SIMCOE.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 19, 1791.

My Dear Friend:

I heard with pleasure a few days ago, by the arrival of Count Andreani,² that you had got safe to Quebec. I congratulate you upon it and upon your appointment in this Country.

I shall always rejoice in your prosperity and wish you a pleasant and a happy administration.

The ruin of the Army under Genl. St. Clair, and the particulars of that event are detailed in the printed papers which I have forwarded to Quebec on the present occasion, to these I shall refer you. They are both curious and interesting.

Believe me, my dear and old friend, with great truth,
Much and ever yours.

GEORGE BECKWITH.³

Lieut. Governor Simcoe, Quebec.

¹These merchants subsequently entered into a partnership as the North West Fur Company.

²An Italian nobleman, who travelled extensively in the United States and Canada. His journal seems to have been published and is mentioned in the correspondence of Madison and Washington and quoted in the travels of the Duke de La Rochefoucault-Liancourt.

³Beckwith, Sir George, 1753-1823, had served in America during the whole of the Revolutionary contest and no doubt was personally acquainted with Simcoe, who had a high opinion of his military talents; from 1787 to 1791, during which period no British Minister had been accredited to the United States, he was sent by Lord Dorchester on important missions to that country and resided for many months at Philadelphia, then the seat of government, and had many confidential interviews with Alexander Hamilton and other influential persons; Adjutant General to the Forces in North America, 1791-4; Major General, 1798; Lieutenant General, 1805; Governor of Bermuda, 1797; Governor of St. Vincent, 1804; Governor of Barbadoes and Commander of the Forces in the Leeward Isles, 1808; organized and commanded the successful expeditions for the conquest of Martinique in 1809 and Guadaloupe in 1810; Commander in Chief in Ireland, 1816-20.

FROM CHARLES STEVENSON TO J. G. SIMCOE.

NEW YORK, 3rd January, 92.

Dear Simcoe:

After a tedious and fatiguing journey of 15 days from the Dutch Settlement on the Missiskoi Lake I arrived at this place. The roads through the woods of Vermont were so bad that some days I could not get more than 9 or 10 miles a day. I called on Sir John Temple who is the British resident here. From him I learnt of the death of Lord Effingham¹ and his Countess and likewise the old Dowager Lady Effingham in England. Lord D. it is currently believed will not return to Canada. Sir John reminded me of a speech of Mr. Pitt's to Mr. Fox, namely that he had not received from Lord Dorchester that information which he had reason to expect on the subject of Canada which probably has not given much pleasure to the Peer. Mr. Pitt may now avail himself of the opportunity of saving the salary of Governor General during peace, and make Canada a distinct Government.

General Clarke may possibly recover his former one² as he gave great satisfaction in it and it is thought he has not been very well used in his present appointment.

The Packet, having met with rough treatment from the waves, is obliged to be detained for repairs until the 11th of this month, which is extremely inconvenient to me as I wish to see Mr. Hammond as soon as possible. The Congress, feeling sick of the Indian War since their last handsome defeat, (could it but be kept up a little longer I think any terms might be obtained), and the generality of the people seem now to recollect that it is an unjust war (and that this flogging which they have got a damned canting Yankee told me was for the wickedness of the nation), they were now for the more honest mode of purchasing the lands rather than by seizing of them by force. The very offer of purchase sets aside all pretensions of right, consequently if we prevent the Indian from becoming the dupe of America we shall serve the country and strengthen ourselves. The Creeks and Southern Indians have made peace with Congress, (I send you the treaty). Bowles³

¹ Lady Dorchester was a daughter of Lord Effingham.

² Major General Alured Clarke, then Lieutenant Governor and Administrator of the Province of Lower Canada, had been Governor of Jamaica.

³ William Augustus Bowles, an American loyalist, who had settled among the Southern Indians and acquired much influence over them. Early in the year 1790, he accompanied a deputation of the chiefs of the Creeks and Choctaws to England with an address to the King. They made their way to the Bahama islands, where the Governor, Lord Dunmore, formerly Governor of Virginia, obtained a passage for them to Halifax. In July of that year, they arrived at Quebec and had an interview with Lord Dorchester, who endeavoured to dissuade them from proceeding to London, but without success. They presented their address to the King, offering to put their nations under British protection and asking for arms and ammunition to defend themselves against the encroachments of the Americans.

tries hard to break it and set them against General McGillivray,¹ but I fear his attempts will be fruitless.

I shall set off for Philadelphia to-morrow and must return for the Packet which may occasion me another journey to that place at this critical time. As soon as I have seen Mr. H. I will let you know his sentiments on the state of affairs. Dundas has, it is said, got his former place of Treasurer of the Navy and Lord St. Hellan or Lord Hawkesbury, (they are not certain which), is his successor in office. There is a report that Judge Smith is dead,² which has occasioned many people here to speak their sentiments of him. The general one is that if Lord D. had acted for himself he would have done better than in following either the Judge's or Brook Watson's³ opinion.

Many people believe that we had a hand in the last Indian business from being told that some Officers were at the meeting of the Chiefs. I have endeavoured to explain that business by saying that curiosity had taken up one to see the meeting but that he did not stay their Council, that he was a Subaltern Officer and that they need not be alarmed for that if England meant to take a part it would be a decisive one; that we meant no underhand business, they would find us open; we hoped ever to find them so. Upon the whole your appointment gives satisfaction and your Corps has not created jealousy. They learnt the Corps was raising' by the English papers.

I called on our friend Rivington⁴ to procure if possible good maps of the respective States but cannot procure any but Hutchin's,⁵ which is too general as the scale is small. There is a good one of Vermont which I must get in that State on my return. Col. A⁶ is a man of abilities. I heard him frequently named as such when I was in the State, but in no great repute for his integrity. They say he is always making money off the State. His brother⁷ is not so clever. I suppose you have seen him ere this as I heard he was gone into Canada. But more on this subject when we meet.

¹ Alexander McGillivray, the son of a Scotch trader by a Creek woman. His father was a loyalist, whose large property in Georgia had been confiscated. The son, who had received a good education and was courageous, eloquent, and tactful, went to live among his mother's people. In a few years he became their "beloved man" or head chief. As their representative he negotiated a treaty with Miro, the Spanish Commandant at New Orleans, who bestowed on him the title of colonel and an annual pension of \$600. In June, 1790, he was invited to New York with a large deputation of the head men of the Creek Nation, where they were received with high honor and marched through the streets attended by an escort of Tammany sachems to the house of General Knox, the Secretary of War, where McGillivray was lodged. A treaty was concluded, by which the United States relinquished to the Creeks certain territories which the State of Georgia claimed by purchase, granted McGillivray and his associates the sole privilege of trade with their nation, and agreed to pay him \$100,000 for his losses in the Revolution. The rank of brigadier general and a pension of \$1,200 per annum was also conferred on him. While in New York McGillivray wrote to Lord Dorchester informing him of the result of the negotiation, saying, "In the treaty I have been obliged to give up something in order to secure the rest, and guarding at the same time against what may shake my treaty with Spain."

² Chief Justice William Smith died at Quebec, 6 Dec., 1793.

³ A leading and influential merchant in the Canadian trade, and at one time Lord Mayor of London and a member of the House of Commons.

⁴ Formerly publisher of the *Royal Gazette* at New York and then a leading bookseller in that city.

⁵ Thomas Hutchins, Geographer-general for the United States, who had published a number of maps.

⁶ Colonel Ethan Allen, the captor of Ticonderoga.

⁷ Probably Ira Allen, who was greatly interested in promoting the project of a canal to connect Lake Champlain with Hudson river and in negotiating intercourse between Vermont and Canada.

I shall leave this letter with Rivington to put into the post should the English packet arrive whilst I am away and the letters be forwarded to Canada.

Rivington will be pleased with the confidence and it will attach him to us. He asks very affectionately after you and all his English friends. McGanness, the Agent for letters, appears to me not to be so alert as a man should be who has Americans to deal with. I shall therefore see the dispatches put into the English bag when it is to be finally closed on the 11th Inst. General Stephens of the Guards is dead. My best respects to Mrs. S. and the compliments of the season to you with many happy new years is the sincere wish of

Your faithful friend,
CHARLES STEVENSON.

FROM ROBERT HAMILTON TO J. G. SIMCOE.

NIAGARA, Jany. 4, 1792.

Sir:

The trouble this letter gives you does not arise from vanity, in wishing to correspond with a person high in office, as you are. My only motives are the good of my Native Country, and my attachment to the interests of this part of her dominions, in which I have resided for many years.

We have just heard of your arrival in America, invested with power to terminate all differences, and to form new Treaties between Great Britain and these States. The line of division between their Western frontiers and our possessions, and between them and our friends, the Indians, must necessarily be an object of considerable consequence in your arrangements with them. Any information on these subjects I trust will be acceptable, the obscurity of the source from whence it comes is not the question.

When Mr. Oswald made a Peace with the Americans in 1783, he evinced his total ignorance of this country and its true interests in the line he fixed as the Boundary between us and them, from the place it joins the St. Lawrence above Montreal to its termination in the unknown regions of the Northwest.

Navigable Rivers and Lakes surely form the worst possible Boundaries between Commercial Nations settled on the same Continent: as on a highway their carriages must certainly meet, They will often jostle, and endless contention and strife must ensue. By this line we should have given up every post and possession we then held in this country, the small picketted post of Fort Erie only excepted Oswegatchie, Carleton Island, Oswego, Niagara, Detroit and Michillimackinac all must have been yielded up to the Americans: Nor was this all: By this line, a free opening was afforded our rivals to reach our most distant and most valuable trading posts. In many of the most essential articles for the fur trade, they have considerable advantages over the adventurers in the Province. I shall only mention spirits, the produce of one of their most considerable manufactures, and East India Goods, now a material article in their commerce. Soon, in consequence of this ill-judged line, must our free trade have been annihilated, had not our rulers,

¹James Oswald, who with David Hartley on the part of Great Britain, negotiated the treaty of peace recognizing the independence of the United States. In the spirit of "sweet reconciliation" they made great concessions at the right moment to serve the territorial ambitions of America, as John Adams pertinently remarked, without arousing corresponding feelings of gratitude. "The Americans know too much of politics," Talleyrand said, "to believe in the virtue called gratitude between nations. They know that disinterested services are alone entitled to that pure sentiment, and that there are no such services between States."

possessed of better information, declined for this and other reasons, to fulfill that part of the Treaty, which respected the surrender of the Posts. Thus has the business remained undecided to this day.

The Americans seem possessed with a species of mania for getting lands, which have no bounds. Their Congress, prudent, reasonable, and wise in other matters, in this seems as much infected as the people.

A very bounded knowledge in politics is only necessary to prove that the strength, the importance of a Nation, does by no means depend on the greatness of its Territories, when the inhabitants are not in proportion to this extent. When their settlements appear on the face of the vast wilderness, like the Islands in the Atlantic Ocean. So best, however, for Britain, while this spirit misleads them, and while an acre of land on the Continent remains unsettled, they will never succeed in any great degree in manufactures. The advantages England possesses in these, the many and strong ties that still unite to her her former children, tho' now settled in the world for themselves, will always secure to her the largest portion of their supply. The American farmer will continue for centuries yet to come to labor for the English Mechanic, and the English Merchant and Mariner will share at least the Business of transport from the one country to the other.

In extending their Territory in this quarter, some degree of moderation and justice has been shown in the purchase of the lands from the Native Indians, however inadequate the sum paid may be to the value. In this way has the Genesee Country been obtained, and their settlements are thereby scattered through the whole country to the East of that river. We hear also of a pre-emption right lately purchased from one of the New England States of the Country between that river and Niagara. Besides that, we do not perfectly understand the terms, we cannot see the justice or propriety of either buying or selling what neither party did ever possess. To the Westward, the land spirit seems to have impelled them with a greater degree of violence, tho' with far less success. To compel the Indians on the Wabash and in the Miami Country, either to subjugate themselves or relinquish their country, two expeditions have been undertaken: both have proved highly unsuccessful. The catastrophe of the last has been dreadful beyond precedent. Of this you must lately have heard, but probably the truth is much concealed, nor will it be easily credited that 1,000 Indians should so completely have defeated their whole army of double that number, as to leave 1,300 dead on the spot, and this with loss of only 10 men. Such, however, are the facts our best informations state, and we have reason to believe them well founded.

This misguided and unfortunate party being evidently the aggressors, merit less and meet with less pity. Every man of humanity shudders, however, with horror at the dreadful scenes of cruelty that will this winter be probably exercised on the now defenceless settlers and their helpless families, along the wide extended frontiers, nor is there any man in this country, who would not cheerfully exert his utmost possible endeavors to prevent this by promoting reasonable terms.

Surely peace to the Americans must be a most desirable object: the difficulty they experience in raising men, and the expense they incurred in this expedition were very considerable: these from its event must be enhanced in a tenfold proportion should they continue resolute in prosecuting the same plan. In the end what will they gain? Suppose the utmost success and that they have driven the Indians entirely from the Country now in question, do not Spaniards, anxious to obtain such a barrier against American encroachments, offer them a settlement and protection with them, and will they not carry with them that implacable spirit

of revenge, which time itself scarcely effaces, and which hardly any distance can prevent an Indian from executing to its fullest measure.

I have reason to believe that the Indians, notwithstanding their late success, would still willingly accomodate matters with the Americans. I even believe that no alteration in the limits asked by them last spring would now be demanded. I am warranted in saying this from general knowledge of their wishes, and from the particular opinion of Joseph Brant, a Chief of considerable consequence, who is now here.

In justice to him, I must mention that he has strongly recommended moderation to his brethren in the present hour of exultation, and that his wishes are decidedly for a reasonable peace. But this will neither be easily obtained, nor will it ever be rendered in any degree permanent without the interference of the British Government, and the exertion of its influence over the Indians.

Let Congress then properly apply for this friendly aid, which I doubt not would be readily granted, and at the time the limits are fixed between them and the Indians, let those between us and them be unalterably ascertained.

On this last point, I would gladly hope my present address may be found to have some merit. Between the Americans and the Indians, some line along the Ohio from some determined latitude to its most Northerly source, will probably constitute the bounds. Between us and them, this line continued across the High Grounds, from the Northern head of the Ohio to the Western head of the Genesee River, and down that stream until it falls into Lake Ontario, about sixty miles east of the Fort of Niagara, would in all probability constitute a Boundary which would not encroach on either party's present possessions, and would secure both from that intervention of mercantile interests which will otherwise involve us in constant disputes, and in eternal quarrels. Neither the higher parts of the Ohio, nor any part of the Genesee River, being calculated for the purposes of extensive navigation, promise a more peaceful Boundary than that fixed by Mr. Oswald. As before mentioned, the American purchases and settlements do not as yet extend to the North or West of either of these rivers, and to them therefore the cession will be of no consequence.

Any limits that would secure to us the entire navigation of Lake Ontario, with the possession of Oswego, would certainly be more desirable, as removing still further all causes of dispute, all motives of interference. How far this is practicable, your situation and superior judgment will point out.

Let me here observe, that long before the English held a foot of land in the Province, the French, on this very ground, had formed a plan of Empire perhaps as grand as was ever devised by man. They projected the site of this on two of the finest rivers in the world, on the banks of the St. Lawrence and of the Mississippi, where streams in some places almost unite. Such a plan, however, was only calculated for the first commercial country in Europe, and who might command at sea. Possessed of the two Posts of Quebec and New Orleans, without further effect than regulating to the best advantage the internal police of this extensive country, without further expense than might be necessary to render the inhabitants prosperous, happy, and free. She would, in time, enjoy a market for her manufactures, extensive almost beyond calculation. In return, she would exclusively receive the furs of the North with all the most desirable products of perhaps the finest soil in the world, in all the different latitudes from Michillimackinac to New Orleans. Whether Britain may ever have had this in her power, or whether the day may not yet return with an offer of those manifold advantages: it is not for me to decide.

It might be worthy of the exalted character at present at the helm of her affairs to have so glorious a prospect in his eyes. Already I have sufficiently trespassed on your patience.

That every success may attend your important negotiation is the sincere prayer of, Sir,

Your most obedient very humble servant,
R. HAMILTON.¹

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

No. 3.

QUEBEC, Jany. 5th, 1792.

Sir:

Having done myself the honor of writing fully to you by the January Packet, I have at present nothing to communicate that may appear of any importance.

Lieut. Governor Clarke has issued a proclamation by advice of the Executive Council of this Province to continue in Office the Judges & other Civil Officers; for the reasons I have done myself the honor to state to you I do not as yet think it proper to follow the Example.

Chief Justice Smith has given me his opinion that I shall hear nothing from Judge Powell on this subject. I beg leave to add that I am fully convinced in the propriety of the Ecclesiastical & Military Establishments which I offer'd to your considerations before my departure from Great Britain.

I have the honor to be with the utmost respect, Sir,
Your most Obliged & most obedient Humble Servant,
J. G. SIMCOE.

To the Rt. Honble Henry Dundas,
one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State. &c., &c.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 5th January, 1792. Lieut. Governor Simcoe, (No. 3). R. 19th March.

FROM CHARLES STEVENSON TO J. G. SIMCOE.

NEW YORK, January 7th, 1792.

Dear Simcoe:

You cannot conceive the terror the last victory of the Savages has spread over the country. All the Ambition of Congress who made the war to impress the Savages with their Military prowess is disappointed. The whole country abuse the Senate for it and I am much afraid that notwithstanding the desire of Congress to retrieve their Military fame that the people will compel them to make peace and to delegate powers to St. Clair to conclude it soon. If so, God help us if we

¹Hamilton, Robert, a son of the Reverend John Hamilton of Dumfries, Scotland. He is supposed to have come to Canada about 1770; in 1779 he established a trading station on Carleton Island, and about 1784 removed to Niagara, where he became a partner of Richard Cartwright; a member of the Land Board and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in the District of Nassau, 1787-91; member of the Legislative Council, 1792-1809; Lieutenant for the County of Lincoln, 1792-1808. In 1789, he built a handsome stone dwelling, and storehouses and a wharf at the new Landing on the left bank of the Niagara river, subsequently called Queenston. He became wealthy and, at his death in 1809, is said to have been the owner of a hundred thousand acres of land in Upper Canada.

don't make the Savages ask for those Posts as his security against the American. Mr. — to whom I mentioned it thinks it would be a fortunate thing if it struck them, or if they *will* continue the war we shall be solicited to become mediators. You well know all the advantages which may result from that. The A. are mad for the Posts and the more they are considered the greater their consequence appears to us and the Indians. The A. are too restless a neighbour.

I have mentioned the Force said to be building on Lake Champlain as a circumstance that was told me by the Commanding Officer at St. John's. It will be enquired into and I will know the result on my return to Philadelphia from the person who asked me if your cipher was Diety. I told him it was. He has requested I would spend a fortnight or three weeks at Philadelphia previous to my return, which I of course have promised to do as he expects the counterpart of your instructions by the next Packet.

The person you suspected as the author of a certain pamphlet and as inimical to us he says has no more information from him than from any other, and that where the actual interest of his own country is not concerned he is much our friend. He says we can depend upon him.

We have many friends here, but Philadelphia has many hotheaded Americans who, drunk with this liberty, (which has degenerated into licentiousness), scarcely know what bounds to keep. I cannot pen a tale of last week which nearly subverted the American Empire but when we meet I will tell it you. She nearly touched on the brink of ruin.

The Indian War must not be allowed to subside; a peace must if possible be prevented. I am aware of your answer on that subject relative to the declaration of England, but opinions without council may be circulated among the Indians.

England's interference in American affairs has once cost her dear. It is too distant for advice when we must act on the spur of the occasion. You will tell me I am growing scurrilous and that it is time to subscribe myself.

Your sincere friend,

CHARLES STEVENSON.

My letter is limited but my conversation with you on these subjects will be prolix. I wrote to our friend Sir Henry¹ by yesterday's packet.

FROM GEORGE HAMMOND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

Private.

PHILADELPHIA, January 9, 1792.

As the information contained in the letter marked 'separate' was communicated to me in the strictest secrecy, and under the most unbounded confidence, I have judged it expedient to transmit it to your Lordship in the form of a separate rather than in that of a numbered despatch. Those persons of this country who are desirous of promoting and preserving a good understanding and harmony with Great Britain are extremely well satisfied with Mr. Pinckney's appointment, as they consider the circumstance of his education at Westminster School, and of his having passed a great part of his life in England, as having a natural tendency to inspire him with a predilection for the country, and a desire of rendering his conduct satisfactory.

(Historical Manuscripts Commission, Dropmore Papers, Vol. II, p. 250.)

¹Probably Sir Henry Clinton.

FROM CHARLES STEVENSON TO EVAN NEPEAN.

NEW YORK, Jany. 11, 1792.

Sir:

Colonel Simcoe having been disappointed in not being able to send his despatches by any vessel from Quebec, and understanding that it was the general opinion that it was neither prudent nor safe to send them thro' New York by the usual course of post, has directed me to proceed with them to this place, particularly as he thought it very important that Government should know Mr. Chief Justice Smith's opinion of the disability he is under of taking upon himself the government of Upper Canada, that not having a sufficient number of the members of the Legislative Council to swear him into his Office, his Government must remain without laws until that event shall take place. Col. Simcoe thought it proper to combat Mr. Justice Smith's opinion, though in reality he fears it is right. He hopes the error, if it is one, may be remedied as soon as possible, and begs he may receive such instructions as His Majesty's Ministers may think necessary. At the same time, I am charged with official despatches from General Clarke to Mr. Hammond, and with a variety of information which the principal merchants of Montreal, concerned in the Fur Trade, communicated to Col. Simcoe upon his arrival at that place, and which he thought necessary to forward to Mr. Hammond at this critical period, when a decisive action has taken place between the army of the United States and the Indians, and I was directed to enquire into a force that was said to be fitting out on Lake Champlain. Col. Simcoe is of a decided opinion, that as Vermont has joined the Congress, it becomes absolutely necessary for Great Britain to settle as soon as possible the question which relates to the Posts. It is obviously the interest of the Southern States to excite the people of Vermont to dispute the Frontiers in this vicinity as the only means by which the North can be brought to have a reciprocal interest with the rest of the States. As the Americans are convinced that the Indian War will prove bothersome to them, it is the general opinion of the Country that it would be best to purchase the Territory of them, which they have been trying to obtain by force. They may possibly soon meet with another defeat. It would then probably be a good opportunity of offering our mediation, and if that could procure a cession of the Posts in the Western Country to the Indians, instead of to America, we could procure safety to Upper Canada, which is very precarious while the restless American is at our doors. If we give up the Posts to America, we should be under the necessity of fortifying the opposite side of the Lakes, and likewise of maintaining a considerable force on them. I have delivered to Mr. Hammond the Merchants' opinion as to the state of their commerce whenever they shall be so unfortunate as to find them in the possession of the Americans.

Mr. Hammond will probably transmit a minute detail of the consequences which will result from the Cession. 'Tis unnecessary for me to detail them, as you very well know Col. Simcoe's opinion on that subject: they must strike every Military Man, they may possibly every politician, for tho' not wanted for the purpose of war, they are essentially necessary for the security of peace. We cannot be secure without them, which circumstance will no doubt make them merit attention.

I have the honour &c.

Evan Nepean, Esq.,
Under Secretary of State.

CHARLES STEVENSON.

FROM JOHN MUNRO TO HUGH FINLAY¹.

Sir:

Our Situation at present requires some information how to proceed in Civil and Criminal matters being now separated from your Province, we cannot proceed to any kind of business whatever.

As I have not the honor of being personally acquainted with our Governor, I shall beg the favor of you, Sir, to communicate to His Excellency a circumstance that happened in this District a few days ago, and how we have acted in consequence of it.

In the Township of Augusta, two men were detected in a treacherous conversation, the particulars of which will be forwarded by the Acting Clerk of the Peace, or by Colonel Gray. The Crime alledg'd against them is forming a design to burn the King's Garrison at Oswegatchie.²

Justice Sherwood³ took the evidence for the Crown, Issued his Warrant and apprehend[ed] them, and in place of committing them to Jaol, he admitted them to Bail in the face of Law, and Justice.

Upon Examining them before the Sessions we were of Opinion that under our present situation, they could not be try'd by the Grand Jury, and from the Evidence for the Crown, they were not Bailable, But that they must be committed 'till try'd by due course of law.

This embarrass'd us greatly, having no Jaol.

I propos'd to Colonel Gray to send them under a guard to Oswegatchie, and that I should follow them the ensuing day. This being done, Coll. Gray and myself follow'd.

When we apply'd to Major Peter Drummond⁴ for a relief. We then sent for the Sergeant commanding at the Garrison, and enquired of him if there was a secure room to be found in the Garrison, when he assured us if we sent them, he would have them safely confin'd. It then occur'd to us that the Sergeant's party were too weak to do the duty alone, without a reinforcement of Militia Men, whereupon Major Drummond was order'd to send a Guard of nine Men Pr Week, (which will make three reliefs), and that the three Soldiers should do the duty of Corporals and the Inhabitants furnish firewood.

I have the Pleasure to inform you that the Prisoners are not of the Corps of Loyalists. The one has been a Continental Soldier, who came into this Province while Justice Sherwood was authorized to grant Lands under Instructions from General Haldimand, and that notwithstanding the Inhabitants making objections to his being admitted as a Settler, Mr. Sherwood admitted him, and gave him an hundred acres of Land. Am further inform'd that he has admitted Several suspicious Characters, who have not been qualified in his Neighbourhood. The other

¹Hugh Finlay had been Deputy Postmaster General for the British Provinces in North America under Benjamin Franklin; from 1768 until 1791 he was a Legislative Councillor for the Province of Quebec; after the treaty of Peace he was appointed Director General of the Post Office for the Provinces of Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and their Dependencies. John Munro was his Deputy at Matilda. Finlay was appointed a Legislative and an Executive Councillor for the Province of Lower Canada in 1791. At this time he was acting as Secretary of the Province in the absence of George Pownall. In 1792 he was appointed Clerk of the Crown in Chancery by General Clarke.

²On the present site of Ogdensburg, New York.

³Probably Justus Sherwood, a leading loyalist, who was a magistrate and a member of the Land Board.

⁴Peter Drummond had been an officer in the Loyal Rangers, Jessup's Corps, and afterwards commanded a company in the second battalion of the Royal Canadian Volunteers.

Prisoner is a young man of Indifferent Character, took the Oath of Allegiance, but never receiv'd any Land. Pardon me for giving you the trouble of this Epistle,

And am in the mean time with due respect & Esteem, Sir,

Your most Obedient and very humble Servant,

JOHN MUNRO.¹

P.S. Since writing the forgoing letter Two men run off to the Colonies, who are likewise suspected to be confederates in the Plot to burn the Oswegatchie Garrison. This leads me to believe that a Colonel Coughrin from the States, who came to this Country last fall, on pretence of surveying the Lands upon the Opposite side of the River, is at the bottom of this Plot—as he was seen holding a conference with the prisoners.

He engag'd Men and a Deputy Surveyor, by the help of Captain Sherwood,² also procur'd Provisions, but the Indians would not suffer him to run a line.

I imagine Colonel Coughrin's intentions were to open a line of communication from the Garrison of Oswegatchie to Fort Stanwix,³ that he might come at any time upon the Garrison without being detected. This Colonel Coughrin I have a good right to know, he was outlaw'd in the Province of New York. The Honble Chief Justice can give you the History of him.

J. M.

MATILDA, 14th January, 1792.

The Honble Hugh Finlay, Esqr. Quebec.

FROM JAMES GRAY TO J. G. SIMCOE.

No. 2.

CORNWALL, 15th Jany. 1792.

Sir:

I am sorry my first Introduction to your Excellency is in consequence of the enclosed abstract from the Sessions.

Tho' the Magistrates met we could not take upon ourselves any further Business than the examination of those two men that are now Prisoners in the Fort at Oswegatchie, where there is a Sergt. and three men detached from Kingstown, the Sheriff has Reinforced the Sergt. with nine men from the Militia Relieved every three Days, where they are to remain till your Excellency's Pleasure is known; in case of long Confinement the Prisoners being sent to Kingstown would relieve the Inhabitants as we have no Gaol.

The Prisoners' Conduct before this examination makes much against them.

I have the Honor to be, Sir,

Your most Obedt hum Servt,

JA. GRAY.⁴

Endorsed:—H. E. Col. Simcoe, Govr of Upper Canada.

¹John Munro was born in Scotland in 1731; came to America with the 48th Regiment in 1755; settled in Northern New York at the end of the war with France and obtained a large grant of land. He was appointed a magistrate and became involved in the contest with the squatters from the New Hampshire grants who endeavoured to take forcible possession of lands in the vicinity. From 1778 to 1784 he commanded a company in the Royal Regiment of New York. He settled in the township of Matilda and was appointed a Legislative Councillor in 1792.

²Probably Livius P. Sherwood, afterwards a member of the Assembly for several years.

³Near the site of the present city of Rome, New York.

⁴A native of Scotland; ensign in Lord Loudoun's Regiment, 1745; captain in the 42nd Regiment, 1763; major in the Royal Regiment of New York, 1778-84; Lieutenant of the County of Dundas, 1793-6; died at Gray's Creek, near Cornwall, 11 May, 1796; had served twenty-six years in the army

FROM GEORGE HAMMOND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

Private.

PHILADELPHIA, February 2, 1792.

I take the liberty of recalling your Lordship's attention to that part of the definitive treaty in which the westernmost boundary of the British territory in North America is described by a line drawn from most north-western point of the Lake of the Woods, in a due west course to the Mississippi.

This line is unquestionably ideal in every sense of the word; for, from the best information I can obtain in this country, as well as from a very accurate map which I have received from Montreal, it is evident that a line, however extended in this direction would never strike the Mississippi, of which river the course is (and I believe correctly) stated to be within the American territory. I trust that this Government will not endeavour to take advantage of this accidental geographical error, which, if not rectified, will not only leave the limits between the two countries undefined, but also render entirely nugatory the eighth article of the treaty, which stipulates that the navigation of the Mississippi from its source to the ocean is to remain free and open to the subjects of the two nations respectively. It will, however, be extremely important for me to receive your Lordship's instructions as to the manner in which I am to treat this point, whenever the negotiation may be sufficiently advanced to admit of its being discussed.

The rapid progress in improvement and population of the settlements formed along the banks of the Mississippi, undoubtedly renders the free navigation of that river an object highly desirable, since it will open a new, extensive, and unrivalled market for British manufactures, with which the inhabitants of those settlements can be more reasonably supplied by the means of the water-communications of Canada than through the United States.

The subject is at present, perhaps, somewhat more deserving of attention in consequence of Commissioners having been nominated by this Government to negotiate with the Court of Madrid the power or permission of navigating the Mississippi to its mouth into the ocean. On this head I must not omit mentioning, that the words marked with inverted commas in my despatch No. 8 are those which the Secretary of the Senate has used in announcing to the public the appointment of these Commissioners. That officer, I understand from a member of the Senate, has rather transgressed the strict line of his duty in the terms of this public notification, as the object of the commission was intended to have been kept secret.

(Historical Manuscripts Commission, Dropmore Papers, Vol. II, p. 254.)

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO JAMES GRAY.

QUEBEC, Feby. 2nd, 1792.

Sir:

I am just now favoured with your Letter of the 15th of Jany., enclosing the Information & complaint of Thomas Goldie of Augusta against Price Hunwell and Cromwell Thirby taken before Justice Sherwood, & the minute of the proceedings thereon, of the General Quarter Sessions of the peace held before you & others of his Majesty's Justices for the said district on the 10th of Jany., last. In consequence of your Intimation, I have applied to the Commander in Chief for an Order to the Officer Commanding at Kingston to receive and secure the

Prisoners till there shall be an Opportunity of proceeding against them by due Course of Law, as there are not sufficient Prisons under the Jurisdiction of the Civil Authority; & I enclose to you an order for that purpose.

Suffer me to add That it is with pleasure that I embrace the opportunity of assuring you of my personal respects & of saying how happy I shall be to receive from you any communications which may tend to the benefit of the Colony of Upper Canada. Should the confinement of these Prisoners lead to any further matter which you may think worthy of Communicating—I trust you will be so good as to inform me of it—and I beg of you to send a Copy of your proceedings to the Officer at Kingston by which he may know the allegations against the Prisoners & possibly obtain further Information.

I have the honor to be, &c., &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

To James Gray, Esqr.,
One of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace,
Cornwall, Lunenburg.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO GEORGE HAMMOND.

PHILADELPHIA, February 3d, 1792.

Sir:

On the receipt of your letter of the 14th of December, I communicated it to the President of the United States, and under the sanction of his authority the principal members of the executive department made it their duty to make known in conversations, generally, the explicit disclaimer, in the name of your court, which you had been pleased to give us, that the Government of Canada had supported or encouraged the hostilities of our indian neighbours in the western country. Your favor of January the 30th, to the same purpose has been in like manner communicated to the President, and I am authorized to assure you, that he is duly sensible of this additional proof of the disposition of the court of London to confine the proceedings of their officers in our vicinage within the limits of friendship and good neighbourhood, and that a conduct so friendly and just will furnish us a motive the more for those duties and good offices which neighbour nations owe each other.

You have seen too much, Sir, of the conduct of the press in countries where it is free, to consider the gazettes as evidence of the sentiments of any part of the government: you have seen them bestow on the government itself, in all its parts its full share of inculcation. Of the sentiments of our government on the subject of your letter, I cannot give you better evidence than the statement of the causes of the indian war, made by the Secretary of War on the 26th of the last month, by order of the President, and inserted in the public papers. No interference on the part of your nation is therein stated among the causes of the war. I am happy however in the hope, that a due execution of the treaty will shortly silence those expressions of public feeling by removing their cause, and I have the honor to be, &c.

(The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, edited by P. L. Ford, Vol. V, pp. 436-7.)

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO JOHN MUNRO.

QUEBEC, Feby. 6th, 1792.

Sir:

Mr. Finlay has done me the favor of sending to me the letter which you addressed to him, the 14th of Jany, relative to the Treasonable Practices & consequent commitment of two Persons of the Township of Augusta. It is with very great satisfaction that I have heard the judicious Steps that you, Mr. Gray, & the other Gentlemen have taken in this affair; & by the last Post agreeable to Mr. Gray's Intimation I transmitted him an Order which the General was pleased to give me, for the Officer at Kingston to receive the Prisoners, & that the Civil power might be relieved from any further necessity of securing Those Persons till they can be brought to Legal Trial.

I am sorry to see by a paragraph in your Letter to Mr. Finlay you conceived that, being separated from the Province of Upper Canada, you cannot proceed to any kind of business whatever.

I understand that the Thirty-Third Clause of the Canada Act which enacts "That all Laws, Statutes, and ordinances shall remain & continue to be of the same force Authority & Effect, as if the Province of Quebec had not been divided, unless varied & repealed as therein after directed," fully empowers every description of Magistrates to exercise their functions, as Laws, Statutes, and ordinances can have no *force, authority, & effect* without the intervention of the Executive Power which in its turn is derived under Those *Laws, Ordinances, and Statutes* that remain in full Force and Authority as they have not yet been varied & repealed but did not this Clause provide against those Obstacles, which might be expected naturally almost unavoidably to prevent the possibility of the Executive Government of Upper Canada being established at the period contemplated by Government, for Instance, such as the miscarriage of the Ship which brought out the Commission necessary for the division of the Province. I presume it will not be controverted that no Country whatever permits a suspension of its Laws, & in that of Great Britain in particular, should unforeseen accidents oblige the Magistrates to exercise acts not strictly legal, but which are *evidently intended* for the Public good, & bounded by the Spirit of the Constitution, & as much & as strictly as possible by the usual & prescribed forms of the Laws, such Magistrates would be certain of protection & indemnity from the Government or Parliament of Great Britain & this I am certain would be your Case Should even your fellow Magistrates in the present Instance, or in any future ones where urgent necessity requires your Interference, be found erroneous or not strictly Legal: I shall be happy at all times to be favoured with any Communications that may tend to promote The Welfare of the Colony of Upper Canada, & cannot but congratulate myself that a Gentleman of so much Loyalty & Prudence has been appointed to the important Station of Legislative Counsellor.

I have the Honor to be, &c., &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

To The Honble John Munro, Matilda.

PROCLAMATION.

His Excellency John Graves Simcoe, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the said Province, and Colonel Commanding His Majesty's Forces, &c., &c., &c.

To such as are desirous to settle on the Lands of the Crown in the Province of Upper Canada:

Be it known to all concerned, that His Majesty hath by His Royal Commission and Instructions to the Governor, and in his absence to the Lieutenant Governor, or Person administering the Government for the time being of the said Province of Upper Canada, given Authority and Command to grant the Lands of the Crown in the same by Patent under the Great Seal thereof; and it being expedient to publish and declare the Royal Intention respecting such Grants and Patents, I do accordingly hereby make known the Terms of Grant and Settlement to be:

First. That the Crown Lands to be granted be parcel of a Township: If an Inland Township, of Ten Miles square, and if a Township on navigable Waters of Nine Miles in Front and Twelve Miles in Depth, to be run out and marked by His Majesty's Surveyor or Deputy Surveyor General, or under his Sanction and Authority.

Second. That only such Part of a Township be granted as shall remain, after a Reservation of one seventh Part thereof, for the support of a Protestant Clergy, and one other seventh Part thereof, for the future disposition of the Crown.

Third. That no Farm Lot shall be granted to any one Person which shall contain more than Two Hundred Acres; yet the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Person administering the Government, is allowed and permitted to grant to any Person or Persons such further Quantity of Land as they may desire, not exceeding One Thousand Acres over and above what may have been before granted to them.

Fourth. That every Petitioner for Lands make it appear, that he or she is in a Condition to cultivate and improve the same, and shall besides taking the usual Oaths, subscribe a Declaration (before proper Persons to be for that purpose appointed) of the Tenor of the Words following, viz. "I A. B. do promise and declare that I will maintain and defend to the utmost of my Power the Authority of the King in His Parliament as the Supreme Legislature of this Province."

Fifth. That Applications for Grants be made by Petition to the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Person administering the Government for the time being, and where it is adviseable to grant the Prayer thereof a Warrant shall issue to the proper Officer for a survey thereof, returnable within Six Months with a Plot annexed, and be followed with a Patent granting the same, if desired in Free and Common Socage, upon the Terms and Conditions in the Royal Instructions expressed, and hereinafter suggested.

Sixth. That all grants reserve to the Crown all Coals, commonly called Sea Coals, and Mines of Gold, Silver, Copper, Tin, Iron, and Lead; and each Patent contain a Clause for the Reservation of Timber for the Royal Navy of the Tenor following:

"And provided also that no Part of the Tract or Parcel of Land hereby granted to the said _____ and his Heirs, be within any Reservation heretofore made and marked for Us, Our Heirs and Successors by Our Surveyor General of Woods, or his lawful Deputy; in which case, this Our Grant for such Part of the Lands hereby given and granted to the said _____ and

His Heirs forever as aforesaid, and which shall upon a survey thereof, be found within any such Reservation, shall be null and void, anything herein contained, to the contrary notwithstanding."

Seventh. That the Two Sevenths reserved for the Crown's future disposition, and the Support of a Protestant Clergy, be not severed Tracts each of One Seventh Part of the Township, but such Lots or Farms therein, as in the Surveyor General's Return of the Survey of the Township, shall be described as set apart for these Purposes, between the other Farms of which the said Township shall consist, to the Intent that the Lands so to be reserved, may be nearly of the like Value with an equal Quantity of the other Parts to be granted out as aforementioned.

Eighth. That the respective Patentees are to take the Estates granted to them severally free of Quit Rent and of any other Expences, than such Fees as are or may be allowed to be demanded and received by the different Officers concerned in passing the Patent and recording the same, to be stated in a Table authorized and established by the Government and publicly fixed up in the several Offices of the Clerk of the Council, of the Surveyor General, and of the Secretary of the Province.

Ninth. That every Patent be entered upon Record within Six Months from the Date thereof, in the Secretary's or Register's Offices, and a Docket thereof in the Auditor's Office.

Tenth. Whenever it shall be thought advisable to grant any given Quantity to one Person of One Thousand Acres or under, and the same cannot be found by Reason of the said Reservations and prior Grants within the Township in the Petition expressed, the same, or what shall be requisite to make up to such Person the Quantity advised, shall be located to him in some other Township upon a new Petition for that Purpose to be preferred.

And of the said several Regulations, all Persons concerned are to take Notice and govern themselves accordingly.

GIVEN under my Hand and Seal in the City of Quebec, the Seventh Day of February, in the Thirty-second Year of His Majesty's Reign, and in the Year of Our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Ninety-two.

JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE.

By His Excellency's Command,

THOMAS TALBOT, *Acting Secretary.*

FROM CHARLES STEVENSON TO J. G. SIMCOE.

NEW YORK, February 7th, 92.

Dear Simcoe:

I avail myself of the return of one of the Montreal merchants to inform you that I leave this on Saturday for Philadelphia. I should have been there before but waited the arrival of the packet. I hope it may arrive before Saturday as it must bring some accounts of Lord Dorchester's intended movements, and if the news of the Indian victory had a quick passage they may send out some interesting instructions to Mr. H. With him I propose passing 10 days, and then I think I shall not have much time to lose as I fear the lakes may not be passable the middle of next month, and wish to avoid if possible a journey as difficult and tedious as my last. I propose being in the State of Vermont the first week in March,

and write to-morrow to General Allen to request he will forward a letter to his brother Levi, as I should otherwise certainly miss him.

I received your letter, and shall whilst endeavouring to comply with your wish try to prove what interest he may have in his State. I am inclined to think him an adventurer and that he has deceived them at home. I have spoken to Rivington and have given him directions to furnish such periodical pamphlets, draughts of projected and intended canals, new histories of particular States, etc., as I conceive you to particularly want.

Sir John Temple¹ I am well acquainted with and asked him if the Marquis² had mentioned you to him. He had heard him often speak of you. I did not mention to him anything more for reasons I will tell you when we meet, and I have no doubt but that they will meet with your approbation. I shall however open a door for your correspondence with him if you wish it. Sir John tells me he has heard that Congress are debating about our posts. They mean to prosecute the war next year with 5,000 Infantry and 1,000 Cavalry. I was the other day with General Gates.³ We had a long conversation relative to the War. He agrees with Congress in thinking it right to gain one or two victories before they attempt a peace, but at the same time thinks that may not be so easy. To pass the next campaign in idleness is not politic. The Northern Confederacy will strengthen in the mean time and if Bowles is not idle the Treaty to the Southward⁴ may be broken.

Pinckney⁵ is appointed Ambassador to England, Gubbinere Morris⁶ to France and Short to Holland. The nomination had nearly made the President and his Congress sworn foes as they were much offended in not being consulted in the choice, and were going to resolve that Ambassadors were not necessary notwithstanding Mr. Washington had passed his word for their being sent to treat with the different States. Pinckney was approved of by Congress but Morris only carried by a majority of one vote and Short by a very few. When we meet I will tell you what had been the consequence of the Congress's refusal to approve them.

There is a petition before Congress from Oswego in Tioga County praying leave to erect a bridge and clear a road from thence to Cayuga Lake. I wrote to our friend Sir Henry⁷ by the Packet which sailed yesterday. About 30 square rigged vessels sailed in company for different European Ports, which had been detained here for some time by the ice. Last week the weather was very cold. They say they have not had it so severe since '80.

¹British Consul General at New York.

²The Marquis of Buckingham, a cousin to Sir John Temple.

³Horatio Gates, the victor of Saratoga, formerly an officer in the British army.

⁴The recent treaty with the Creek Indians concluded by Alexander McGillivray and his associates.

⁵Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina, (1750-1828), aide de camp to General Gates and taken prisoner at Camden, August, 1780; Governor of South Carolina, 1787; Minister to England, 1792; Minister to Spain, 1794; major general in the United States Army, 1812-4.

⁶Gouverneur Morris of New York, 1752-1816, studied law in the office of William Smith; Minister to France, 1792-4; he had resided at Paris in a semi-official station since 1789. On October 6, 1789, Washington directed him to proceed to England, and after making professions of a sincere desire on the part of the Government of the United States "to promote harmony and mutual satisfaction between the two countries," to sound the British Ministry on the subject of the cession of the frontier posts. He was cordially received by the Duke of Leeds, who assured him of the wishes of the Government to cultivate friendly relations with the United States, and announced that a Minister Plenipotentiary would soon be appointed to settle all subjects of dispute.

⁷Sir Henry Clinton.

All the world are speculators in this country, a universal spirit of gaming prevails in every part of it. I send you the daily papers by this opportunity. My respectful compliments to Mrs. Simcoe, and believe me as ever,

Your faithful friend,

CHARLES STEVENSON.

P.S. I have just heard the Packet is coming up and the letters may be expected in the course of the morning. Look into this day's paper and read Mr. Breckenridge's thoughts. He is one of the Representatives for Pennsylvania and is a man of great landed property and was bred a Lawyer in England.¹ He is with Congress; has not lost sight of Presque Isle. You will find him violent. It may do in Law, but if from want of Generals to fight the Indians they create him one he will make but a bad soldier.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO SIR GEORGE YONGE.

QUEBEC, Feby. 15th, 1792.

Sir:

I do myself the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your Letter of the seventh of October "acquainting me of his Majesty's Consent" That the uniform of the Corps now raising under my Command should be of the same pattern with that of the late Corps of Queens Rangers.

Upon my being informed that his Majesty had been pleased to approve of a Corps to be raised for Service & to be stationed under my Command in Upper Canada, I enlisted John McBride, who served with me during the late War, and appointed him to be Sergeant, taking him with me to Canada, and intending to employ him in duties that might be beneficial to the Corps, previous to its arrival in that Country. The Hurry in which I embarked prevented me from attending to his attestation in due form when at Weymouth; I have now forwarded it from this place to Capt'n Shank;² but I trust, Sir, if it be possible for you to remedy the defect so that the Sergeant may receive pay from the Commencement of the raising of the Corps, that you will have the goodness to enable me to do him that Justice.

I also wrote to Capt'n Shaw,³ who is now on his passage over the Snow from New Brunswick to bring with him any one of the Old Sergeants that He thought proper, and He has selected Daniel Moorhouse, who is now on his Journey with him for that purpose. I presume that He cannot as yet be attested, & I hope that under the existing Circumstances, you will extend to me the same favour as I have solicited for McBride. I have desired Capt'n Shank to apply at the War office for your determination on this Subject.

& am, Sir, &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

To The Rt Honble Sir G. Yonge,
Secretary at War.

¹Hugh H. Brackenridge of Pittsburg.

²Captain David Shank of the Queen's Rangers.

³Captain Æneas Shaw.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

No. 4.

QUEBEC, Feby. 16th, 1792.

Sir:

A secure mode of conveyance of my dispatches having offered by the Postmaster of Montreal proceeding himself to New York, I do myself the Honor of enclosing to you a duplicate of Mr. Allen's letter and a series of letters which has passed between me & some Gentlemen in the Magistracy of Upper Canada from which you will gather that altho' They do not Conceive Themselves to be empowered to act in the ordinary matters of their Duty, yet They have very properly taken upon Themselves The securing for The due Course of Law Persons charged with Treasonable Practices—In regard to the Circumstances Therein stated it may not be improper for me to observe, Sir, That The Chief Justice Smith says Colonel Cochran was one of the People of Vermont originally outlawed by the State of New York.

New York claimed the jurisdiction of the River St. Lawrence or the Territory on its borders, including Oswegatchie, & in the improvement of this claim, should New York be confederated with Vermont, now unfortunately melted into the United States & as the Road spoken of by Mr. Munroe seems to indicate a serious inconvenience, in the present Infant State of Upper Canada may cause to the British Government, as the consequent settlements must lay upon those Communications between the two Colonies which the smallest party aided by the natural Obstacles of the River would suffice to cut off, & therefore should great Britain & the United States form a new arrangement of their respective Boundaries, which is so justly & so anxiously wished for in the Country, I submit for your Consideration whether Great Britain might not attain a most useful extension of her Boundary by some line which might be drawn from the disputed Grounds on Lake Champlain to the Lake Oswego, including the River & a Country not as yet settled, & therefore more practicable to obtain from Congress. I understood that the State of New York, foreseeing the probability of such a Demarcation in 1786, granted the Lands in question avowedly to prevent a new Boundary ever being adjusted in this quarter.

I should think Oswego & I question whether Niagara would not be cheap sacrifices for such a limit which would be strictly defensive on our part & calculated to prevent future disagreements.

I have heard that Carleton Island,¹ the most important Post on Lake Ontario, is on the British side of the Line as the better channel is between that & the Southern Shore.

I have informed the Gentlemen who have been selected for the Legislative Council of Upper Canada of his Majesty's most gracious appointment.

I have thought proper to issue the same proclamation for the disposal of Lands in Upper Canada as Lt. Governor Clarke has for the Lower Province, & as the Lieut. Governor seemed to think it necessary to execute that part of the Instructions which Intimates "That it *may be* expedient to add to the Publication of the Terms & Conditions on which the Land is to be granted some short description of the natural advantages of the soil & climate & its peculiar advantages for Trade & Navigation," I did not hesitate to acquiesce in his Idea of making it my request

¹"Carleton Island lies near to Grand Island, opposite to Kingston, and nearest the south shore, where lake Ontario descends into the St. Lawrence."—Smith, Gazetteer of Upper Canada.

that such a description might for the present be omitted, on consideration of the difficulty of describing settlements of such infinite extent & various advantages; following also the Suggestion of Chief Justice Smith that a renewal of various publications would be from time to time highly necessary & principally my own opinion that the application of such descriptions to particular Districts of the respective Provinces as They might occasionally be surveyed rather than the enumeration of the different advantages which one Province has from its situation over the others would more conduce to the Public Utility & prevent what I conceive it necessary to guard against in the most cautious manner any appearance of separate Interest in the distinct Governments.

I have received Information from a Correspondent in Pennsylvania "That a number of Persons are disposed to leave that State to pass into Upper Canada" & he has held out that language of encouragement which I had directed. I have also seen Persons from Connecticut who confirm me in the belief that the Ecclesiastical Establishments which I have done myself the honor of mentioning to you are the most likely means of obtaining Emigrations from that Country, altho' the present Government of Congress & the delay of Great Britain in giving a free Constitution has made a sensible Alteration in the disposition of the Loyalists in that Province; there are also appearances of Many Persons from other United States wishing to quit their Dominions.

It is understood here that such Persons as were natural born subjects of Great Britain prior to the Grant of Independency to the United States are entitled to British privileges on taking the usual Oaths of Allegiance but that the Children of such Persons born under the Government of the United States have no such Claims. I should be happy to be informed by what method such children may become entitled to the advantage in order to Obviate the Objections which probably will arise upon that head from Persons desirous of removing with their families from the United States into Canada.

The Establishment of the Post in Upper Canada seems to be a necessary & most desirable measure, there have been doubts started since the British Parliament has given up the right of imposing any Duty Tax or assessment in Upper Canada "except Duties for the regulation of Commerce" whether it is possible to consider a Post Office Tax under this exception? & since the net produce of such Duties (admitting the Post Office Tax to be classed as a Duty for the regulation of Commerce), is to be paid & applied for the use of the Province in such manner as other Duties Collected by the General Assembly of the Province are ordinarily paid & applied, whether it does not follow that the General Assembly of the Province & not the Parliament of Great Britain has the right of superintending the Public Account of Duties so levied & Collected? As the Object of the Act alluded to was to remove Doubts & apprehensions concerning Taxation, I think it peculiarly my Duty to Obviate whatever may have contrary effects & I submit therefore to your Consideration whether whenever this Idea of establishing a Post Office shall be agitated, it may not be proper that a Bill as similar as possible to that of Great Britain shall be enacted for that purpose with a preamble describing its connection with the duties for the regulation of Commerce & vesting the Collection of the Tax in the Officers of the Deputy Post Master General of Lower Canada, he being made accountable for the revenue so raised to the Legislature of Upper Canada? upon this or any other mode that you may think more proper I beg for your directions & Instructions. Mr. Finlay, the Deputy Post Master General has informed me that he shall write to the Post Master General on the Subject. It is obvious that some expence, I trust a trifling one, will accrue to Great

Britain on the first Establishment of the Post Office; but I should suppose that it would soon yield a Competent & encreasing revenue.¹

The recent defeat of Mr. St. Clair may be productive of beneficial consequences to the Government of Upper Canada by terminating the War upon equitable terms between the American Indians and the United States; should Mr. Hammond be authorized to offer mediation on the part of Great Britain to effect this desirable purpose & be able to make it so publicly & so avowedly that the offer cannot be concealed by Mr. Washington or the Congress from their subjects on the one hand & on the other that the American Indians may clearly perceive that they have the wishes of Great Britain for their prosperity as far as is consistent with that strict & inviolable neutrality which must invariably guide her conduct.

The papers which General Clarke will have the honor of transmitting to you will, I trust, confirm those Ideas which I have formerly submitted to you relative to the Indians & that a central force established in the Capital of Upper Canada will be indispensably necessary not only to protect the Companies when they shall be employed in opening the more distant Communications but to watch over the American Indians whose affections may be alienated from us by our strict neutrality or seduced by the unwearied efforts of the subjects of the United States among whom they principally reside. In particular should the barrier forts, Niagara, which the letters I allude to intimate Commands the affections of the five nations, & Detroit, which secures those of the Western Indians, be given up to the United States, it is obvious that new arrangements of more considerable force will be necessary to protect the Infant Colony from incursions of a people who cannot be struck at in their own place of residence without raising in it the question by what right British Troops will enter into the Territories of the United States, a question which in the hands of the present Government of the United States would be resolved & enlarged into quality & magnitude sufficient to impress that People & the World at large of the rank injustice & unfairness of such a proceeding; it is to guard against the probability of these events & as much as possible to prevent them that I have always wished for a central force, a part of which, the new Corps must be trained to the peculiar Services the Country requires, & which collaterally in case it should be determined to preserve the barrier Posts may Contribute to that end & this it now becomes the Subject of serious contemplation since it is proved that Mr. St. Clair was to have established "with a strong hand" a post in the Vicinity of Detroit upon the Indian Territory & which both in manner & purpose, according to European Politicks, would be deemed a most dangerous aggression.

I am very sorry that the not being able to act in Upper Canada either in a Civil or Military Capacity has hitherto prevented me from going into the Government, every report that I have from it is of the most favorable cast, & I make no doubt but that the due support of this Colony in its Infancy will in a few Years be most bountifully repaid. I beg leave to assure you that no exertions of mine shall be wanting to expedite so desirable an event.

I have the honor to be with the utmost Respect & deference, Sir,
Your most Obt. Srt, J. G. SIMCOE.

To the Rt Honble. Henry Dundas &c.

One of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, Whitehall.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 16th Feby., 1792. Lieut. Govr. Simcoe (No. 4), R. 14 April. Three inclosures.

¹Colonial rights to postage duties, to which Lieut. Governor Simcoe here advanced a claim, were not conceded to Canada until 1851, after penny postage had become fully established in Great Britain.

FROM JOHN HUMFREY¹ TO J. G. SIMCOE.

MONTREAL, 18th February, 1792.

Sir:

I have been absent from Montreal for some time past which has prevented me from acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 2nd instant sooner. It will give me much pleasure if any observations of mine tend to give you the information you wish, or elucidate in any manner the sketch of Lake Huron.

Should it ever be thought an object to establish a settlement at the head of the Lake or change the present Post at Michillimackinac, the Island of St. Joseph appears to be the best situation for that purpose, it is in the direct route of the canoes from the French River, and on the north side the ship channel to St. Mary's, which passes thro' Lake George², the narrows leading into which are not more than 200 yards wide. A Battery at these narrows dependent on a Post at St. Joseph's would effectually command this communication; there is a channel for boats or canoes to the southward of the ship channel and which is generally made use of being the nearest, but they must even then pass within sight of the Island of St. Joseph, should it ever be thought proper to remove the transport of goods to the north side the Falls of St. Mary's, there is a small rapid run that by means of locks it is thought might be made navigable for boats to pass without unloading, or a carrying place might be made of not more than half a mile long. The rapids are not navigable for canoes on the north side at present, but might easily be made so by removing some stones, or otherwise assisting some particular parts of the channel. The ground on the north side is low and swampy. From St. Mary's to the River Thessalon the country is low and barren, on the banks of that River there is a small space of good ground, at the entrance of the River is a bar that prevents vessels drawing more than 6 feet going in, and the approach to the River is not safe on account of sunken rocks and shoals. The coast from Thessalon to Matchedash Bay is entirely barren, and the Lake between the Manitoulin Islands and the coast full of small Islands and sunken rocks, particularly from the French River to Matchedash Bay. The approach to the Bay would from this circumstance be dangerous for vessels. The water communication from Lake aux Claies³ to Matchedash Bay is about 60 miles, and 7 carrying places, three of them being near two miles long, the river is of sufficient depth but its steep, rocky banks render it difficult to take large canoes over the carrying places; on the south side of Matchedash Bay the country totally changes its appearance and is as fertile as the north side is barren, and continues with a few exceptions to the Detroit River. The Islands that lay off Thunder Bay⁴ would afford good shelter to vessels, should it ever be necessary to bring any to this part of the Lake, and the approach to them appears to be safe and free from rocks and shoals; from these Islands to the Detroit River there is no appearance of a harbour. The rivers are small with sand banks at the entrance. Should it however be an object to form a settlement on this part of the coast, I should recommend a more strict examination of it than it was in our power from particular circumstances to make. It might perhaps be worth while to examine the Rivers on the coast between *a* and *b* in the sketch, where the land is

¹ First lieutenant of Engineers, "stationed in the Upper Countries."

² Lake Superior.

³ Lake Simcoe.

⁴ In Simcoe County, opposite the Christian Island group.

remarkably good, and one of the Rivers (which we did not enter) near the River au Sable¹ appears to be of more consequence than any other on the coast.

Should these remarks lead to any particular questions on the subject, I shall be happy to give you any further information in my power, being with much respect, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN HUMFREY.

Lieut. Governor Simcoe.

FROM CHARLES STEVENSON TO GEORGE HAMMOND.

NEW YORK, February 28th, 1792.

Dear Sir:

I am just favored with your letter and shall with pleasure await Lieutenant Colonel Beckwith's arrival. My throat has been so bad as to make my stay here necessary for a few days longer. I was going to write you by this day's post to inform you that I had applied to every bookseller in this place without being able to procure the Acts that passed the first Session of Congress 89. Will you oblige me with them as the Volume contains all the Indian Treaties, information that may be very useful to the gentlemen of the North-west.

The Merchants seem to think the boundary by the Treaty to be indefinite and want my explanation as you will perceive by their petition. They take the spirit of the Treaty to be that we should jointly with the Americans enjoy the navigation of the Mississippi, a circumstance that is impossible by the present line of demarkation. If the parties who signed the Treaty appear not to have been the most correct Geographers, the present may prove a good opportunity of setting things to rights.

The letter and the spirit of the law have been explained very differently by learned and able lawyers, and as man may have rights by the one without altering the form of the other I conceive we might expound the articles in question agreeable to our interest and safety. 'Tis singular that we should reverse the axiom that dispatch is the life of business, for in the present instance 'tis procrastination that can alone save us.

Adieu, dear Sir, and believe me &c.

CHARLES STEVENSON.

His Excellency George Hammond, Esq.

FROM CHARLES STEVENSON TO GEORGE HAMMOND.

NEW YORK, 6th March, 1792.

Dear Sir:

Since my last letter it has occurred to me that the Americans who boast of their having fulfilled their part of the Treaty cannot with propriety be admitted to avail themselves of the assertion without investigating how far they are entitled to consideration on that head. I believe it will be found not to have originated in Justice but through necessity, and the following reasons may be alleged against them as militating against the declaration of the exact performance on their part.

¹ "Sables, Rivière aux Sables, runs into the south of lake Huron, south of the highlands, and easterly to where the waters of that lake descend in the River St. Clair." Smith, Gazetteer of Upper Canada.

An article of the Treaty expressly says that no person shall be persecuted either in person or property for the part he took (in siding with Britain) during the war, yet one of the first acts of these scrupulous Americans was to levy a partial tax on all persons of that description. A second act of theirs went to prevent the suing their respective debtors for their just debts under the term of three years from the date of said act, and lastly they were compelled to take the paper currency at that period depreciated so low as 20 shillings of said money for 2s. 6d Sterling, and yet they were obliged to receive it for Sterling, by which means they were treated as the creditors of a set of Bankrupts. If they refused they were cited before a Tribunal and the tender there made; if then declined all recovery after ceased. Those who were under the necessity of parting then with the paper were mostly ruined. Some few kept it and since Congress have thought proper to redeem the debt have not been losers, but that is more owing to chance than intentional justice. At any rate they have been kept out of their principal (as they could not pass their paper for the value they were obliged to receive it) for nine years, and the compound interest is of course lost to them.

No compensation is thought of by Congress to the Loyalists for their patience under their unjust treatment. Though none may ever be made them it may give you an opportunity of making the Americans explain a conduct incompatible with their declaration of having fulfilled their part of the Treaty.

Mr. McGill¹ has been with me this morning and tells me you do not understand what particular impediments the Fur-trade will have from the Grande Portage being ceded to America. You will probably recollect that I told you should that event take place the merchants would be obliged to carry on the trade by a small river which is to the Northward; that they had tried that communication and that it would cause a delay of at least six weeks in the return of their canoes, and create an additional expense and great difficulty for that period would so clog the trade that the merchants would scarcely think it worth their capital and time to continue in it. As you are in possession of the map you will readily find out the river I had the honor of marking to you. Its name I cannot recollect but I firmly believe the loss of the Grande Portage will dry up the sources of the richest trade in Canada, a trade that not only benefits England, but by our intercourse with the Savage tends to keep him in our interest and probably be the means of preventing the Tomahawk from being turned from the Americans towards us. Whoever has the most extensive commercial connections with the Indians will be the most likely to induce them to second their views. That you may have the happiness to avert these evils is the sincere wish of, dear Sir,

Yours, etc.

CHARLES STEVENSON.

P.S. The Postmaster General of the States by a clause in the Act may make any arrangements with the Postmaster of foreign States for the reciprocal receipt and delivery of letters. The Post Office for Congress to be next June at Burlington in Vermont State and on the Mohawk at Canojoharie, which makes against the plan I had the honor to communicate to you when we conversed on that subject, namely that we should deliver our letters from Upper Canada at Albany for the reasons I then gave you.

His Excellency George Hammond, Esq.

April 5th, 1792.

¹ James McGill of Montreal.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

No. 5.

QUEBEC, March 10th, 1792.

Sir:

I do myself The honor of requesting your explanations & directions upon the Authority of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs.

By the Commission of Sir John Johnson it appears to me that he is meant to be solely responsible to the Officer Commanding in Chief the Forces in Upper or Lower Canada but by an Extract of your Letter of the 16th September, 1791 it should appear that he was intended by this Commission to be subject to the Command or Control of such Officers as His Majesty from time to time shall Think fit to entrust with the Government of *either* of those Provinces.

I am perfectly aware of the reasons which have formerly induced his Majesty's Ministers to appoint & continue the Office of Superintendent General, & tho, in some respects many of them are now done away with, yet the principal one remains at this particular crisis in greater force than ever. The Influence & authority which That Office has necessarily acquired over the minds of The Savages, it is reasonable to expect, will be put to the fullest proof. In such a situation of Affairs, I am by no means desirous of diminishing the responsibility of That Office & attaching it to my own, either as Civil Governor or as Commanding His Majesty's Forces in Upper Canada, but there are Instances in which it appears to me to be proper for The Public Welfare That the Superintendent General & those who derive their Authority from him should be subject to the Command of the Civil Government of Upper Canada, and many of those without doubt occurred to you, Sir, when you wrote the Letter to which I have alluded.

I have therefore to solicit from you in such mode as you shall deem proper an Explanation upon this Subject.—and I am very anxious for your directions by the very earliest opportunity in Consequence of it appearing to me to be of infinite importance to the Prosperity of The Colony of Upper Canada to purchase a tract of Land from the Indians of which I shall subjoin a more particular description.

In accomplishing this purchase, of whose advantages The Civil Government of Upper Canada must naturally be The best Judge & certainly responsible to His Majesty's Ministers for the propriety of the Act, it does not appear to me to be proper or usual that such Civil Government should be subordinate to the *Officer* who shall Command in Chief His Majesty's Forces in America, but that directions should be issued by its own Authority to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs to carry into Execution The Orders agreeable to the General Spirit of his Instructions, and in the customary manner of his own department.

The Land I allude to is situated on a Carrying Place from Sturgeon Bay¹ into another part of the Lake Huron to avoid the doubling of a dangerous Point in Lake Huron. I am very sorry that the distance I am from Upper Canada & in truth the very little information that any traders can give except on those particular points in which they are interested, prevent me from offering a more decisive opinion upon The Situation in That Country, but I have met with nothing but what confirms me in The propriety of The plans which I have heretofore submitted to you.

I do myself the Honor of enclosing to you a Sketch of part of Upper Canada

¹Gloucester Bay.

by which you will see where the Indian Title is extinct by British purchases & where it exists in its original possessors.

The Land which I wish to purchase to form in all views a most desirable Settlement is distinctly coloured.

I conceive that the present Summer will afford a proper opportunity for The accomplishment of This purchase as a number of Indians will necessarily be assembled to receive Their customary presents & will be fully acquainted that the new Government of Upper Canada will not suffer any encroachment to be made upon The Land which they have not sold, but which will be preserved for their comfort & satisfaction, a reservation that in my Judgment will be highly advantageous to Upper Canada. I have also marked the Lands which have been promised to Brant & other Indians. They have been surveyed for That purpose & I have given him assurances that it will be the earliest Object of my care to fulfill Lord Dorchester's intentions in that respect. I conceive it to be particularly important that one of the first Acts of my Administration will be the Trial of two Indians connected with this Chief on a charge of Murder.

I do myself the honor of enclosing a Copy of Sir John Johnson's Commission together with the Extract to which I allude.

I have the honor to be with the utmost respect,

Sir,

Your most Obedient and faithful Servt.

J. G. SIMCOE.

To the Rt. Honble. Henry Dundas,
one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, &c.
Whitehall.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 10th March, 1792. Lieut. Govr. Simcoe (No. 5). R. 18 May. (Three inclosures.)

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO GOUVERNEUR MORRIS,
UNITED STATES MINISTER TO FRANCE.

PHILADELPHIA, March 10, 1792.

.....
You will perceive that the Indian war calls for sensible exertions. It would have been a trifle had we only avowed enemies to contend with. The British court have disavowed all aid to the Indians. Whatever may have been their orders in the direction, the Indians are fully & notoriously supplied by their agents with everything necessary to carry on the war. Time will shew how all this is to end.....

(The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, edited by P. L. Ford, Vol. V, pp. 449-451.)

DISTRIBUTION OF QUARTERS AND CANTONMENTS FOR THE
TROOPS IN CANADA AND FRONTIERS THEREON
DEPENDING, FOR THE YEAR 1792.

Regiments.	Companies.	
5th.	1	Fort Erie.
	$\frac{1}{2}$	Fort Schlosser or Chippawa.
	$8\frac{1}{2}$	Niagara.
	<hr/>	
	10	Companies.
7th or Royal Fusiliers.	10	Quebec.
24th.	$11\frac{1}{2}$	Michillimackinac.
	$8\frac{1}{2}$	Detroit.
	<hr/>	
	10	
26th.	6	St. Johns.
	2	Isle aux Noix.
	1	Point au Fer.
	1	Chambly Fort.
	<hr/>	
	10	
60th. First Battalion.	1	Fort Ontario.
	2	Kingston.
	2	La Prairie.
	3	Longueuil, Headquarters.
	2	Boucherville.
	<hr/>	
	10	
2d. Battalion.	10	Montreal—furnish detachments to Lachine and Coteau du Lac.
Royal Artillery.	2	Quebec.
	1	William Henry
	1	Upper Posts.

Detachments for Dutchman's Point.

QUEBEC, 14 March, 1792.

Approved.
ALURED CLARKE.

JOHN BARNES,
Dy. Q. M. Genl.

By the Major General's Command,
FRANCIS LE MAISTRE, M.S.

FROM JOHN CRAIGIE TO J. G. SIMCOE.

QUEBEC, 14th¹ March, 1792.

Sir:

In consequence of directions from His Excellency Major General Clarke, I have the honor to acquaint you that Mr. Alexander Davison¹ of London, having been appointed by the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury to execute the business of supplying the Troops in Canada with provisions by commission from the expiration of the present contract, viz., on the 17th inst. has named the undermentioned persons to furnish such supplies of Flour and of Peas as may be required for His Majesty's service in Upper Canada, viz.;

Mr. Cartwright at Kingston,

Mr. R. Hamilton at Niagara,

Messrs. Askin and W. Robertson at Detroit.²

and that instructions are accordingly forwarded by this opportunity to those persons to furnish the whole quantities which may be required, excepting such part thereof as may, previous to the time when these instructions shall reach the several posts, have been delivered or engaged for under Your Excellency's sanction, on the terms suggested in my letter to His Excellency the Major General of the 27th of October last, or on any other terms which Your Excellency may have deemed expedient or proper.

I also do myself the honor to enclose to Your Excellency distribution of an early supply of provisions for the Upper Posts as approved by the Major General, the Flour and Peas whereof to be received according to the above-mentioned instructions. By Mr. Davison's instructions from the Treasury the provisions are required to be of good quality, in good condition and warranted to keep for six months.

Should the adjoining settlements fall short in either of the articles for the quantities required at the several posts, recourse may be had to the others, and if these should fail, of which I can see no probability, supplies will be sent from Lower Canada along with the salt provisions and rice.

I have the honor to be very respectfully, Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

JOHN CRAIGIE,
Com'y General.

His Excellency Colonel Simcoe,
Commanding Upper Canada.

¹ Davison, Alexander, 1752-1829, a well known Government contractor, who was also the prize agent and confidential friend of Lord Nelson. In partnership with his brother George, he was engaged as a merchant and shipbuilder in the Canadian trade during the American war. He resided for several years at Quebec and in 1784 was appointed a member of the Legislative Council for the province. George Davison was also appointed a Legislative Councillor and held that office for several years. They had a monopoly of the supply of the King's Posts, which proved very lucrative. Alexander Davison was Treasurer of the Ordnance Department in 1806-7. He was then prosecuted for having received unlawful commissions on supplies while holding that office and found guilty. Although he refunded upwards of £8,000, he was sentenced to imprisonment for twenty-nine months in Newgate gaol. He had at that time accumulated a large fortune. His correspondence with Simcoe indicates that they were on terms of intimacy.

² These gentlemen were the leading merchants of the Province. Robertson had been appointed a member of the Executive Council, but never took his seat. Cartwright and Hamilton were members of the Legislative Council.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

No. 6.

QUEBEC, March 15th, 1792.

Sir:

I do myself the honor of informing you That I have received The following answer to my Letter of the 6th of February to The Magistrates of Lunenburg, (whose correspondence I transmitted to you in my Letter No. 4 of The 16th of Feby & its duplicates on the 22d). "We are greatly indebted for your friendly communications respecting the Courts of Justice. I was favored with the Act of Parliament which explains all That is necessary for The present & will Conduct us in future."

I have not heard of any difficulties which hitherto have arisen in any other part of the Government from The necessary suspension of my taking upon myself The Office of Lieut. Governor; but I cannot but conceive it as a most favorable circumstance That The Troops of The United States have been disappointed in Their Attempts to establish themselves in its Vicinity.

I take This Opportunity of enclosing to you a return which I have received of the People who came in during Part of the last Year at Oswego.

I am with the utmost respect, Sir,
Your most Obedient and very faithful Servant,
J. G. SIMCOE.

The Rt. Honble Henry Dundas,
One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State,
&c., &c., &c. Whitehall.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 15th March, 1792. Lieut. Governor Simcoe. R. 18 May. No. 6. (One Inclosure.)

Return of the number of Souls entered at the Port of Oswego, from the American States and Past on to the New Settlements from 1st May, 1789 To 1st Novr. 1791.

Places to.	Men.	Women.	Children.		Total.
			Male.	Female.	
Niagara.....	86	63	62	52	263.
Kingston.....	113	97	106	84	400.
Lunenburg.....	51	33	35	35	154.
Total number of souls.....					817.

JOHN VALENTINE,¹
Preventive Officer.

Endorsed:—In Lieut. Govr. Simcoe's (No. 6) of the 15th March, 1792.

¹ Late ensign in the Royal Regiment of New York; had previously served eighteen years in the ranks in the 55th and 62nd Regiments.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO GEORGE HAMMOND.

QUEBEC, March 15, 1792.

Dr Sir:

It is with great pleasure that I find by an Albany paper that the Senate of the States have negatived the Bill for the increase of their army, and I hope the consequence will be a lasting peace with the American Indians, upon equitable principles, and that Great Britain will be spared those very heavy expences, which are inevitably incident to the assembling of the Indians upon her frontiers, whatever may be the motives. I have not the smallest idea that the intentions of the leaders in the States were to commit hostilities against Great Britain, but what might have been the consequence, had their troops been flushed with victory and egged on by a set of designing men, who, (Mr. Breckenridge¹ for instance), openly support the notorious falsehood, that the United States have performed their part of the Treaty, and that Great Britain, by keeping the Posts, has failed in her compact, it is impossible to foresee. I hope their forces will remain at a due distance, and not give any reason to suppose that such principles as Mr. Breckenridge and other anonymous authors have displayed, meet with the least countenance from those who are in authority and cannot but know that peace is the real object of Great Britain and the true interest of the United States. I enclose you a paper, thinking any information whatever may be of some use to you, to combine and compare it with others. In cypher: "Having sent you an extract of my letter to Mr. Dundas, I have to add in support of the last paragraph, that I have lately seen the gentleman, who was passenger with you, and he says, the commissioner of his State, save New York, was willing to permit the Boundaries of their State to extend, as I wished for ourselves, to the Lake, so as to include the shores of the river, and he added that his belief was that New York was jealous of Albany's becoming the Capital of that State, whose influence would be weakened by the concession of Boundary."

I have the honour to be, &c., &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

Geo. Hammond, Esq., Philadelphia.

FROM CHARLES STEVENSON TO J. G. SIMCOE.

MONTREAL, Tuesday, 27th March, 1792.

Dear Simcoe:

I arrived here late last night. I left New York the 9th at night, having embarked in a sloop to — and the Hudson as far as it was open. Intolerably bad roads and the difficulty of procuring conveyance has made my journey very tedious. I had all sorts of conveyances from a sloop to a canoe and from a horse to a waggon.

The Packet was not arrived although a fortnight after her time. I waited till I thought it imprudent to stay longer for fear of the lakes breaking up, and Mr. Hammond to whom I wrote for the Act of Congress and the Indian Treaties, had not been able to send them to me until the 6th at night. Lieutenant Colonel Beckwith brought them to me and sailed on the Saturday following for England in the Packet, which was to call at Halifax on her way.

I find Lord Effingham's death has been doubted here but it may be depended on as fact. I was in hopes I should have met your Excellency at this place as you

¹ Probably Hugh H. Brackenridge of Pittsburg, who was a prolific pamphleteer.

had proposed when I left you. Nobody here knowing when you propose coming, I have sent by this post the newspapers and likewise Mr. Hammond's book and letters to you as well as one to General Clarke, who will receive the Philadelphia paper by the same opportunity, given to me by Lieutenant Colonel Beckwith.

On the Subject of Emigration Mr. H. and Mr. Bond, the Consul, think it would be advisable to publish the proclamation for encouraging settlers in Upper Canada in the Quebec papers and in all the English papers as well as the West Indies, where the Americans carry on a great trade. It will be the only means of getting it into circulation. General Clarke's proclamation was put up in some of the taverns, but soon torn down as the landholders in the States do not wish to have our offer to settlers to be made public. Mr. Hammond says as the Americans have published their terms and circulated them by means of agents and emissaries they cannot complain of our adopting the same or similar plans. The emigration from Ireland last year was 6,000, and from Whitby in England 44 manufacturers. They have agents in both countries to entice our artists, and are now going to establish a great manufactory at the Passaic Falls in Jersey. Mr. Hamilton in his report seems to have had in view and to have built his hopes of success of their future greatness on the facility of obtaining our best artists.

Richard England (the Quaker) is banished from the Tabernacle as not being an honest man. His settlement as proposed in Canada was projected by Cockran who meant to make himself their seignior. About 3,000 proposed transporting themselves, providing they could have had the free exercise of their religion, an exemption from military duties and taxation for the express purposes of war. Many impediments being thrown in their way and an uncommon scarcity of provisions almost amounting to a famine in Canada in the year 88, deterred them from the attempt. The same sect complain much of the present grievous taxes, with the prospect of their being increased, and the militia bill having passed that does not admit of religious scruples exempting from military duty.

They with a little management would probably turn their thoughts to Canada. Mr. Bond (the Consul) thinks the time not far off. At present they speak very cautiously. They must not be put on the frontier as was formerly proposed by the speculating Cockran. Mr. Bond says they are the most useful citizens and that he is very intimate with them; that the meetings on the former occasion were held at his house; that the utmost caution was necessary and that they always came by night. Should the first emigrants meet with a gracious reception, and particular advantages be held out to so useful a body, no doubt can be entertained but that great numbers soon will follow. Probably the Capital would be the best place to settle them in, or at least near it, as their industry and frugality would sooner make it of consequence.

Mr. Hammond cannot give any decided opinion relative to the posts. He must be guided by his instructions from home, but will procrastinate as much as he can when the Cession is resolved on. He has told Mr. Hamilton¹ that when they get them they will find them of little consequence and great expense, as we cannot allow them to build on the lakes any naval force without increasing our own to a much superior one, and the same plan will be adopted should they increase their artillery or any places of arms that they may propose erecting, that consequently the longest purse will carry that country. Mr. Hamilton who had not thought on that circumstance was much surprised at the declaration. The desire the Americans have to possess the Posts is almost incredible, and Mr. Hammond says that he is not clear they would not go to war for them the first opportunity.

CHARLES STEVENSON.

¹Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury in Washington's cabinet.

FROM HENRY DUNDAS TO ALURED CLARKE.

WHITEHALL, 16 March, 1792.

Lieut. Govr. Clarke.

Sir:

I transmit you inclosed Copies of Lord Grenville's Letter to Mr. Hammond, and of mine to Lord Dorchester, respecting the views of His Majesty's Servants, as connected with the present Disputes subsisting betwixt the Indians and the American States.

You will observe that Mr. Hammond is authorized to propose His Majesty's good Offices for the Establishment of a permanent Peace between them, on the principle of securing to the latter such a Territory as in those Letters is particularly stated. You will therefore on the Receipt of this Letter lose no time in sending in conjunction with Lieut. Governor Simcoe, to Mr. Hammond such a Person, & in transmitting to him such Documents as may in the progress of His Negotiation be of the greatest assistance to him, in forming from the relative Situations of all the Parties concerned a proper judgment & Estimation of the Territory, which it may be proposed to secure to the Indians, & in correctly ascertaining the different boundaries & Limits thereof.

I recommend it to you to entrust Mr. Givens, the Bearer of this Dispatch, to convey such Documents and Papers to & from Mr. Hammond as may be necessary pending the Negotiation.

The account Lord Dorchester has given to me of Mr. McKee¹ of the Indian Department at Detroit, of his local knowledge and Information, and of his intimate Acquaintance with the Interests of His Majesty's Subjects in that quarter points him out as a proper Person to be sent to Mr. Hammond, but if any Circumstance should deprive you of his Services, You will procure such other Person, as you may judge best qualified for the Employment.

I am, &c.

HENRY DUNDAS.

P.S. You will upon consultation with Lieut. Govr. Simcoe according to your direction, either give Directions for Mr. McKee to come to you from Detroit with such charts & Documents as may be of Service in forming the best Opinion on the Subject matter of the intended Negotiation, or you will transmit by Mr. Givens such Directions & Instructions to Mr. McKee at Detroit, as may enable him to go from thence to Philadelphia, should the same be deemed practicable.

H. D.

*Endorsed:—Drat.**To Lieut. Govr. Clarke, 16 March, 1792.*

¹Alexander McKee, 1730?-1799, a native of Pennsylvania, since 1757 employed as an interpreter and deputy agent for Indian affairs at Pittsburg and afterwards at Detroit.

FROM HENRY DUNDAS TO J. G. SIMCOE.

WHITEHALL, 16 March, 1792.

Lieut. Govr. Simcoe.

Sir:

I transmit you inclosed Copies of Lord Grenville's Letter to Mr. Hammond & mine to Lord Dorchester respecting the views of His Majesty's Servants as connected with the present Disputes subsisting betwixt the Indians & the American States.

You will observe that Mr. Hammond is authorized to propose His Majesty's good Offices for the establishment of a permanent peace between them, on the principle of securing to the latter such a Territory as in those Letters is particularly stated. You will, therefore, on the Receipt of this Letter, lose no time in sending in conjunction with Lieut. Govr Clarke to Mr. Hammond such Person, as in transmitting to him such Documents as may in progress of His Negotiation be of the greatest assistance to him in forming from the relative situations of all parties concerned a proper Judgement & Estimation of the Territory which it may be proposed to secure to the Indians, & in ascertaining the different boundaries and limits thereof.

I recommend it to you to intrust Mr. Givens, the Bearer of this Dispatch, to convey such Documents and Papers to and from Mr. Hammond as may be necessary during the Negotiation. The Account Lord Dorchester has given to me of Mr. McKee of the Indian Department at Detroit, of his local knowledge and Information, and of *his* intimate acquaintance with the Interest of His Majesty's Subjects in that quarter, points him out as a proper Person to be sent to Mr. Hammond; but if any circumstances should deprive you of His Services, you may procure such other Person as you may Judge best qualified for the Employment.

I am, &c.,

HENRY DUNDAS.

*Endorsed.—Drat.**To Lieut. Govr. Simcoe, 16 March, 1792.*

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO SAMUEL HOLLAND.

QUEBEC, March 17th, 1792.

Sir:

As I understand there are doubts relative to the Boundary of a purchase made from the Messessaga Indians on the 2 of May, 1784. I conceive it necessary that a Deputy-Surveyor should immediately proceed to ascertain the Limit, which by the minute, I do myself the honor to enclose to you, appears to be disputable, namely, whether a North West Course drawn from the Waghquata Lake does, or does not, strike the River La Tranche or New River?—

You will be pleased therefore to order such person as you shall have confidence in, upon this service; It will be necessary that He should form a plan of the Course in question; and also a Computation of the River Tranche; and report in person to me when I shall go into Upper Canada, as well as return an Account to your Office of his proceedings.

You will of course give such directions as your Experience will suggest to you, that this Service be executed as speedily and with as little Expence to Government as possible.—

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your most Obedt. Servt,
J. G. SIMCOE.
Lt. Gr. of Upper Canada.

To the Surveyor General.

FROM GEORGE HAMMOND TO LORD GRENVILLE.

Private.

PHILADELPHIA, April 5, 1792.

In addition to my dispatch No. 15, I think it necessary to inform your Lordship that I am fully persuaded of the truth of those assurances which Mr. Carmichael¹ gave to Mr. Merry² of his desire to withhold, as long as he decently could, the communication of the offers that had been made to his country by the Spanish Minister. For, about six weeks ago, in an accidental conversation with Mr. Jefferson, that gentleman animadverted with no little asperity on the jealous caution of the Court of Spain, to which alone he said he could ascribe the circumstance of his not having heard from Mr. Carmichael for some weeks past. Since that time several American vessels have arrived from Cadiz (one or two of which have had passages remarkably short) and, I presume, from Mr. Hamilton's communications, that by some of them the Spanish propositions have been transmitted to this Government.

Colonel Smith, whom your Lordship saw in London, having conceived some disgust against Mr. Jefferson and the President, and imagining that his communications had not been treated with the respect which they merited, has resigned a very lucrative situation under this Government, and is now on his voyage to England. As he may probably endeavour to throw himself in your Lordship's way, I take the liberty of apprising you that, although his abilities are rather contracted, and he is not untinctured with vanity and affectation, I firmly believe him to be a man of unimpeachable integrity, and possessing a strong predilection for England. He is the son-in-law of the Vice President of the United States (John Adams) and much in his confidence.

(Historical Manuscripts Commission, Dropmore Papers, Vol. II, pp. 263-4.)

FROM CHARLES STEVENSON TO J. G. SIMCOE

MONTREAL, 5th April, 1792.

Dear Simcoe,—

I am this moment favored with your letter. I am sorry to learn you do not propose coming here until the arrival of the spring ships, as I should think you might procure more information here than at Quebec, the want of which might probably delay you when on your way up the country, as all the voyageurs leave this if possible on the first of May.

The merchants are impatient to learn Mr. H's opinion on their request. I told them I had written to you on the subject and that I should not converse with

¹William Carmichael, Chargé d'affaires for the United States in Spain.

²Anthony Merry, British Minister at Madrid.

them on that topic until I had heard from you. I shall, agreeable to your orders, communicate the heads of his discourse and leave to your Excellency to speak as to essentials.

The continuance of the Indian War is to be desired. When I spoke to Mr. H. on that subject we agreed on the probable consequences that might arise from it. Our mediation being asked we might draw a new line of demarkation. I wished to know whether (as Government had declared they would not take a part in it), it would be contrary to policy and justice to advise the Indian as to his future movements, and to mark to him his errors in his last victory, that he might correct them on any future occasion, that such advice and instruction might be conveyed to them by means of some creditable merchant or others not in a public situation. He said that merchants were not to be trusted and public characters could not consistent with the declaration. I then observed with regard to the former that it was no more than what passed daily in every coffee-house in England, and against which there was no law and every man thought himself at liberty to pass his strictures on foreign Generals as well as his own, and that he might tell a Turk that if the Russians made such a movement it was his opinion they should do such a one as he thought it would advantage them, and that I did not suppose that the Empress would complain that England had taken an active part with the Turk and assisted him, at least with her advice. The natural conclusion of such an argument was that there was no law to prevent it but that the affair was delicate.

I was extremely sorry the Packet had not arrived as Mr. H. expected his dispatches would contain matter of much importance, but I could wait no longer as the return by the lakes was then become precarious, and Colonel Beckwith told me he did not believe I could then pass them. It is true they were very bad. The Packet on board which I put your dispatches sailed the 13th January. I brought Mr. H's from Philadelphia on the 11th, on which evening Mr. Maganess, the Agent, closed the mail. In your letter to me of January 5th you mention the person¹ to whom you and Sir H.² had lent money not being able to repay you, and desired I would enquire on my way through Vermont if there was any probability of your being paid, and that if advancing a little more could place him in a situation to discharge his debt. I therefore could not have held out to him a prospect of pecuniary assistance without a security, and his brother, a man of very great landed property, I should have expected would have given it or I must have concluded they were all rogues and that your chance for the refunding was very bad.

Levy³ in the letter you have of his has said that Governor Chittenden was attached to the Party that wanted to join England. To Mr. H. he has asserted the contrary. He has been in Canada above a month, probably he may be at St. John's where he generally resides at a store when in the country. I send you copies of my letters to Mr. Hammond.

Mr. Nepean and to Mr. Bond the Consul at Philadelphia I wrote and to Mr. B.; but the one was only to ask him how I was to get my letters conveyed to him and therefore I kept no copy of it, the answer to it being all I wanted. I am happy

¹This was probably Ira Allen, 1751-1814, Secretary, Treasurer, Surveyor General, and a member of the Executive Council of Vermont, 1778-86; one of the principal persons concerned in the negotiations with Governor Haldimand for reunion in 1781-2; since 1786 deeply interested in the promotion of a project to unite Lake Champlain with the St. Lawrence and Hudson rivers by navigable canals and thus facilitate commercial intercourse between Vermont and Canada, for which purpose he had lately visited England. While residing there from 1785 until 1803, he wrote a History of Vermont.

²Sir Henry Clinton.

³Levi Allen, a brother of Ethan and Ira Allen.

to hear Grey is to accompany us. Remember me kindly to all your family. As soon as the river is open and I can get a conveyance down it I will, if you wish, come to Quebec, but thought you might wish to have been here before all the voyageurs left it, they being the only people that can give you any tolerable account of the country. I heard your Excellency has been made free of the country by a plunge into the St. Lawrence.¹ I hope you got no cold from so uncomfortable an operation.

I remain,

Faithfully your sincere friend,

C. STEVENSON.

FROM HENRY DUNDAS TO J. G. SIMCOE.

WHITEHALL, 10th April, 1792.

Lieut. Governor Simcoe.

Sir,

I have received your Letters of the Dates & Numbers mentioned in the
 17th & 19th Novr., Margin and had the honor of laying them
 7th Decr, 1791, before the King.
 5 Jany. 1792.

The Corps destined for Upper Canada leaving England at the same time as this Dispatch, I conceive it is unnecessary to consider of any further steps respecting the assumption of your Military Authority, as soon as I shall, in consequence of my communication with Lord Dorchester, have decided on the points mentioned in your Letter of the 17th Novr. last together with such others as will of course form part of the General System to be considered of, I shall not fail specifically to communicate to you my determination thereupon.

I shall hope that the views of His Majesty's Ministers as expressed to you in my last Dispatch, (provided the same may be executed and brought to a happy conclusion), will have a considerable effect in establishing the future security both of Upper and Lower Canada on a solid and permanent Basis.

The Arrival of Chief Justice Osgoode² and Mr. Russell³, who have already departed from hence⁴ will relieve you from the difficulties stated in your Letter of the 19th Novr. last, and in avoidance of which, as it does not appear whether any or what steps would be taken by you, I have not had an opportunity of taking any others here in consequence thereof.—I hope therefore, the Gentlemen I have just

¹While walking across the ice bridge at Quebec in company with his wife, Simcoe had fallen into the river. *Vide* J. Ross Robertson's edition of Mrs. Simcoe's Diary, p. 77.

²Osgoode, William, 1754-1824, reputed to be a natural son of King George II; graduated from Christ Church, Oxford, B.A. 1772, M.A. 1777; student at Lincoln's Inn, 1773; called to the bar at the Inner Temple, 1779; published the same year "Remarks on the Laws of Descent"; Chief Justice for Upper Canada, 1791-4; Chief Justice for Lower Canada, succeeding William Smith, 1794-1801; in the latter office he became involved in a bitter controversy with the Governor General, Robert Prescott, which led to his resignation; afterwards he acted on several important legal commissions in England. He was afflicted with a certain hesitation in his speech which affected his success at the bar.

³Russell, Peter, a native of Ireland; educated at Cambridge; captain, 64th Regiment, 1778; assistant secretary to Sir Henry Clinton and participated in the expedition which took Charleston, S.C., 1779-80; member of the Executive and Legislative Councils and Receiver General of Upper Canada, 1792-1808; Administrator, 20 July, 1796—17 August, 1799; died at York, U.C., 30 Sept., 1808.

⁴They had sailed on April 1.

mentioned will arrive in time to avoid making any extraordinary mode of proceeding necessary.

You will take the earliest opportunity of communicating to Sir J. Johnson His Majesty's permission to absent himself from his Command, and that he may avail himself thereof whenever it shall best suit his convenience.

I have, &c.

HENRY DUNDAS.

Endorsed:—Draft.

*Lieut. Gov. Simcoe.
Apr 1792.*

FROM GEORGE HAMMOND TO J. G. SIMCOE.

PHILADELPHIA, 21 Apl. 1792.

My dear Sir,

I have had the satisfaction of receiving your several letters by Messrs. Hale and Vesey, and another since that time by the Post. You will have perceived from my late correspondence, as well as from the public prints, that all hopes of peace between the United States and the Indians, resulting either from an arrangement between the parties themselves, or from the interposition of any external mediation, have long since proved to be destitute of foundation. The desire of effacing the disgrace which the late defeat has cast upon its military reputation and a belief that an unsuccessful campaign will most effectually intimidate the Indians in future, have induced this Country to prefer the prosecution of the war to the adoption of either of those modes of effecting a pacification.

I was fully sensible of all the advantages which Great Britain would have derived from her mediation being admitted, but I saw from the first that the jealousy of acquiring either an additional influence over the Indian Tribes, or the right of intervening in any future disputes, would be an insuperable impediment to the request of acceptance of that expedient on the part of this country. I think it highly probable that Genl. St. Clair had an intention of establishing a post at Sandusky, for you will perceive by the 10th article of the Treaty concluded between him and the Indians at Fort Harmar¹ in 1789, that among the other reservations of Territory, the United States expressly reserve for their use and Government, "six miles square upon the Lake Sandusky, where the Fort formerly stood, and two miles square upon each side the Lower Rapids on Sandusky River."

With respect to any disposition or willingness which the State of New York may manifest for the alteration of its Boundary with Canada, such a measure can be effected under the authority of the General Government alone,—since, by an article of the Federal Constitution, it is declared that, "No State shall, without the consent of Congress, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, in a matter of such moment as an alteration of a Boundary" that consent, I believe, would be difficult to obtain. Mr. Williamson², the principal proprietor and settler of the Genesee Country, waited upon me about a week ago, and informed me that he proposed establishing a post for the conveyance of letters from that country to Albany, and to afford an accomodation to the Govern-

¹On the Ohio River at the mouth of the Muskingum.

²Charles Williamson, agent for an English land company and formerly an officer in the 25th Regiment.

ment of Upper Canada and to lessen the expense, he would take measures for extending it to Niagara, or any other place you might fix upon, if you considered the object to be deserving of attention.

Captn. Stevenson having acquainted me that such a plan would be agreeable to you, I told Mr. Williamson I had reason to believe that you would readily consent to any measure of the nature he mentioned, which might be of mutual convenience to the two countries. Mr. Williamson said he would set off for the Genesee the next morning, and if upon your arrival at Niagara you would have the goodness to favor him with a line, he would immediately wait upon you at that place, for the purpose of making some arrangement on the subject. Having learnt that there is a probability of your leaving Quebec early in next month, I enclose you a copy of a despatch, which I have written to General Clarke. With the sincerest wishes that you may meet with every success in the great undertaking in which you are engaged,

I have the honor, &c.

GEORGE HAMMOND.

Lt. Govr. Simcoe.

EXTRACT FROM MR. HAMMOND'S LETTER, DATED PHILADELPHIA, APRIL 21, 1792.

General St. Clair having resigned the Command of the Western Army, the President with the Approbation of the Senate, has appointed General Wayne¹ to succeed him. He has also, in conformity to a power vested in him for that purpose by an Act supplemental to the Frontier Act, appointed Messrs. Morgan, (the celebrated rifle Officer in the last War), Brooks, Willet, and Wilkinson² of Kentucky, to be Brigadier Generals.

General Wayne is unquestionably the most active, vigilant, and enterprising Officer in the American Service, and will be tempted to use every exertion to justify the expectations of his countrymen & to efface the Stain, which the late defeat has cast upon the American Arms. His talents however are understood to be *purely* Military, and abstracted from that profession, not to be either brilliant or solid. In fact during the late War, his Services were rather those of an Active partizan,

¹Anthony Wayne, 1745-96, gained considerable reputation by his successful assault on Stony Point, 15-6 July, 1779; member of Congress from Georgia, 1791-2; appointed major general in the army of the United States, 3 April, 1792. Washington's first choice for this command was Governor Henry Lee of Virginia. Jefferson relates that Washington considered Wayne as "brave and nothing else." Washington himself described him "as more active and enterprising than judicious and cautious. No economist it is feared. Open to flattery, vain; easily imposed upon and liable to be drawn into scrapes." Lee declared that his appointment had caused disgust in Virginia. Washington in reply, apologized for his selection by saying: "Wayne has many good points as an officer, and it is hoped that time, reflection, good advice, and above all a due sense of the importance of the trust will correct his foibles, or cast a shade over them."

²James Wilkinson, staff officer to General Gates in the campaign of Saratoga; adjutant general of Pennsylvania, 1783-4; lately a merchant in Kentucky; afterwards became commander in chief of the United States army, and in 1813, conducted the expedition against Montreal from Sackett's Harbour which was checked at Chrysler's Farm, and in March, 1814, the unsuccessful attack upon the mill at La Colle. Washington said that he was "lively, sensible, pompous, and ambitious." Jefferson reports that he described him as "brave, enterprising to excess; but many unapproveable points in his character."

than of a General possessing abilities equal to the conduct of regular and extensive operations.

Though I learn that the recruiting in the Eastern States proceeds very successfully, I do not imagine that the Forces to be raised can either be transported to Fort Washington, or be in any manner prepared to take the Field until the beginning of October. In the mean time, detachments of the Militia and of levies in-listed for Six Months, will probably be stationed in different parts of the Frontier, in order to repel any straggling bodies of Indians that might attempt an incursion. As to any other Military Services to be expected from Troops of this description—I think their conduct in the late Action must render any future confidence in them absolutely impossible. General Wayne is not here, and I have not as yet heard when he is to assume the Command of the Army.

I have been thus particular in endeavouring to delineate the Character of this last mentioned Officer, since in a Warfare of the Kind in which he is engaged, much will depend upon the personal qualities of the Commander in Chief. I must own that I have been also actuated by another consideration for although I am persuaded that this Government is fully convinced, (to use the emphatic expressions of a *certain* letter which you were so good as to transmit to me), “that a War with Great Britain in the present State of Affairs, would retard the Power, Growth, and happiness of the United States beyond almost the power of calculation.” Yet the Anxiety of this Country to acquire the Posts upon the Lakes is so universal, and the probability of any arrangement upon the Subject, previous to the opening of the next Campaign, is so remote, that it would not be a matter of Great Surprise should this Army be successful against its Indian Enemies, if a desire of gaining possession of those Posts by force should be either artfully inspired into the Troops, or spontaneously conceived by them. In either of these cases the discretion or rashness of the Commander in Chief would finally decide the attempt and I must acknowledge that in the character of General Wayne, the latter quality seems most likely to predominate. The Members of this Government will, I doubt not, be extremely cautious in suggesting any such measure; but if it should be undertaken even without their recommendation, and be attended with success I can readily conceive that they would then join their Sanction of it to the popular approbation, which would infallibly ensue.

I do not wish to create any unnecessary alarm, but I have thought it my Duty to submit to your Excellency these few observations, which result from a consideration of the Nature of the War, and of the Character of the Person selected to conduct it, you may, however, be assured that I shall give the most unceasing attention to its progress and objects, and that I shall from time to time endeavor to obtain the most accurate information, respecting every particular connected with it, which I shall not fail to transmit to you by the securest & most expeditious modes of Conveyance.

J. G. S.

*Endorsed:—In Lt. Govr. Simcoe's No. 10,
of 21st June, 1792.
No. 1.*

FROM THE MERCHANTS OF MONTREAL TO J. G. SIMCOE.

No. 2.

MONTREAL, April 23rd, 1792.

Sir,

When we last had the honor of addressing Your Excellency, the time was so short in Consequence of Captain Stevenson's immediate departure, that it was impossible to give the subject that due deliberation which its importance merited—We therefore again presume to apply, conceiving you, the proper channel to communicate our suggestions and reflections—If any of them should appear in your Opinion deserving of it, we request that you will have the goodness to transmit either Copies or extracts, as may be most expedient both to the Ministers at home and the Plenipotentiary at Philadelphia—By this means should any of our remarks be worthy of attention, there will be a facility of reference from one to the other on that head—Upon a perusal of what we before Communicated, we see nothing therein that we would wish to retract or alter—On the Contrary, the more the subject is considered the more evident it appears to us that no true, efficient, and at the same time permanent, either Military or Commercial Protection for these Provinces (but particularly Upper Canada) can be had, but by holding Possession of the Upper Posts—many are the Arguments upon which our right to maintain them may be supported—We conceive that the Country ceding Territory, has a right to the most liberal construction where an ambiguity happens in a Treaty, and to a strict fulfilment of the spirit of the stipulations agreed to on the other side, to induce such cession—That America has never complied with the Spirit of the Treaty, regarding the Loyalists or the positive letter of it regarding British Merchants, is so notorious as hardly to require a proof—It is true Congress in the part respecting the Loyalists, sheltering themselves under want of Powers, were contented with making sham recommendations which were meant by them not to have, or at least certainly never *had* any effect—British Merchants were prevented from recovery of Bona fide debts by positive Laws in many of the States—British subjects were insulted in coming to look for their properties under the faith of the Treaty—Others were cited to receive payments in depreciated paper—in short it is useless to go on enumerating the many instances of evasion and direct infraction—Congress having now been invested with additional Powers, can have no reasonable ground for refusing a fulfilment of the Treaty, in its most liberal construction and extent—But as some parts of it are now impossible to be specifically complied with, it remains for them to grant a pecuniary indemnification to those individuals who have suffered from a delay of fulfilment—As the quantum of this indemnification cannot easily be ascertained, there can be no commutation of it so proper, as the right to retain the Territory originally ceded for the purpose of Obtaining the Stipulations in Question.

Even upon this Ground America would be a gainer beyond what she ought, because had we stood upon the *uti possidetis*, New York would now be in our Possession, as it is they have received that Place without any part of the equivalent they promised in return. We conceive that neither the Pride, nor justice of our Country can be satisfied without obtaining a recompense to the suffering Creditors of American Debtors—and its benevolence has been so nobly exerted in behalf of the suffering Loyalists, we have the more extensive Confidence on this head; as it is not for us to penetrate into the Secrets or Views of Government, so we know not what Events may arise in the course of Negotiation, hopeful of the best, but (our Interests being so deeply at Stake) fearful of the worst we were led to pursue the Subject under the possible Alternative of relinquishing part of the Territory ceded

but still in our possession—We therefore cannot sufficiently express the importance and propriety that we conceive are attached to the disputing the ground by Negotiation Inch by Inch—and for that reason we pointed several lines of Demarcation, remarking what each would give away and what each retain of the Indian Trade—But should the issue unhappily terminate in a political impossibility to regain any part of the improvident Cession by the late Treaty of Peace, It then becomes a question of much moment, What best possible measure could be pursued under such untoward circumstances, so as to give the greatest security to the remaining part which would still be our own, and a participation in that which then would be out of our limits, This is the principal Object of the present representation to your Excellency—As Ideas have occurred since our last which did not then strike us, indeed we were then so much convinced, in the first place that the delivery of the Posts could not happen, and in the second, that if for reasons unknown to us, *it* should, the Idea overwhelmed our minds with the prospect of such certain ruin to the most Valuable Commerce of these Provinces, as prevented our observing what best modification could be proposed, so as to avert part of the unhappy consequences—In seriously reflecting since on this subject, a thought occurred to us worth consideration, Vizt., How a proposal of neutrality or reciprocity of Trade with the Indians inhabiting *within the limits of each* might be productive of their agreeing to an extension of our Boundary; and, if it had not that desirable effect, whether the advantages or disadvantages commercially considered of the same to us, (either an extension or as the Line now is marked by the Treaty), would preponderate—As to the first question we think that after every other ground fails, this would be a most probable means of inducing a new line of Demarcation on the part of the Americans, because if the Indian Commerce is their object, this presents a share of it to them under such an Open and liberal aspect as could not fail having some Operation on their minds, in making them waive the Right of a Territory, the Military Possessions of which would entail an expence upon them; and as this would give an appearance of some advantage without the expence of Posts, and the necessity of a standing Army to occupy them, (a measure obnoxious to many among them), they might catch at the Bait—an event that could not fail being favorable to the Views of Great Britain because if a new line was not obtained immediately to *her* but as to the Indians, it would circuitously operate in *her* favor, as the natives would ever have more confidence in *her* than them. If it is a matter of immense Magnitude that, (according to the Spirit of the late Treaty), we should obtain a practicable communication with the Mississippi, not only on account of a participation in the Indian Trade on this side but as opening to us new sources of it on the West side of that River, which are capable of being explored and greatly extended—and in which this Country would have no Rival but the Spaniards, who hitherto have not attempted excluding us from any of the Western Rivers but the Missouri—thus we might on that side obtain some recompense for the sacrifices of Indian Trade, beyond this line of communication—a communication was certainly intended by the Treaty, or why Stipulate for a mutual Navigation thereon; this last being expressly mentioned, carries at any rate by implication the right of a practicable Access to it. If one Man sells another a Field situated in the middle of his Grounds, the right of ingress and egress unquestionably follows as a necessary consequence.

We have before observed that there are only three usefully practicable routes of Communication with that River Vizt. by the Miamis and Wabash,—Chicago and Illinois and Fox and Ouisconsing Rivers. It is true that some of the Rivers that fall into the bottom of Lake Superior, head near Water courses which descend into the Mississippi—but these admitting only of very small Bark Canoes, cannot

be extensively useful and would *very much fetter the Trade* by being confined to them. The other routes are the main Objects for Lines of boundary and communication.

In considering the second question, vizt. What our relative situation would be compared with the Americans, so far as respects the prospects of Trading with the Indians by each under the Idea of a mutual reciprocity on that point we think the advantages would be on our side—this Country would have Capital, long experience, the well adapted habits of the common people that must necessarily be employed in the menial Offices of this Trade, and the Prepossessions of the Natives in our favor, which could hardly fail of assuring us a superiority—It is true, that when previous to the late War, the route by the Mohawk was equally free with that by the St. Lawrence they had the principal part of the Detroit Trade because the Ports on the Atlantic, being open at all seasons, gave a decided superiority over us in the West India Trade, by which means they could always undersell us in Liquors. But as *Liquors* are too bulky to form a material part of the value of distant equipments, and from the present situation of the Molasses Trade—*Those* for Indian Commerce, must probably for the future be drawn from the distillation of Grain. We should now in that respect have the less to fear—As to the European Merchandize, we were always equal, if not superior, because the St. Lawrence admitting of larger Boats than the Mohawk, diminished our expence of Transport.

When we came to consider this matter further, under the impossibility of obtaining *any other line* but what the late Treaty points out—The mutual reciprocity of Trade with Indians would be much in our favor because there would then remain within our confined limits not one tenth part of the Trade, (the North West excepted) that would be on the other side, as this, however, probably will not be known to the Americans, and that they attach to our remaining part, a greater degree of consequence than it deserves; there would be the less fear of their objecting to it—If the late Treaty should at last be the limits, it is independently necessary to the security of the North West Trade that the *Grand Portage* be thrown into our hands or at any rate, that it be considered as an open Highway, equally belonging to both Parties, and each having the right of erecting such buildings as may be necessary for the furtherance of their business—without this even the part of the North West still within our limits would become useless because, as we said before, the *Grand Portage*, (or Carrying Place), being at least fifteen Miles within the American line gives them the Key of that Country—The line by the last Treaty runs up the Water Communication from Lake Superior towards *Lac La Pluie* and *du Bois* or *Lake of the Woods*.

Now this Communication being from where the present Portage strikes it to Lake Superior, thirty Miles, and (the whole way continued Rapids and Falls where Canoes cannot float) is utterly impracticable—and such is the nature of the Ground on this side that a Portage or Road there is totally impossible to be made—the only route therefore that would remain to us, as the Treaty now stands, is by a River about Forty eight Leagues on this side the Grand Portage, falling into Lake Superior, called Nipigon or in some Maps Alempigon River, when news of the last Peace reached this Country and an immediate delivery was apprehended—The Route by this River (Nipigon) was explored in order to ascertain how far it was practicable. The result was that nothing but the most extreme necessity could ever make it to be resorted to as a Communication to the North West—because there were so many Portages or Carrying Places, and so many difficulties to encounter that they could not reach the River Ouinipique, which empties from the Lake of the Woods into Lake Ouinipique, where it would strike the present route, in less than three or four Weeks additional time, and a great enhancement of expence—For instance

from the entrance of Nipigon River into Lake Superior, to Portage de L'isle in River Ouinipique (where it meets the common route) is 286 Leagues and seventy two Carrying Places, many of them extremely rough, and that could not admit without great previous expence, Canoes of the same size as the other way—From the Mouth of Nipigon River to the Grand Portage along Lake Superior is Forty eight Leagues—from thence to Lake La Pluie Ninety,—from La Pluie to entrance of Lake of the Woods Thirty six—across the Lake of the Woods Thirty—and thence down the River Ouinipique to Portage de L'isle Twenty Leagues, in all 214—and in which distance, there are only twenty six Carrying Places, and those much less difficult.

But a much more serious evil than even this difference is, that the small Bark Canoes which are indispensibly necessary to penetrate into the interior part of the North West, are only to be had at Lake La Pluie—which the Nipigon route does not give access to—And the inconvenience is not to be remedied because by the Line of the Treaty, There is not Bark or Indians to work it up into Canoes left within our Territory.

Being confined therefore to such a route would be much the same as a total relinquishment of the Trade.

In the Article that might be inserted regarding a neutral reciprocity of Trade with the Indians, care should be taken on our side to confine it to the Province of Upper Canada, this would avoid the necessity of discussion regarding the Territory and right of the Hudsons Bay Company, a subject it is unnecessary for us to enter upon—As we in the Neutrality only claim it in the Country that was once part of the Province of Quebec and now of Upper Canada, it would of course be unreasonable to grant it to *them*, but with the Indians in the part of the said Province still retained by us, some arguments occur regarding *our* right to such Trade even without Stipulation—The Indians are free and independent People, if any on Earth were so, and by the Law of Nations we are entitled to trade with them—*Our* running a Line of Boundary by Treaty conveys no *right* of Territory without obtaining one from the aboriginal Proprietors—We cannot give what is not our own—The Cession of that Territory therefore to America, which is still occupied by the Natives and not sold to them—means therefore we apprehend, nothing more than that we cede the right of pre-emption of purchase from the Natives—We understand there is also an implied right of neutral Trade with Indians by the Treaty of Utrecht and as we now represent the *then French Government* of this Country, we must enjoy whatever rights they were entitled to and that have not been expressly given away since—Now as in the American Treaty there is no clause of “all Treaties to the Contrary in any ways notwithstanding,” whatever right that of Utrecht gave, must still remain to us—these we only presume to mention in case every thing else should fail, because with a People so insidious, cunning, and hitherto so devoid of national faith as the Americans, it becomes necessary to be secured by positive stipulations and not trust to their good will or any right by implication.

Having now touched upon the subject in about every point of view and with a freedom which we hope your Excellency will pardon in those who are treating of matters that involve the Commercial consequence of these Provinces, and their immediate and dearest Interests—permit us to express our Opinion that should the Line of the late Treaty be fully established without modification or explanation—then the remaining Indian Trade of these Provinces would hardly be worth retaining or pursuing. We also will venture to hazard another that if the Posts should be given up, such a Collision of Interests and such a Fertile field of future difficulties with our American Neighbours will thereby be generated, that Hostility

eventually must be the Consequence, however much the delivery of Possession may appear to prevent such an alternative for the present. It was much our wish that these remarks could have been accompanied by a Map of the Country in question, by which means our Ideas would have been more Comprehensible—We shall not however lose sight of the attempt to procure and furnish one as speedily and accurately as the materials we may have access to will admit of.

Happy shall we be if any hint is hereby conveyed that by abler Heads & Pens can be matured into any thing that may be productive of the benefits hoped for but should that not be the case, we shall at least have the consolation of reflecting that every thing to the best of our ability has been done to promote the Interest of our Country in this business—We now take leave of the subject with again thanking your Excellency for the indulgence we have experienced in your attending to so long a detail and for the zeal you have shewn in searching for such information as you conceive could in any way be conducive to the attainment of the Objects in question.

We have the honor to be with the utmost Respect,

Sir,

Your Excellency's
most Obedient
& most devoted Servants.
McTavish, Frobisher & Co.
Forsyth, Richardson & Co.
Todd, McGill & Co.

His Excellency,
John Graves Simcoe, Esqr.
Lieut. Governor of Upper Canada. &c., &c., &c.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

QUEBEC, April 28th, 1792.

No. 7.

Sir,

Since my letter No. 6, of which I have done myself the honor of transmitting the duplicate, I have heard from Mr. Munro of Lunenburg who was disappointed by the inclemency of the weather from coming to Quebec as he intended and obliged to return to Montreal, in which he says "on my return I found the Lawyers had infused an Idea throughout our district that we had no Law and as many wished to take advantage of this report I sent advertisements all over the district and a Copy of your Excellency's letter to Judge McDonell¹, all which I flatter myself will have the desired effect & I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency that Emigrants are flocking in from the States with all their property."

In my immediate answer to this communication I stated, "I am highly satisfied with the means you have taken to prevent what I conceive to be an erroneous opinion becoming the foundation of dishonest practices; and I hope that your endeavours

¹John Macdonell of Glengarry House, who was then Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the District of Lunenburg.

and those of your worthy colleagues will prevent any bad effects from an Idea which cannot have been propagated thro' any good intention."

I take this opportunity, Sir, of inclosing an address which I have received from Niagara, and the very satisfactory communications of the principal Magistrates of that District.—I have not heard from Detroit since my Arrival—I presume no inconvenience will arise from the impossibility I am as yet under of taking upon myself the Office of Lieut. Governor; unless appeals should be made hereafter from the decisions of any of the Courts of Justice founded upon the plea of their having been illegally constituted, or continued. I hope that Chief Justice Osgoode and Mr. Russel will Speedily arrive and enable me to execute the duties of the Government. I cannot but recommend to your serious attention the great inconveniences that are likely to arise from the very limited number of the Executive Council of the Province.—I have endeavoured as much as possible to avail myself of the time which I have spent in this place, in procuring a competent knowledge of those systems of regulating the disposal of the vacant Lands and Superintending every species of public expenditure, which have been formed under the direction of Lord Dorchester in regard to the disposal of vacant Lands, the minutes of the late Council of this Province, which I apprehend Lieutenant Governor Clarke means to transmit by this opportunity, will fully shew to you, Sir, the necessity of deviating from the system prescribed by the general instructions.—In the District of Hesse in particular and near to Detroit the Compliance with them seems almost to be impossible from the representations of the Deputy Surveyor and of the different Land boards.—It will be an object with me to direct the Surveyor General, whenever he shall be appointed, to form such arrangements as shall promote the Settlement of that most Valuable frontier in the speediest manner and as conformable to the Instructions as possible. But, Sir, I think it of importance, and it is my duty to observe that neither upon general principles of policy, or those of *Military Defence*, do I conceive it necessary to erect a Town, or to fortify the pass opposite to the Isle of Bois Blanc¹; not even should his Majesty's Government think proper to cede the Post of Detroit to the United States.—I beg leave to submit to you the reasons which induce me to form this Opinion. I conceive that the present situation of Great Britain and the United States in respect to each other can only be defined to be a *Truce* with this great and essential difference that Great Britain is anxiously desirous and most seriously disposed to convert this *Truce* into all the Confidence and advantages which discriminate a Truce from a perfect peace, and cordial Alliance—I conceive the *Government* of the United States, and facts have hitherto proved it, mean otherwise.—If in this situation, it shall be the Policy of Great Britain under any arrangement or Compromise, to give up the Barrier Forts, she will do it upon the principle of aiming to obliterate all traces of past animosity, and in the very execution of such a design, she will give no cause for suspicion, in attempting to erect new and expensive Fortifications—a fortress at the Bois Blanc would equally fall under this description—its use would be to prevent Vessels of Burden passing from Detroit to Lake Erie; and as to effect this purpose more than one point is proposed to be embraced, it necessarily must become expensive.—In a general

¹"This island lies east of Rocky Island (in the strait between lake Erie and lake St. Clair) but a little lower down, and close in with the east shore: it contains from 150 to 200 acres of good land; but little or no marsh; it is covered with wood, chiefly white wood, and is not as yet improved. The common ship channel is between it and the east shore, which is narrow and forms the best harbour in this country. From the situation of this island it entirely commands the Detroit river, from lake Erie; at its upper end appear to be good situations for water-mills. A wider ship channel is on the west side of the island, but not so much frequented." Smith, Gazetteer of Upper Canada.

Military View my Objections are, that if the United States should see Great Britain fortifying for the express purpose of being offensive in Case of War they would examine into the circumstances of the Pass of the Detroit and in their turn might find out a position that would give them equal or superior advantages, to what we should receive from the fortifying of the Bois blanc: and this I apprehend would be eminently the case at the *Spring* near the River Rouge¹, where the draught of wind meeting from each Lake, it frequently happens that Vessels with fair winds from both Lakes meet and are stopped—It therefore appears to me that if it be thought necessary that Government should have a Garrison anywhere on the Streights of Detroit, it had better be placed directly opposite to the present Town; to which the Cannon and Stores might easily be moved, where the Barracks of the Troops might be so constructed as to be adequate fortifications, and where, I understand, wharfs, if necessary, might as conveniently be erected as on the opposite shore, and where it is probable many of the Inhabitants who prefer the British Government would easily retire, and by whose means a Commercial Intercourse would be kept up with the Inhabitants in the district of the United States.

I think it my duty, Sir, to state these opinions to you, as the necessity of erecting a Town opposite to the Bois blanc is held forth in the proceedings of the Land board of Hesse, transmitted to you at this moment, as a reason for the propriety of making a purchase of Land from the Indians of which their Superintendent, Col. McKee, has declared it to be necessary for their Comfort that they should remain Possessors, and in particular, as in a conversation which I had the honor of holding with Mr. Pitt he seemed to wish to obtain such information as might be necessary to form his Judgment how to obviate the inconvenience, should Great Britain cede the Barrier Forts to the United States.

The very disagreeable situation that I found myself under on my arrival at this place in not being able to Act in any Military Station or to take upon myself the Government of Upper Canada, in case the dependencies of that Province should have been the Object of attack from the United States, (and there were Circumstances that might have induced men less hostilely disposed than General St. Clair is known to be towards Great Britain to have made the attempt), induced me to send Captain Stevenson with my dispatches to New York, that his Majesty's Ministers might have the earliest information of my situation; and I was advised that it was by no means safe to trust my dispatches of Importance to the usual course of Post, in particular at the moment in which the result of the Engagement hourly expected between the American Indians and the United States was not known; and might naturally induce the Government of that Country, from more than common curiosity to open the Canadian Dispatches, but I was particularly induced to send this Officer to Philadelphia that I might transmit in safety to Mr. Hammond the Memorial which the Merchants at Montreal, principally concerned in the Fur Trade, gave me on my arrival in that quarter; and which conveyed to my Ideas a clearer statement of their Interest than what I had hitherto met with, particularly as it could be elucidated to Mr. Hammond by an excellent Map which accompanied it, and by the result of many explanations which those Gentlemen gave to Captain Stevenson in conversations which were held upon that Subject. I am happy to find that these communications have appeared of Importance to Mr. Hammond, as in a Letter of the third of March, He says "Captain Stevenson was so obliging as to leave with me a Copy of a Representation addressed to you by the Merchants of Montreal, and also a Map of the Country to the Northward

¹Rouge River (Michigan) enters the Detroit River five miles below the site of Fort Detroit.

of the Lakes Huron and Superior; when any negotiations with this Government are more advanced than they are at present these documents will be of essential Service to me, as they convey to my mind a much more correct idea of the nature and importance of that Country than I had ever before entertained—I could, however, have wished that the position of *Grand Portage* on Lake Superior had been laid down in the Map with somewhat greater precision.”

I have lately received a second Memoir from the Merchants on the Subject in which they are so much interested, and as it appears to be their desire that it should be communicated to his Majesty's Ministers, I take this opportunity of transmitting it together with the former one to which Mr. Hammond refers.—I beg to observe that understanding that the Agents of the United States held out the Language that all our Trade with the Indian Americans in that territory which had been ceded by the treaty of Peace to the United States, would become illegal and contraband in case the forts should be given up, I thought it my duty to state to Mr. Hammond such a dangerous assumption unwarranted by the definitive construction placed by the Treaty of *Utrecht* upon the intercourse which Great Britain and France had with the Indians, and considering them as *free Nations* gave to the Subjects of both Countries the right of trading with them, and carefully secured to the Indians the liberty, attached to Independant Nations of carrying their commercial Articles to such places in the dominions of either nation, as they should prefer, and this article of the Treaty of *Utrecht* was never contravened till the year 1756 when the violations of it on the part of the French as is generally known, (but particularly as stated by a late author of the United States, Gordon¹, professedly writing under the directions of Mr. Washington and Congress), was the occasion of the War that broke out between Great Britain and France—nor can the claims of the American Indians to the natural privileges of Independant Nations as guaranteed to them by their European Neighbours in the Compact of *Utrecht*, be more amply expressed and implied than in the general Representations of the State of the Indian Department by Sir William Johnson in 1763 to the Lords of trade that altho' “fair speeches, promises, and the conveniency of Trade induced them to afford us and the French a Settlement in the Country, yet they never understood such settlement as a Dominion,” and the Indian sense of their own Independency is brought down to so late a period prior to the late War, as the second of February one thousand seven hundred and sixty nine, when a Seneca Chief in his Complaints against the Officer Commanding at Niagara, said, as appears by Sir William Johnson's Report, “We are a free people and accustomed to sell whatever we have to whom and where we like best.”

I think it may not be improper to communicate this statement to you, Sir, as elucidating the ground the Merchants of Montreal in their Memoir No. 2 have taken up—at the same time I am well aware that his Majesty's Ministers being masters of all the documents which establish or counter ballance the value of the Fur Trade to *Great Britain* in that point of view, already possess more precise information than can be collected in this Country; but, it is possible that a particular view of this Commerce considered in the light of an *Open Trade* common to the British Colonies, as the representatives of France, and to the United States as those of Great Britain, prior to the year 1763, and subject to no other difficulties than those of amicable competition, appearing to be a matter of great magnitude

¹“History of the rise, progress and establishment of the independence of the United States of America” by William Gordon, London, 1788, 4 vols.—a valuable work but shown to be, for the most part, a plagiarism from the Annual Register, though scarcely such if the author of it furnished the MSS. originally to the Register.

may be illustrated by some observations on the actual State of this Country—and I am sure, Sir, it will not be thought by you improper in me to expatiate upon whatever may ultimately tend to the advantage of Upper Canada, and in consequence to that of Great Britain.

I consider the Fur Trade on its present foundation to be of no use whatever, to the Colony of Upper Canada; an open Trade may result from the happy form of Government that is to be established in that Country, but it appears doubtful whether even that would add to its prosperity; it certainly would detract from its population, and ultimately debasing the morals of the Country by the ill habits of the *Courreurs des Bois*, would injure its industry, the source of its future Revenue. But, Sir, it would appear to me to be productive of great advantages, if leaving the Fur Trade to the North West parts in the hands of the Companies, who possess or contend for the Monopoly of that trade, the Indians themselves, who live near the settled parts of Upper Canada, could be induced to bring the produce of their Hunts to those Towns and Settlements which are about to arise in their vicinity—It is looked upon to be impracticable to awaken the indolence of the Indians by any other spur than that of absolute want; and therefore our Traders hold the language that it is necessary for them to go to the Indian Villages and distant Settlements to purchase that peltry which the Savages are too idle to bring to our market places.—The assertions of Merchants I apprehend, are always to be received with great caution—and tho' there is no doubt but the Indian has been long nursed up and pampered into this species of inactivity, such peculiar advantages would attend the attempt of the Government of Upper Canada to make the Indian the carrier of his own Goods, that I conceive it will be the duty of the Legislature to attempt it.

The first Object of that Government in respect to these people will be the most scrupulous attention to prevent any settlements beyond the Boundary, and to prohibit any persons from hunting in their territories which in 1768 was one of their material requests to Sir William Johnson; in the next place it appears very practicable to encourage those Indians who by the bounty of Government are seated on the Grand River that flows into Lake Erie, or who may occupy the Huron reserve, opposite to Detroit partially to continue their hunts; the produce of which dispersed among the new Settlers may furnish a medium of traffic between them and the petty Merchants and place it in their power to barter with those avaricious people upon less unequal terms.—It seems probable that upon this foundation a mutual intercourse may be extended to other Indians; for it is to be remembered that Upper Canada is situated among those Rivers and Lakes, a Voyage to which a few years ago was of itself considered an almost insurmountable undertaking; and that by seizing the advantage of proper seasons the American Indians would in their Canoes have access by no means difficult to its very doors.—Upper Canada by this mode would have an Interest in the trade without its being injurious to the greater Objects of its establishment—Great Britain would have at the outset of the trade a certain vent for her commodities, and it would remain to be tried whether the Indian, whose very vanity proves that there are other passions than mere want, may be stirred up to rouse him from his indolence shall not call for a further consumption of British Manufactures and extend his hunt for the means of procuring them.—It is impossible to say how far this traffic may be carried, if it shall be once established; and how soon British Manufactures may thro' this channel find their way to the Mississippi, and prove the value of preserving the claims of the Indian Americans to that Independancy which has been mentioned by the Treaty of Utrecht.

I cannot but confess that the continuance of the War between the Western Indians and the United States gives me a considerable degree of uneasiness. The moment in which it was probable an *open Mediation* might have been of use, I fear is past.—The great Object of General St. Clair's Campaign was in part fulfilled; and the declarations of Mr. Washington that the loss was only that of men, has been strictly verified owing to the Indians not having pursued their blow and destroyed the intermediate forts which had been erected; and their having of late abandoned the Miamis villages and fallen back nearer to Detroit.

I apprehend that the Indians may have now made an attempt on Fort Jefferson but in which it is scarcely probable they should succeed. I cannot but regret the Six Nations having sent deputies to Philadelphia—it is certain no Method will be left undone to cajole them into a War against the Western Indians, and unfortunately, as appears by the Reports of Sir William Johnson in 1763, the Six Nations have themselves an old and undeniable claim to the Lands now in dispute between the United States and the Western Indians, and in the treaty of 1768 they speak to Sir William Johnson and appeal to him as knowing their title to these Lands to be "clear and good, and which we cannot allow, they say, to be the right of any other Indians, without doing wrong to our Posterity, and acting unworthy those warriors who fought for and conquered it." It is much to be apprehended that the United States will avail themselves of these dormant claims to stimulate the Six Nations to their revival.

Having on former occasions done myself the honor of submitting to you, Sir, the necessity of a central force in Upper Canada against the impending day in which the United States shall alienate the Western Indians from us, by driving them from their present possessions, I have nothing more to add upon that head, but that in the detail of that force I have confined myself rather to what I conceive may be afforded under the existing circumstances of these Provinces, than what may be adequate to support a War with the Indians in case appearances shall not be sufficient for its prevention.

I have formerly done myself the honor of stating to you the great advantages that the Loyal Clergy and settlers from Connecticut could be of, in inducing future immigrations from that populous Country to Center in Upper Canada. I shall only observe that most of the Petitions for Townships on the treaty line which divides Lower Canada from the United States are founded upon the hopes of such immigrations individually, which I have no doubt should my ideas be adopted, would happen collectively—I should hope that proper extracts from the Proclamation for the Grants of Lands would be inserted in the English papers; and I beg leave to recommend that the whole of the Proclamation may appear in those of our West India Islands as the best means of their being transmitted to the United States, the land-jobbers of which are industrious in preventing them from being dispersed from this Country—from some intimation I have received relative to the wishes of a large body of Quakers to emigrate from Pennsylvania I propose sending a proper person to hold that intercourse with them which they are too wary to commit to writing.

The Lieutenant Governor and Council of this Province have notified the mode of applying for Crown Lands in the Gazette; 'till the arrival of the Council of Upper Canada, I cannot follow the example, should it be then thought expedient to adopt a form which the different situation of the Provinces may render improper I am anxious for the arrival of the table of fees, the expectation of it has prevented Lieutenant Governor Clarke from adding one to the notification above mentioned. I saw a Draught of one that was offered to the Council, but in my judgment it was

formed on very erroneous principles—Whatever his Majesty's Ministers shall direct in this case personally I shall most cheerfully acquiesce in; at the same time I shall not think myself warranted to give up any fee that may be legally allowed me, thro' any principle of personal popularity—It is at present my intention upon the suggestion of Mr. Chief Justice Smith to propose to the House of Assembly when they shall meet by one Act to establish a legal title to their Lands in those Loyalists who have hitherto received them, under the certificates of promises of his Majesty's Military or Civil Officers competent thereto; by this method saving to those valuable men, as is just, the fees of Office, and much trouble to the Offices; and establishing in Limine, the foundation of the Colony, upon the approved Loyalty of the Subject and the beneficence of the King and Parliament.

It is an object of the utmost Importance to the Country that the Species of small coinage should be circulated amongst the Inhabitants; at present the Farmer has no other means of obtaining such necessities as he may want, but by bartering the produce of his Land for them with the petty Merchant, who by this means sets his own price on both commodities, and, Sir, on this and every other occasion, I hope you will not forget the great prices that all European goods bear in the Upper Country from the difficulty of carriage, which is progressive till it reaches Detroit, where the price of European assortments is fifty per Cent beyond what it is at Montreal.

In the Memoir which I did myself the honor of presenting to you before I left England, I requested for this purpose a copper coinage to be issued to the Soldiery; upon due investigation I wish to add a quantity of sixpences—five hundred pounds in each specie, I am convinced will be of great use in Upper Canada.—But, Sir, there is an Object of very great and momentous Policy to which I hope you will give due consideration, and view it in the light in which I hold it as a national Concern; I mean an immediate and due provision for the education of the superior classes of the Country, such education as may be necessary for people in the lower degrees of life, necessarily requiring but little expence, may at present be provided for by their Connections and relations; and more remotely by Lands allotted for that purpose—but schools of education necessary for the higher classes, being of greater expence and requiring instantaneous establishment, must depend upon the liberality of the British Government; Upper Canada having no revenue at present from whence these necessary purposes can be supplied, necessity will compel and the cheapness of education in the United States without some internal establishment will invite the Gentlemen of Upper Canada to send their children thither for education by which means from habit, from intercourse, and from assiduous design in their Instructors, their British Principles will be perverted, and one of the strongest holds that Great Britain has, and which promises to bind Upper Canada for ages to her side, Loyalty which glories in the honest pride in having withstood all the tempests of Rebellion, will be totally undermined and subverted by different principles being instilled into the rising generation; to whom their parents and connections now look forward with fondness and hope as the means of transmitting the remembrance of their honourable principles to the remotest posterity—I do therefore most earnestly hope that his Majesty's Ministers will interest the liberality of the British Parliament in granting that establishment for a few years which may be necessary for these purposes & I should think a thousand pounds per annum might include all necessary expences of Building, Salaries, &c., &c., perhaps a proper distribution may be made in the following manner—two school masters at Kingston and Niagara at one hundred Pr. annum; an University with a Head and professors in the Capital all of whom should be of the Church of England,

and, the medical professor perhaps excepted, Clergymen; expedients may be found to lessen these expences at present, and to do them away in future. Rectories might be appropriated in the room of Salaries, wherever they should become of sufficient value—an Island, which ought never to be granted, and other desirable settlements might be let out to relieve the British Government as soon as possible from this burden; and there is little doubt but all classes and descriptions of Public men, would lend their assistance in their separate departments to evince their gratitude for an establishment so necessary for their children, (and not less so to encourage further emigration of valuable settlers), by promoting every method that may speedily exonerate the parent State, and supply an increasing income to be strictly applied to that just and honourable purpose.

I wait with great impatience, Sir, the arrival of your next dispatches, in hopes that I may immediately proceed into Upper Canada, from whence I trust I shall ascertain, what I have every reason to believe at present, that the places which I have heretofore proposed as stations and settlements, Toronto, the Capital on the River la Tranche¹; and the vicinity of Long Point are most favorably situated for all the purposes of internal civilization and Military Union.

Toronto appears to be the natural arsenal of Lake Ontario and to afford an easy access over land to Lake Huron; the River La Tranche, near the navigable head of which I propose to establish the *Capital*, by what I can gather from the few people who have visited it, will afford a safe, a more certain, and I am inclined to think, by taking due advantage of the Seasons, a less expensive rout to Detroit than that of Niagara; and at the same time by the *Grand River* and other streams which flow parallel to it, will have many communications with Lake Erie.—The first Fork of the River la Tranche as marked by the surveyor in the plan which I did myself the honor to send to you, it is probable will be a proper situation for another Town, not impossibly a naval Arsenal, as the banks of the upper part of that river are said to abound with Timber suited for such purposes; this place is about twenty two miles from the streights that part lake St. Clair from lake Huron, and equidistant from Pine point on lake Erie which has been pointed out from the circumstance of its excellent Lands, and harbour for small craft, as a proper situation for another settlement. Applications have already been made for lands near to *Long Point* on Lake Erie, where I have always projected to establish a Military Colony as being situated opposite to *presque Isle*, the most practicable rout from the United States, in tracing these settlements to you, Sir, I wish to observe in addition to the Civil Circumstances of no lands having been granted in their Vicinity by which means the proper Reserves may be secured as directed by Government, the facility with which the Military force of this distant frontier can be collected to a point in case of necessity, to support the Barrier Forts; or should his Majesty's Ministers think it advisable to give them up, to supply their loss as far as can be accomplished by a defensive line.—I propose to call the Houses together near Niagara, as the most central spot in the Province for the convenience of the different settlements.—

I will not apologize for this long detail, as I am sure, Sir, you will consider it as flowing from ardent ambition to promote his Majesty's Service, and in the pursuit of that principle, from an Anxious desire as far as circumstances will admit, by

¹The Thames.

giving every Information in my power to his Majesty's Ministers to furnish materials for their Opinions by which I shall ever most studiously regulate my conduct.

I have the honor to be with the most perfect Respect, Sir,

Your most Obt & Obligated Servt.

J. G. SIMCOE.

*Endorsed:—Quebec, 28th April, 1792. Lieut. Govr. Simcoe. No. 7.
R. 15th June. Two Inclosures.*

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO EVAN NEPEAN.

QUEBEC, April 28, 1792.

Dear Nepean,

I hope this will meet you with established health in England. I had scarcely heard of your departure, from which I understood that you were expected to return in April, and that the few days relief from your insurmountable weight of business which preceded your departure, had visibly occasioned that alteration in your health, which your numerous friends have so anxiously desired. I take this opportunity of stating, for Mr. Dundas' information, if it be necessary, that having been furnished by General Clarke, who is desirous to give me every information in his power, with the copy of his letter to Lord Dorchester on the subject of the Queen's Rangers, dated Sept. 16, 1791, if some parts of that letter are supposed to be founded on my ideas, I fear I have been misunderstood.

My great object is to infuse a principle of labour into the Corps, and to apply this to public purposes. The pay of the soldier will not allow this to be carried to a sufficient length, as the wear of the clothing would be too expensive for him to replace. To effect this purpose, my ideas were, to diminish the quantity of labour he ought to perform for the public, and by permitting him to undertake a similar quantity for his own profit, to supply himself with these necessaries and clothes which the labour, both on his own account and that of the public would necessarily require, beyond what the best management of his pay could possibly allow. The difficulty seemed to be to procure the constant supply of labour, which he might convert to his own emolument, and set in opposition the expences he should incur in effecting that of the public. In addition to the soldier hiring himself out, at a stated price to be set by the Government, attentive to the reduction of the price of labour in an infant Colony, to such settlers as might be in the vicinity of his Quarters, I proposed that certain portions of land should be set apart, on which he might find supplementary or constant work in bringing them into the first step towards cultivation, namely the clearing them of the wood: then five or ten acres parts of a farm of one or two hundred acres, allotted by Government to settlers, should additionally to the general stipulation, be offered for sale at a price that might reimburse the soldiers, to whom the burthen of clearing is of the severest nature, and who would obtain such cleared lands at a price infinitely inferior to that at which they themselves could possibly clear it.

This is the outline of my principle, but when the letter I refer to, states "part of the land as brought into cultivation by this Corps," it takes a different ground, possibly, by not adverting to the difference between the local terms of clearing, in use in America, and the British one of cultivation: the former only requires

manual labour, the axe and the mattock, but the latter demands cattle, ploughs, and all the apparatus of an English farm.

It is obvious that I purpose that this Corps should be employed a portion of the time in whatever way Government shall require them so that even the cultivation of land, may, if it be thought worth while, be a part of their occupation: but this I should think would be postponed to a more distant day, and then I should hope, in 3 or 4 years, it may be transferred towards Kingston, and work upon rendering the Rapids and Cataracts less difficult between that place and Montreal.

It is true, should Captain Stevenson be appointed Deputy Quarter Master General, I feel inclined, by appropriating some lands for a farm, upon a plan of his, to raise forage and horses for such purposes as Government may require, without any expence whatever.

When, in the beginning of this letter, I desire it may be communicated to Mr. Dundas, I say so lest he should have formed the plans, on which he requires Lord Dorchester's observations on other ideas and different principles, in which case, it will only remain for me to forward them to the best of my power. You will have seen the difficulties I have lain under relative to being unable to act, either in a Civil or Military capacity. Had St. Clair or Butler¹ been successful, and followed up the Indians, who can answer they would not have visited Detroit? or that the pursuit of the Indians and the entreaties of the inhabitants would not have led their soldiers there, contrary to their intentions. I hope the necessity I have stated of having a more numerous Executive Council, will have met with approbation. Mr. Robertson's avocations will scarcely any more than Mr. Grant's, or any French Gentleman, permit them to be much at the Capital, and the business at the Land Office, will, for some years require an unremitting supervision and attention. If it is permitted to me to name more assistance, I should name Captain Shaw, who is a very able man, as well as an Officer, and who has perfect knowledge of Infant Settlements, having with his own hands worked hard for some years in Nova Scotia to form one. He has strong claims upon Government, and by accepting of the office of Captain Lieutenant from the half pay of Captain, in case of reduction is liable to be reduced as a lieutenant. I should name my Commissary, Captain McGill, for a seat, as a resident in the Capital: both these gentlemen are of equal rank with any others in the Province, mean to be settlers there, fought the whole war, and were taken from pursuits, by which, if the Rebellion had not happened, they must years ago have been in affluence.

I have appointed 2 Sheriffs, one an Officer, late in Butler's Corps², by which his half pay will be saved. The other, Mr. Wm. Coffin, brother of the Comptroller General, but I fear, so extensive are the Districts, there ought to be a third at Detroit, but I do not feel myself authorized, and therefore shall not make any addition to the establishment.

I impatiently wait for Military Authority, or the Gentlemen of the Council to proceed to Upper Canada. There are great errors in the Surveyor General's Department, relative to the location of lands, which I hope to adjust amicably on my arrival in Upper Canada. Poor Holland³, that good and faithful servant of

¹Major General Richard Butler of Pennsylvania, Agent and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Middle Department of the United States and one of the Commissioners who concluded the treaty with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix in 1784. He was second in command to General St. Clair and killed in the action of 4 November, 1791.

²Alexander Macdonell of Collachie. William Coffin had been a lieutenant in the Royal Regiment of New York.

³Samuel Holland, Surveyor General for the Province of Quebec.

the Crown, is worn out in body, tho' in full possession of his intellect. His Deputy, Collins¹, possesses neither strength nor intellect. I hope Mr. Inman has accepted that employment which requires essential ability and integrity, and which I hope to place on a very proper system, and infinitely less expensive to Government than it has hitherto been. I meant to have sent a party some time ago, to have run a line separating our last purchase from the Indian Territory, but on having an estimate of its expences laid before me, I was quite frightened, and have postponed the operation, in hopes, on consulting Sir John Johnson, to find that we may be able to purchase the intervening land, and melt the boundary down into our former possessions at a cheaper rate. I hope my Province Seal is on its passage, and medallions or similar devices for the Indian Chiefs.

Ever and truly yours

J. GRAVES SIMCOE.

FROM RICHARD DUNCAN TO J. G. SIMCOE.

HERMITAGE, April 30, 1792.

Sir,

I hope that you will pardon me, nor impute it either to neglect nor breach of promise if I should have it in my power to leave the country as soon as I expected and promised when I had the honour of parting with Your Excellency at Quebec;—the business I am engaged in at present, and for some time past, is of a most difficult and complicated nature, having many obscure and long-standing accounts to settle, a number of hungry, unrelenting creditors to satisfy or their clamours to appease, and to endeavour if possible to save something out of the wreck of an estate left under the greatest embarrassments for the future support of a widow and seven children, whom my father has left behind him, and who look up to me as a protector, under those melancholy circumstances—Every exertion, however small, shall be used on my part, in order to have the pleasure of seeing your Excellency and Mrs. Simcoe at the Rapids Plat on your way up.

But if after all I should be disappointed in my expectations, I hope, notwithstanding, you will do me the honour of making one stage at my house, as I have by this conveyance wrote to Captn Malcolm McMartin,² who has charge of my affairs in my absence to furnish Mrs. Simcoe with a horse, and to shew you every attention as my proxy [on¹ this occasion, which the nature of circumstances will admit of.

I shall set out for New York in the course of a few days, my business there, tho' of an indispensable nature, will nevertheless not detain me more than three days, nor have I anything more pressing here to do after my return, so that I expect in the course of three weeks to be able to take my departure for Upper Canada. I shall not neglect to pay particular attention to Your Excellency's Commissions to Mr. Rivington, in case it is not already executed.

Your Excellency will pardon me for mentioning to you that I was unwarily betrayed into a promise, when in Montreal, of recommending to your notice a Mr. Chichester McDonnell³ of Charlottenburg, brother to a worthy character

¹Hon. John Collins, a member of the Legislative Council for Lower Canada and Deputy Surveyor of Lands.

²Late lieutenant in the Royal Regiment of New York.

³Late lieutenant in Butler's Rangers; afterwards lieutenant-colonel of the 82nd and 34th Regiments; died on service in India.

of that name, a Major John McDonnell, one of the Judges of the District of Lunenburg, who wishes to hold some employment either in a Civil or Military Capacity under Your Excellency's auspices, and I must beg leave to add that I know him to be a young man of good deportment and otherwise worthy of notice. A conflict in my own mind between the request and the respect I owe to you, and the regard to a promise once made, has prevented this communication being made sooner, and it is now made at the hazard of your displeasure being conscious of having taken a liberty which neither the rules of propriety nor any acquaintance with you can justify, but which, nevertheless, I trust you will have the goodness to forgive.

No doubt your Excellency has heard of the failure of a Mr. Duer,¹ who by his address in certain speculations, is supposed to have absorbed one third of the circulating cash in the United States—the alluring bait of 40 per cent was so irresistible that people crowded to give their money to Duer and take his notes. The day before his failure, he drew out of the Bank of New York the sum of two hundred thousand dollars, and was glad to fly for shelter to the common gaol, where two field pieces are planted in order to protect him from the fury of the populace. Several wealthy people are among the number of his martyrs, particularly a Mr. Walter Livingston, who has failed for one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Numerous bankruptcies and an almost total stagnation of business are amongst the calamities occasioned by these speculations, in which a number of innocent people are involved.

I hope Mrs. Simcoe's fortitude, which braved the dangers of Seas, and the inclemency of the Quebec winter, will be equal, if not superior, to the sting of the musquito or the gnat. That no greater dangers may ever start up to annoy either you or her, and be as easily conquered, is the ardent wish of

Sir, Your Excellency's, most respt. and humble Servt,

RICHARD DUNCAN.

¹Colonel William Duer, an extensive speculator in wild lands in Ohio, and the chief promoter of the Scioto company, in which he was assisted by Manasseh Cutler and Joel Barlow. On March 16, 1792, Thomas Jefferson wrote to a friend: "Duer, the king of the alley, is under a kind of check. The stock-sellers say he will rise again. The stock-buyers count him out, & the credit and fate of the nation seem to hang on the desperate throws & plunges of gambling scoundrels." Timothy Pickering reported that, "New York is in an uproar, and all business at a stand."

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO FRANCIS EPPES.

PHILADELPHIA, April 14, 1792.

..... It was reported here last night that there had been a collection of people round the place of Duer's confinement of so threatening an appearance as to call out the Governor & Militia & to be fired on by them: and that several of them were killed. I hope it is not true. Nothing was wanting to fill up the criminality of this paper system, but to shed the blood of those whom it had cheated of their substance.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

PHILADELPHIA, April 19th, 1792.

..... The failure of Duer in New York, soon brought on others, & these still more, like nine pins knocking one another down, till at that place the bankruptcy is become general, every man concerned in paper being broke, and most of the tradesmen & farmers, who had been laying down money, having been tempted by these speculators to lend it to them at an interest of from 3. to 6. per cent a month, have lost the whole. It is computed there is a dead loss at New York of about 5 millions of dollars, which is reckoned the value of all the buildings of the city; so that if the whole town had been burnt to the ground, it would have been just the measure of the present calamity, supposing goods to have been saved. In Boston the dead loss is about a million of dollars. The crisis here was the day before yesterday, which was a great day for payments. The effect will not be public in two or three days more. It is conjectured that their loss will be about equal to that of Boston.....

(The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, edited by P. L. Ford, Vol. V. pp. 593-9.)

FROM MAJOR JOHN SMITH TO J. G. SIMCOE.

Private.

DETROIT, 30 April, 1792.

Sir,

I have the honour of acknowledging the receipt of your letter, dated 1st Decr, 91, and am extremely happy in the opportunity it gives me to congratulate Yr Excellency on your safe arrival in this country, to fill one of the most honourable and important stations in His Majesty's American Dominions.

Be assured, Sir, it will at all times afford me the highest satisfaction to have the honour of Your Excellency's approbation and should I be able or so fortunate as to obtain it by my best endeavours to promote the welfare and interest of His Majesty's Government in Upper Canada, during the short and limited command, or by any communications that may tend to that object, I shall be very much gratified.

Your Excellency having expressed a wish that I should give my unswerved opinion on affairs Civil as well as Military, I find myself impelled to be under the necessity of expressing a diffidence of my judgment in civil cases not frequently within my observation and totally out of my control; particularly as the command appears to be wholly out of the district of Hesse; which leaves me unaware as to the good or evil of any civil regulations which might be suggested for its Government. Bred from my youth to the profession of arms, and having experienced some of the hardships attending it during a service of 37 years, I cannot help doubting my abilities to decide upon what may be proper to alter and amend in the civil appointments and regulations already established here—except what concerns the Land Granting Department on which I have enclosed my opinions. The business of the Board in this District is too voluminous for a letter. The minutes of our proceedings have been regularly transmitted to Quebec, and Your Excellency is probably in possession of them. A continued copy of the register shall be forwarded as soon as possible wherein you will perceive what I proposed to the Board on receipt of Your Excellency's letter.

Alex. McKee, Esqr. who is the agent here for the Indian Affairs, and Lieut. Colo. Commandant of the Militia, goes down either by this opportunity or in the succeeding vessel. He is going at the request of Sir John Johnson, to settle some business of the Department, previous to Sir John's going to Europe. He will, of course, make it a great point to see Your Excellency on his way down, and he is a very old and faithful servant of the Crown as well as a gentleman every way qualified to give you the best information with regard to circumstances in general, and those of his Department in particular, I doubt not you will avail yourself of the opportunity to obtain such minutes as can be but superficially conveyed upon paper.

The settlement of this side of the line requires protection somewhere, and regulations of its internal economy are highly necessary. Should there be a difficulty in effecting this in a civil line, a Military Jurisdiction, under proper restrictions, would be preferable to its present state. It is strange that a man, for petty misdemeanors shall be confined, and his property confiscated and sold for debt, when another shall commit the crimes of murder, rape and robbing with impunity.

It does not appear unreasonable that some kind of supremacy, either Civil or Military, should be vested in the Commandant to regulate the police within the Garrison under certain restrictions—Also, a Power to give strength to a commission for granting passes, which is almost rendered nugatory for want of such

power. Suspicious persons may build too much on the liberality of the law respecting the [liberty?] of the subject.

The six companies of the Militia, without the line, comprehend about five hundred men, whereof the detached Company at River Raisin is upwards of 100. This settlement is about forty miles or upwards from the Garrison and merits attention. It is said to be in a flourishing state, but it is too far from the eye of the Colonel. The only person of any authority there is an old man, who is both Captain of Militia and Justice of the Peace.

This Garrison will require very ample repairs as to its state of defence, in a very short time. Particular estimates of such repairs have been forwarded by the Assistant Engineer to Quebec.

I have taken this occasion to transmit to your Excellency, a copy of an anonymous paper writing which came to light on the 3rd instant. The person who wrote it intended it should appear like a draft of a letter from Judge Powell to the Sec'y. of War of the United States. It is fraught with a good deal of malignity and framed either with intent to do mischief. The diffusion of its contents may be attended with bad consequences, and its author must be a villain of the deepest hue. Mr. Powell has made no certain discovery as yet as to its parent¹.

To put the Marine Establishment on a better footing, it would be wished that discipline in that Department was countenanced by law. At present it is inflicted at risk. The constant residence of a senior officer or naval commissioner at the Post might perhaps augment the benefits of the service. The store houses in the yard are much wanted, and if the present situation is to be continued as a site for building, it might be well done that it should have some more immediate defence than what it can receive from the guns of the Garrison, to prevent the attempts of incendiaries and others who might easily be employed for the most wicked purposes, to destroy in one night or by one spark, the work of a whole year.

A murder has just been committed at Saguiua on Lake Huron. The coroner has been acquainted with the inquest, and other circumstances relative to it, and will, of course, make a report to Your Excellency.

Lieut. Selby² goes down by this opportunity. He is a confidential person and competent to give Your Excellency information, &c.

Before I conclude this letter, I must beg leave to observe that if I can do anything personally or by report especially directed, that may be useful in the administration of Your Excellency's Government, it will give me the most perfect satisfaction to communicate it without loss of time. I have the honor to be Your Excellency's

Most Obt. & humble Servt.

JOHN SMITH,
Major 5th Foot.

To His Excy. General Simcoe.

¹This incident is the subject of a paper by C. C. James, published in the "Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada," Third Series, Vol. VI, (1912), pp. 217-20.

²Prideaux Selby, lieutenant in the 5th Regiment and assistant secretary for Indian Affairs at Detroit; Receiver General and a member of the Executive Council for Upper Canada, 1809-13; died at York, U.C. in 1813.

FROM HENRY DUNDAS TO J. G. SIMCOE.

WHITEHALL, 5th May, 1792.

To Lieut. Govr. Simcoe.
Lt. Govr. Clarke.

Sir,

In addition to such Instructions and Documents as I have already transmitted to you respecting the good Offices intended to be interposed by His Majesty between the American States and the Indians and the Objects proposed by such a measure I send you herewith Copies of Lord Grenville's Letter to Mr. Hammond and of Lord Dorchester's to me on the same subject with the Observations of Capt'n Mann¹ on the Posts on the Frontier towards Lake Champlain. These with the Charts accompanying them will be of considerable assistance to you in forming a correct Judgement of the local situation and circumstances of the present boundary Line in that quarter and of what is suggested as the most desirable one if it can be obtained.

You are already aware that the great object to be attended to is to secure such a Barrier against the American States by the intervention of the Indians or where they are more thinly scattered by the strength and situation of the Country to be interposed as may render encroachments on either side very difficult at least if not impracticable.

In Co-operating therefore with Mr. Hammond you will take care to furnish him with all particulars relative to those parts which your situation best enables you to procure.

This will be the more peculiarly necessary in ascertaining what frontier would be the most desirable, and what in degree would be less so, in those quarters more particularly specified in the enclosed Letters from Lord Grenville and Lord Dorchester. In doing this it will be necessary to accompany your Plans and observations with the Objections which you conceive might be made to them by the American States as well as with what you conceive may be said in Answer to such Objections.

I am &c.

HENRY DUNDAS.

*Endorsed:—Drat. to Lt. Govr. Clarke & Lt. Govr. Simcoe, May, 1792.
For Mr. Secretary Dundas's consideration to go to-morrow.*

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO PHINEAS BOND.

QUEBEC, May 7, 1792.

Sir,

The information which Captain Stevenson has given me, that many of the people of the Society of Friends or Quakers have thoughts of settling in Upper Canada, appears to me of so much importance to the future prosperity of that Province, that I am sure you will pardon me, to whom His Majesty has been most

¹Gother Mann, 1747-1830, ensign Royal Engineers, 1763; lieutenant, 1771; captain, 1777; commanding Royal Engineer at Quebec, 1785-1791; served in Flanders under the Duke of York, 1793-4; lieutenant colonel, 1793; commanding Royal Engineer in Canada, 1794-1804; colonel, 1797; made many of the maps and plans of fortifications which are yet preserved; lieutenant general, 1810; Inspector General of Fortifications, 1811-30; general, 1826.

graciously pleased to confide its Government, addressing myself to you without further introduction.

I take the opportunity of transmitting the late Act of Parliament, by which Upper Canada has been severed from the Lower Province, and which may be considered as the Magna Charta, under which that Colony will immediately be admitted to all the privileges that Englishmen enjoy, and be confederated and united, I earnestly pray and believe, forever with Great Britain. The British Parliament, it may be observed, has only retained to itself the power and authority for the regulation of commerce between Foreign Countries and the respective Provinces. The net produce of revenue so raised to be applied by the Colonial Legislature to the uses of the respective Colony. The King and Parliament, by these means, have provided as much as human foresight can do, that industry may not be defeated of its honest acquisitions. It is to be observed that the British Parliament, in the 42d clause, which it secures beyond the possibility of any Provincial interference, the protection and endowment which the Civil Compact of the British Constitution affords to the established Church, and that, in a manner the least burthensome to the subject, by the King's benevolence, in the allotment of lands for that purpose, at the same time it as effectually provides for the security of the natural rights of Christians to worship God in their own way, by reserving to itself the sole power of giving legal authority to any Acts which may respect or interfere with such mode of worship, and it offers, as a pledge of its justice in this essential point, the reasonable toleration which has for such a long time existed under the Government of Great Britain, and which is too well known by all who have been so happy as to have been born under its authority to require the necessity of illustration. I have thought proper to remark on these two parts of the Act, to shew how cautiously the British Parliament has proceeded in the communication of its power to Upper Canada, in precluding any probability of persecution for religious tenets affecting the internal peace of the Colony, and by preventing any competition in matters of commerce or revenue between the separate Provinces that might be injurious to either, and wound that confidence which, it is natural to believe, will ever subsist between them. With the Act of Parliament, I transmit the only Proclamation which I have hitherto issued, relative to the granting of the Crown Lands.

The Colony of Upper Canada is founded by those emigrants from the Provinces, lately belonging to Great Britain, who were averse to the disunion of the Empire and the dethronement of the revered family of Brunswick. The requests of the settlers of this description have been amply provided for by Grants of the lands of the Crown, and there are vacant lands to an almost immeasurable amount ready to be immediately allotted to those who shall prefer the British Constitution in Upper Canada. A seventh of these lands are to be reserved for the Crown, principally as a foundation for a revenue that may be applied to the exigencies of the Colony. Another seventh, agreeable to the Act of Parliament, to provide for the Protestant Clergy; the remainder to be allotted in general agreeable to the Proclamation. There is great reason to suppose that many thousand acres of very valuable tracts of ungranted lands lie upon the northern shore of Lake Erie. The vicinity of this Lake to the back part of Pensylvania, very naturally renders this a desirable circumstance to those who have connections in that Province of the United States, and settlers of such a description may be of use in that very favorite object of the just policy of Great Britain, the renewing every intercourse language, old connection, and consanguinity can possibly suggest between the two countries.

On Lake Ontario, there is a vast extent of valuable country from Toronto to the Bay of Quinte, ungranted. The oak of this country has found its way to Quebec, and its wheat, of admirable quality, sells to the merchant millers in the vicinity of that Capital, at 6d a bushel beyond that of Lower Canada, paying by these means the difference of its distance from the Ocean, and promising to become a most valuable staple.

The principles of the British Constitution require the utmost attention to the public interest in those who administer any part of the Government, and the very form of the Government secures the subject, as far as human intentions admit, from all undue exercise of authority, rendering the most powerful equally with the impotent amenable to public justice, yet it shall be some satisfaction to those who shall emigrate to a new country to know that the wishes of those who are appointed to administer the sacred trust of its government, go hand in hand, as well as their interest and duty, in support of those principles on which its prosperity must be constituted. Here, Sir, I am happy in believing that my ardent and undeviating attachment to the American Loyalists is not unknown in Pensylvania, and will therefore readily obtain credit to my affirmation that the hopes of serving my King, my country and mankind, by giving every protection and encouragement that the Station I fill can admit of to those who have preferred the British Constitution, is a principal motive of my accepting the Government of Upper Canada. The principles of the British Constitution do not admit of that slavery which Christianity condemns.

From the moment that I assume the Government of Upper Canada, under no modification will I ever assent to a law that discriminates by dishonest policy between the natives of Africa, America, or Europe.

It will be my unremitting endeavour to carry into execution the justice which Great Britain has always inculcated should be observed to the uncivilized Indian, and to use the best means in my power to ameliorate his condition by such gradations as may tend to incorporate and civilise, rather than to degrade or extirpate a fellow creature. His Majesty's Ministers, at my express request have directed 400 soldiers, under such officers whom I have recommended as suited by their morals and capacity for the business, to be raised for the express purpose of facilitating the Civil Establishment of the Province, and for that purpose, they are to be totally free from the Garrison duties of the Barrier Forts. They are to be employed in the opening of the public roads, the construction of bridges, and of public buildings, and ultimately in facilitating the navigation of the Province. My design is to educate these soldiers to labour, so that two thirds of their time may be employed for their own and the public benefit; to have them taught occupations such as may be useful to the community, and to regulate their work, by stated prices, so as to reduce as much as possible the rate of wages in the infant Colony. I mean to erect a regimental school to instruct these young soldiers in learning sufficient for their station, and I hope to make it apparent that the military education may train up soldiers to become most useful citizens. I am permitted to discharge them whenever they find a proper substitute, and to allow them 50 acres of land for a settlement, so that under this encouragement I trust that the military service may for a few years be an eligible method of education for the lower classes of the community. It is obvious by these means that colonization will be much advanced, as this Corps will always be able to supply useful artizans at an easy rate, to any part of the settlements that may require them. The first employment

of a part of this Corps will be, it is presumed, the working of an immensely valuable salt spring, not far distant from Ontario, that this necessary article may be rendered to the settlers without monopoly or impost, that excepted, which may be necessary to defray the trifling expences of those who shall work it. If the Society of Friends should prefer the Government of Upper Canada, they will have a just right to such exemptions from bearing arms, as they have hitherto met with under the ancient Government of the British States. Thus, Sir, I have traced a few of the particulars which I think may be necessary to be known to those who shall prefer the settlement in Upper Canada. The extension of the British Constitution and its form as far as may be useful and proper for the general welfare of the Empire, needs no commentary. I have somewhat expatiated on these additional means by which the hands of Government will be strengthened to promote the rapid colonization of the country and eventually to rear up internal force sufficient to protect it from all hostility. I think it not improper to observe that Great Britain is again aloft, that her power is sufficient to secure her subjects above all hazards whatsoever, from any combinations of force, which envy, or the arts of interested traitors may attempt to raise up against her, should such again be the base indisposition of the times, and on the other hand, it may be a matter of serious import to those who found their morality on the dictates of Revelation, that such a pre-eminence on the part of Great Britain is not likely to be abused or involve her in foreign quarrels. The well known disposition of the most benevolent of Sovereigns, the principles of Government and the opinions of the subjects of Great Britain all uniting to promote general peace among mankind. Should all Nations be permitted to combine in one view of universal peace and good will, to whom would result as its consequence the greatest and most permanent advantages? It is obvious to Great Britain, whose subjects, in morality and industry, and in the form of Government which naturally flows from them, and is best adapted to their security, claim as their birthright the priority of the world. I need offer no apology, I am sure, to you, Sir, for thus transmitting to be used as you shall see occasion, what I conceive may tend to His Majesty's interests: they will be essentially promoted by the speedy condensation of a numerous, virtuous, agricultural people in Upper Canada, and such, I have experience, are the inhabitants of Pennsylvania. I have only to add, that should any Society wish to emigrate, I should be happy to see those persons who should be authorized under mutual confidence for that purpose, and to give my best assistance to promote their views and establishment.

I am, &c., &c.

J. GRAVES SIMCOE.

To Mr. Bond¹, Pennsylvania.

¹Phineas Bond was born in Philadelphia and educated as a physician in England and the Continent of Europe. His professional reputation was great. He was one of the founders of the University of Pennsylvania and became a professor in it. He was a firm loyalist and signed a parole in 1777, but notified the Council of Safety that he did not consider himself bound by it, as his liberty had been restrained contrary to the promise given when it was presented to him. In 1786 he was appointed British Consul for the Middle States, with his office at Philadelphia, and the question of his recognition as such was warmly debated in Congress in the following session. Mr. Jay from the committee reported in favour of it. Mr. Madison opposed it in the public interest, he said. Mr. Varnum objected on account of Mr. Bond's "obnoxious character." Mr. Bond was at the same time nominated as Commissary for Commercial Affairs, which Mr. Jay thought was designed to confer some of the powers of a Minister to the United States and advised that he should not be recognized in that capacity. He was finally recognized as Consul only. During the excitement following the attack on the Chesapeake a mob assembled before his door and played the "Rogue's March" with insulting remarks. He died in England in 1816.

FROM CHARLES STEVENSON TO J. G. SIMCOE.

MONTREAL, 8th May, 1792.

Dear Simcoe,—

The news is just arrived of the failure of 12 Capital Houses in New York, Mr. Macomb¹ and Mr. Duer who together have failed for half a million are both in prison. Macomb is the person named in the Petition you received from Sir John Johnson's Secretary. He with Duer, Edgar and Governor Clinton² are the chief proprietors of that great tract of land from Oswego to St. Regis. Governor Clinton lost his popularity by the sale of it so low, and became a considerable purchaser. He was suspected to favor his own interest in the bargain. It must now be re-sold to pay creditors. What an opportunity for England (by her agents) to become the purchaser of it. It will give us a good footing in the state of New York, (as we would move a few troops into it), where we have a great many friends. Both sides of the St. Lawrence would then belong to your Government. Oswegatchie with its communication with the States is well worth having instead of letting the Americans come to the lake and oblige us to increase our Naval Force. The money that must naturally be so expended would be better laid out in the purchase. York must be dependent upon England for her Trade and though the present failure may affect many houses in London, she may yet get credit if she turns her views towards us, which such an establishment in the State must inevitably lead her to do.

The ruin of America appears unavoidable as Jonathan will now be in a hurry to turn all his scrip, bank-notes, and every other species of paper currency into cash. The National Bank will not be able to stand the run upon it, having at least issued out in notes a sum equal to three times its capital. The petty State Banks that were its branches will be involved in its ruin and others not connected must sink for want of credit.

New England dissatisfied with Congress in their conduct on the Fishery Bill passed last winter. The Yorkers ruined and must look up to us for support. The purchase of the lands above will bring us by the Mohawk to the Hudson (the distance from Oswego to Albany 176 miles) to the great advantage of both. The Southern and Eastern States dissatisfied with each other and the late violent and unjust act of the Virginians in their Court of Judicature has banished confidence in them. Colombia being seated on the Potomac and intended to monopolize the Western trade is a very mortifying circumstance to the States east of Hudson, how wide the ruin may spread. Surely on the breaking up of this vast machine an able Minister with full powers may from the wreck collect materials enough to form an Empire. A little secret service money might procure us some State

¹A brother of William Macomb of Detroit, and father of Major General Alexander Macomb of the United States army, who defended Plattsburg in 1814.

²George Clinton, 1739-1812, served in the war with France, first in a privateer and later in Bradstreet's expedition against Fort Frontenac; admitted to the bar; elected to the House of Assembly for the Province of New York, 1768; delegate to Congress, 1775; brigadier general in Continental army, 1777; Governor of the State of New York, 1779-95; candidate for President of the United States against John Adams in 1792 and 1796; Governor of New York, 1801; Vice President of the United States, 1804-12.

papers. I suspect Mr. Hamilton¹ will be found among the Speculators as he is not a declared enemy, There may be means of making him a secret friend.

The Indian War I should suppose must now be at a stand as I know not from whence they can draw their supplies to raise their army or pay it when raised. Certainly they will fail if the National Bank has that run on it that there is reason to suspect. Should York in her distress put herself under our protection, Vermont must of course belong to us. England has a very strong and declared party in York. A clever resident might do a great deal for his country. It is confessedly the first port in America. If they were inclined to join us there would be no difficulty in seizing West Point (where all the cannon and Stores of Gen. Burgoyne's and Lord Cornwallis's Armies are deposited). Fort Montgomery and Stoney Point might be occupied in one night, which would effectually secure the river and protect the Yorkers from the vengeance of Congress. I should like a little mischief amazingly, it would give you the opportunity of laying aside the State Robe and of resuming the sword. It is a pleasanter duty to act as a General than to officiate as a Chancellor. You no doubt will do that very well but it is a new line and I like the old one better—people are apt to be prejudiced in favor of early habits.

Adieu, and whatever may be either your view or operations may you ever meet with the success wished for by

Your faithful friend.

C. STEVENSON.

FROM ALEXANDER GRANT TO J. G. SIMCOE.

Sir,—

It is with particular satisfaction I have the honor of acknowledging Your Excellency's letter of the 1st December last from Quebec and received the 29th February.

Permit me, Sir, with the greatest deference to congratulate your Excellency upon being appointed Governor of Upper Canada, and upon you and your family's safe arrival in Lower Canada. From your independent situation in life and with the ardent zeal your Excellency embraces the Government, I have not the least doubt of the completion of your wishes and make your Excellency's name ever remembered in this country, which shall be my constant prayer and wish.

I beg leave to offer my warmest thanks to your Excellency for the honourable office you have been pleased to have conferred upon me, all I fear that my feeble assistance will not merit your generous intention.

The depth of water at the mouths of the rivers and harbours on the lakes are very precarious excepting the main channel, owing to the hard gales of wind blowing in the Fall raises banks of sand at their entrances which leave little or no water. In the Spring the freshets from the shore open the channels again to from five to seven feet water. The water in the lakes has been rising for seven years past and it began to decrease last Fall.

Upon my receiving your Excellency's letter and as soon as the season admitted of it, I went to the river a la Trench upon Lake St. Clair, and found seven feet water upon the bar, and from 18 feet to three fathoms in the river for 18 miles up to the first forks.

¹Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of Treasury for the United States. His enemies alleged that his funding policy had facilitated stock-jobbing.

From going into Lake Huron along the east shore you have no shelter from the westerly winds for upwards of one hundred miles.

There is no harbour of any particular shelter upon the N.W. of Long Point in Lake Erie for about eighty miles.

If the enclosed papers give your Excellency any satisfactory information regarding the settled part of the district of Hesse it will make me happy.

I have the honor Sir, to be with all proper respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

ALEX. GRANT.

NIAGARA, 13th May, 1792.

To His Excellency Lieut. Governor Simcoe.

THE WESTERN INDIAN NATIONS TO CAPTAIN MATHEW ELLIOTT.

MIAMIS RIVER, 16th May, 1792.

Speech of the Shawanees, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Potawatamies, Munsees, & other Western Nations assembled at this place to Captain Mathew Elliott.¹

Father

We are assembled here to tell you that in Consequence of the Incursions of the Americans into our Country we Left our Villages and are Come to Settle in this Vicinity with our families;—From the American Speeches we find they are resolved to Persist in getting our Country—and banishing us out of it—and we have certain Information of a Considerable body of the Kentuck Militia being embodied on this Side of the Ohio—we are of ourselves a thousand Warriors exclusive of our Wives, Children and Old men, and as we were naturly Oblidged to give Provisions to the Nations that came to our assistance last fall, we are now reduced to the greatest distress, We therefore hope our father will take Pity on us and Supply our Wants as Soon as Possible in getting Provisions brought for us to this Place.

When our fathers the English in the Late troubles with the Americans called for our Assistance We granted it to them in Return they Promised us their Protection when required, an Opportunity now Offers of their keeping their Word in granting us Such Protection which we are so much in Want of—we are Convinced of our father's Benevolence towards us hitherto and we hope he will not shut his Ears now at a time that we are so much distressed for if we Remain many days longer without something to Prevent our families from starving We shall be forced to go to Detroit where when our Situation will be Visible to our fathers the English they will not let us Perish through hunger in their sight.

Strings of Wampum.

¹Elliott, Mathew, 1739-1814, a native of Maryland; in early life a trader with the Western Indians; employed in the Indian Department in the expedition under Bouquet, 1763; fled from Pittsburg to Detroit in 1776, arrested on suspicion and sent to Quebec; served in the Indian Department with rank of captain, 1777-84; accompanied Hamilton in expedition against Vincennes and Captain Bird to Kentucky; engaged in actions at Sandusky and the Blue Licks, mentioned in despatches on both occasions; assistant agent at Detroit, 1790-5; deputy superintendent, 1795-99; dismissed, 1799; exonerated from blame and reinstated, 1808; member of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada for the County of Essex, 1800-12; colonel commanding the 1st Regiment of Essex Militia, 1798-1814; awarded a gold medal for his services at the capture of Detroit, Aug. 16, 1812; engaged at the River Raisin, Fort Meigs, Moraviantown, Black Rock.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO GEORGE HAMMOND.

QUEBEC, May 23, 1792.

Dear Sir,

Captain Stevenson informing me that he has a safe opportunity of forwarding my letters to you, I avail myself of the circumstance, and shall not apologize for making some extracts for your perusal, if not for your information. That of Knox's instructions to St. Clair will only confirm what it was reasonable to have expected; at the same time it proves the true policy of the United States in seizing first and excusing the action at a subsequent period. I obtained of General Clarke the transmitting to you on a former occasion the report of Sir William Johnson, Novr. 18, 1763, of the state of the Department of Indian Affairs as furnishing the true reasons, by which the British Government were implicated, to provide the Indians with annual presents, and many other documents which might be useful to you in your mission.

It is possible you may have already been furnished with this memoir, but it certainly is prudent to leave nothing to chance, particularly as the work, if of supererogation, is one of so trifling a nature. For the same reasons, I now transmit extracts for the Lords of Trade in 1768, on the propriety of the Superintendent General's Department, the nature and necessity of that office, and the origin of that system of presents, which has given such umbrage to the United States Government. I doubt not they affect to misunderstand it; but these extracts are particularly necessary to controvert one of the basest and most injurious speeches that ever fell from man, and which General St. Clair made to the Indian Nations, previous to the Treaty of Fort Harmar, 9 Jany, 1789.¹ It is extracted from documents in Sir John Johnson's Office. The whole of this speech; the report of the Lords of Trade, or whatever papers you may want, of course General Clarke will be glad to send to you. I only regret that I did not discover St. Clair's speech till yesterday so that I have no time to copy it. It therefore will appear in the mutilated shape of an extract, tho' I assure you it requires no reference to other parts of the speech to give its precise and defined sense. I early applied here for all documents that might give me perfect information of the state of Indian affairs, but the office being at Montreal, I have of course obtained no other lights but those which a former knowledge of the subject enabled me to enquire for, and have therefore scarcely augmented my stock of information. I am fully persuaded that had this speech of Mr. St. Clair's been made public, it would have contributed to that just odium which many of the moral and virtuous inhabitants of the United States in the Northern Colonies have shewn to the prosecution of so unjustifiable a war.

Captain Stevenson has intimated the probability of your being present at an Indian Treaty in June. I can scarcely give credit to his information.

I lament the infrequency of communication between this place and Philadelphia, but I hope to contrive means of more frequent intercourse when I shall arrive in Upper Canada, for which I am impatient to proceed, and hourly expect.

¹St. Clair concluded two treaties with Indians at Fort Harmar in January, 1789. One of these with a number of Indians belonging to the Six Nations, was designed to confirm the treaty at Fort Stanwix in 1784; the other with chiefs of the Wyandots and other western nations was intended to confirm the cessions of lands made by the treaties at Fort McIntosh and Fort Finney in 1785. He reported that the Indian Confederacy had been broken up and that "Brant had lost his influence."

the arrival of the vessels that may free me from my disagreeable situation. I most sincerely wish you every public and private success.

I am Dr. Sir,
Yours &c. &c.
J. G. SIMCOE.

To Mr. Hammond, Philadelphia.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

No. 8.

QUEBEC, May 28th, 1792.

Sir,

I do myself the honor of inclosing a part of a sketch of the Communication between the Lakes Ontario and Huron, made some years [ago] by Mr. Collins, D. Surveyor General of this Province, and which contains the Country in the Vicinity of the *Salt Spring* and the Remarks which that Gentleman made upon the Spot.

I have sent a proper Person to Analyze the properties of this Spring and he is to make a regular Course of Experiments to ascertain the quantity of Salt it shall yield and which should it bear only a distant proportion to what Mr. Collins has reported, will be a most valuable acquisition. Doctor Nooth¹ has been so obliging as to direct the mode of investigation and to apply his eminent Talents to forward what may prove of such publick Benefit.

The Value of Salt is immensely advanced by the necessity of its universal Consumption for the preservation of Animal Life in any Country at such a distance from the Saline particles of the Ocean as is the case of Upper Canada, a circumstance which the Inhabitants of Maritime or insular Countries can hardly conceive, but which has been fatally experienced by the Colonists of the Internal parts of America—to the general Disadvantage of this distance must be added the peculiar difficulties of Carriage—The average price in 1788 of salt at Montreal was two shillings and six pence Currency per Bushel, at Kingston fifteen and at Detroit Forty shillings, so that there is scarcely a part of the Globe where the working of a *Salt Spring* will be more beneficially felt by the Inhabitants.

The Interest & incouragement it will give to the near Settlers by enabling them to provide salted provisions for the use of His Majesty's Troops; the public utility it may produce by reducing the Expence of the Victualling of those Troops, & the fair prospect of Revenue at a future period, are additional considerations which have induced me to lose no time in ascertaining the value of this discovery, that I may be prepared if it answers general expectation to supply such part of the Queen's Rangers and Artificers on their arrival as may be adequate to work this Spring for the public benefit—a Deputy Surveyor has also been directed to make such observations on the Country as may enable a judgement to be formed of what Lands may be most proper to be reserved for the purposes of His Majesty's Government agreeable to the Spirit of the Instructions.

I have the honor to be, with the utmost Respect, Sir,
Your very Obedient & obliged Srt.

J. G. SIMCOE.

To the Rt Honble Henry Dundas,
one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.
Whitehall.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 26th May, 1792. Lieut. Govr. Simcoe.
R. 11 July (3 inclosures).

¹Dr. T. Mervin Nooth, Superintendent of Military Hospitals.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

QUEBEC, May 28th, 1792.

No. 9.

Sir,

Since the closing of my despatches No. 8, I have had the honor of receiving from Mr. Pownal¹ yesterday your letter of the 16th March, enclosing Copies of one from you to Lord Dorchester, dated the 16th of March & one from Lord Grenville to Mr. Hammond dated March the 11th, 1792, being duplicates of the dispatch forwarded by Lieut. Givings, who is not yet arrived.

This dispatch, Sir, is the only communication I have as yet had the satisfaction to receive from his Majesty's Ministers since I left Great Britain. It gives me very great pleasure that I have as far as has been in my power, made those Communications to Mr. Hammond which I thought might be of Service to the Object of his Mission, & I shall be truly happy if Peace on the frontiers of Upper Canada shall be permanently established on those principles which His Majesty's Ministers have thought proper to adopt with equal Wisdom and Humanity, but, Sir, I fear that it is not the intention of Congress to listen to any such terms, should they, which I doubt, have the power to carry them into execution.—There are strong parties in all the States against the Federative Power of Congress being competent to any interference in the territorial jurisdiction of the separate States.

I lately acquainted Mr. Hammond that *Vermont*, had she asked, would have felt little difficulty in obtaining an extension of her territory Westward, as the People of the City of New York are jealous least their increasing Possessions in that quarter should give such an ascendancy to Albany as to occasion the State of New York to fix on that City for its Capital. I should hope that the demolition of Oswego would be a sufficient boon to enable us to obtain this Boundary to include and cover the St. Lawrence which appears to me to be very essential.

The cultivation of the Genesee Lands, it is obvious, must be advantageous to Upper Canada as the products of them in Peace must find their way into Ontario, & in case of Hostility, they would afford the most accessible & defensible Magazines—New York will scarcely admit these Lands to revert to the Indians, nor will New England, the former possesses the jurisdiction, the latter has sold & conveyed the property. Lieut. Govr. Clarke will have informed you of the steps that are taken to carry the communications which you have directed to be made to Mr. Hammond into immediate execution.

I have the pleasure to inform you that the Transports *John & Betsy* with part of the Queen's Rangers arrived yesterday—the wind is now contrary—I am in anxious expectation of Mr. Chief Justice Osgoode.

I have the honor to be, with the utmost Respect, Sir,

Your most Obedient & most Obligated Servant,

J. G. SIMCOE.

To the Rt. Honble Henry Dundas &c., &c., &c.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 28th May, 1792. Lieut. Govr. Simcoe.

No. 9. R. 11th July.

¹George Pownall, a member of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada, and Secretary and Registrar for that Province.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO GEORGE HAMMOND.

(Extract.)

May 29, 1792.

Draft.

"27. By the same article, his Britannic Majesty stipulates that he will, *with all convenient speed*, withdraw his garrisons from *every* post within the U.S. 'When no precise term, says a writer on the law of nations (Vattel, 1.4. c. 26), has been marked for the accomplishment of a treaty, & for the execution of it's articles, good sense determines that every point should be executed *as soon as possible*: this is without doubt what was understood.' The term in the treaty, *with all convenient speed*, amounts to the same thing, & clearly excludes all unnecessary delay. The general pacification being signed on the 20th of January some time would be requisite for orders for evacuation to come over to America, for the removal of stores, property, & persons; & finally for the act of evacuation. The larger the post, the longer the time necessary to remove all it's contents; the smaller, the sooner done. Hence tho' Genl Carleton received his orders to evacuate New York in the month of April, the evacuation was not completed till late in November. It had been the principal place of arms & stores; the seat, as it were, of their general government, & the asylum of those who fled to them. A great quantity of shipping was necessary therefore for the removal, & the General was obliged to call for a part from foreign countries. These causes of delay were duly respected on our part. But the posts of Michillimackinac, Detroit, Niagara, Oswego, Oswegatchie, Point au Fer, Dutchman's point were not of this magnitude. The orders for evacuation, which reached Genl. Carleton in New York, early in April, might have gone, in one month more, to the most remote of these posts; some of them might have been evacuated in a few days after, & the largest in a few weeks. Certainly they might all have been delivered, without any inconvenient speed in the operations, by the end of May, from the known facility, furnished by the lakes, & the water connecting them; or by crossing immediately over into their own territory, & availing themselves of the season for making new establishments there, if that was intended. Or whatever time might, in event, have been necessary for their evacuation, certainly the order for it should have been given from England, and might have been given as early as that from New York. Was any order ever given? Would not an *unnecessary delay* of the order, producing an equal delay in the evacuation, be an infraction of the treaty?—Let us investigate the matter.

"On the 3d of Aug. 1783, Majr Genl. Baron Steuben, by orders from Genl Washington, having repaired to Canada for this purpose, wrote the letter (No. 22) to Genl Haldimand, Governor of the province, & received from him the answer of Aug. 13, (No. 23), wherein he says 'the orders I have received direct a discontinuance of every hostile measure *only*,' &c. And in his conference with Baron Steuben, he says expressly 'that he *had not received any orders* for making the least arrangement for the evacuation of a single post.' The orders then which might have been with him by the last of April, were unknown, if they existed, the middle of August. See Baron Steuben's letter (No. 24.)

"Again on the 19th of Mar., 1784, Governor Clinton of New York, within the limits of which state some of these posts are, writes to Genl Haldimand the letter (No. 25), and that General, answering him May 10 from Quebec, says, 'not having had the honor *to receive orders* & instructions relative to withdrawing the garrisons &c.'; fourteen months were now elapsed, and the *orders not yet received* which might have been received in four. (No. 26.)

"Again on the 12th of July, Colo. Hull, by order from Genl Knox the Secretary

at War, writes to Genl Haldimand the letter (No. 27,) and General Haldimand gives the answer of the 13th, (No. 28,) wherein he says: 'Tho' I am now informed by his Majesty's ministers of the ratification, &c. I remain &c. *not having received any orders* to evacuate the posts which are without the limits &c.' And this is eighteen months after the signature of the general pacification. Now, is it not fair to conclude, if the order was not arrived on the 13th of Aug. 1783, if it was not arrived on the 10th of May, 1784, nor yet on the 13th of July in the same year that in truth the order had never been given? and if it had never been given, may we not conclude that it never had been intended to be given? From what moment is it we are to date this infraction? From that at which with convenient speed, the order to evacuate the upper posts might have been given. No legitimate reason can be assigned why that order might not have been given as early, & at the same time as the order to evacuate New York: and *all delay after this was in contravention of the treaty.*

"28. Was this delay merely innocent & unimportant as to us, setting aside all consideration but of interest & safety? 1. It cut us off from the Fur-trade, which, before the war, had always been of great importance as a branch of commerce, & as a source of remittance for the payment of our debts to Great Britain; for to the injury of withholding our posts, they added the obstruction of all passage along the lakes & their communications. 2. It secluded us from connection with the Northwestern Indians, from all opportunity of keeping up with them friendly and neighborly intercourse, brought on us consequently, from their known dispositions, constant & expensive war, in which numbers of men, women & children, have been, and still are daily falling victims to the scalping knife; & to which there will be no period, but in our possession of the posts, which command their country.

"It may safely be said then that the treaty was violated *in England*, before it was known in America; and *in America*, as soon as it was known; & that too in points so essential, as that, without them, it would never have been concluded."

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(The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Edited by Paul Leicester Ford, Vol. VI. pp. 31-3.)

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JAMES MADISON.

PHILADELPHIA, June 4, 1792.

Dear Sir,

I wrote you on the 1st inst. which I will call No. 1. and number my letters in future that you may know when any are missing. Mr. Hammond has given me an answer in writing, saying he must send my letter to his court & wait their instructions. On this I desired a personal interview that we might consider the matter together in a familiar way. He came accordingly yesterday and took a solo dinner with me, during which our conversation was full, unreserved & of a nature to inspire mutual confidence. The result was that he acknowledged explicitly that his court had hitherto heard one side of the question only, & that from prejudiced persons, that it was now for the first time discussed, that it was placed on entirely new ground, his court having no idea of a charge of first infraction on them, and a justification on that ground of what had been done by our states, that this made it quite a new case to which no instructions he had could apply. He found from my expressions that I had entertained an idea of his being able

to give an order to the governor of Canada to deliver up the posts, and smiled at the idea; & it was evident from his conversation that it had not at all entered into the expectations of his court they were to deliver us the posts. He did not say so expressly, but he said that they considering the retaining of the posts as a very imperfect compensation for the losses their subjects had sustained; under the cover of the clause of the treaty which admits them to the navigation of the Mississippi and the evident mistake of the negotiators in supposing that a line due West from the lake of the Woods would strike the Mississippi, he supposed an explanatory convention necessary, & shewed a desire that such a slice of our Northwestern territory might be cut off as would admit them to the navigation profit of the Mississippi; &c. &c. He expects he can have his final instructions by the meeting of Congress.—I have not yet had the conversation mentioned in my last. Do you remember that you were to leave me a list of names? Pray send them to me. My only view is that if the P. asks me for a list of particulars, I may enumerate names to him without naming my authority, and shew him that I had not been speaking merely at random. If we do not have our conversation before I can make a comparative table of the debts and numbers of all modern nations, I will shew him how high we stand indebted by the poll in that table.—I omitted Hammond's admission that the debt from the Potomac North might be considered as liquidated, that that of Virginia was now the only great object, & cause of anxiety, amounting to two millions sterling.—Adieu, Yours affectionately.

(The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Edited by P. L. Ford, Vol. VI, pp. 71-2.)

FROM HENRY DUNDAS TO J. G. SIMCOE.

WHITEHALL, 9th June, 1792.

Lieut. Govr. Simcoe.

Sir,

I have received your Letters of the Numbers & Dates mentioned in the Margin,	
No. 4, 16 Feb. 1792.	and have had the honor of laying them
5. 10 March	before the King.
6. 15 do	

With respect to such Boundaries as it may be thought the most advisable to propose should the intended Interposition of His Majesty's good Offices between the American States & the Indians be favourably received, I must refer you to my late Dispatches with the Documents they inclose. The Principal therein laid down, upon which the proposed Line of Demarcation is grounded, respecting a Frontier, both for Upper and Lower Canada, tends in the most effectual manner to secure those Provinces from all future Interruptions.

If any doubts or differences of Opinion exist respecting the Privileges of Persons being within the American States since their Independence, and since settled in Upper Canada, I should conceive that the ascertaining such Privileges or a further extension of them, if requisite, Subject to the Act of the 31st of the King, to be a proper Object for a Colonial Bill.—Concerning Your Observations with respect to a Post Office Bill I do not conceive that such a One would be within the 46th Clause of the above Act. Whenever such a Bill is brought forward, it may be proper to insert a Clause to reimburse Government out of the Revenues of such Office, the Expences incurred for its Establishment.

I have not communicated with the Post Master General on this Subject; but as I am of Opinion that Bills of a similar nature with this and the foregoing

should be reserved for the Signification of His Majesty's Pleasure thereon, under Clause 30 of the above Act, it is not, I conceive, necessary to enter more largely into the business at present.

I have duly weighed and considered Your Representations respecting the Office of Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, and in conformity to my former Letter on that Subject, I mean to prepare such a form of Warrant as may answer all the purposes required. In the meanwhile as in Consequence of His Majesty's leave of Absence, I may hope soon to be able to communicate personally with Sir John Johnson, I shall wait for that Opportunity.

I am &c.
HENRY DUNDAS.

Endorsed:—Drat.
To Lt. Govr. Simcoe.

9th June, 1792.

FROM SIR JOHN JOHNSON TO ALURED CLARKE.

MONTREAL, 11 June, 1792.

Sir,

Colonel McKee and Mr. Chew, who arrived here this morning at nine o'clock, have, agreeable to your Excellency's desire, made known to me the proposal of the communications and directions received from the Secy of State, with Your Excellency's wishes relative thereto.

As it is not positively known that the Western Indians will recede, if necessary, from the Boundary described by their deputies last year at Quebec, nor what line the six Nations may insist upon as a continuation from that to the Northward, it will be necessary that Lieut. Colonel Butler and Colonel McKee obtain their determinations thereon, before any person can with propriety be despatched to Mr. Hammond upon the subject, as Colonel McKee's objections, and the necessity there may be for his presence at Detroit, particularly at this time when the various Nations are now assembled and assembling at the Glaize¹ and the Miami Villages, even from the Spanish side of the Mississippi, may be considered as a sufficient reason to prevent his being employed on this occasion. The same motives that have ever actuated my conduct, would upon this, as upon every other occasion, influence me to offer my services, were it not for the very unpleasant predicament I stand in, proscribed by an Act of Attainder, with many other reasons and circumstances that would render it highly improper for me to go into the States at present.

I am, therefore, at a loss to point out a proper person, unless the situation Mr. Dease is in would not be thought an objection to his being employed: in that case, I know no other person so well qualified in point of abilities and address, as well as from a general knowledge of the dispositions, interests, and inclinations of the Six Nations and Western Indians in particular:—should he not be thought eligible, I know no other person in the Department, except Colonel Campbell², and he is totally unacquainted with the claims and pretensions of those Nations, and with the Geography of that country.

Colonel McKee will wait the arrival of the Post that your Excellency may give

¹The east branch of the Miami of the Lake, so named by the French from its clay banks.

²Colonel John Campbell, 1731-95, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Lower Canada; ensign in 42nd Regiment, 1744; served in the rebellion of 1745, the conquest of Canada, Martinique, and Havana; captain, 27th Regiment in Burgoyne's campaign.

such directions as you may judge proper to the assembling of the Indians at Niagara and Detroit, to hear and receive their final resolutions. The person to be employed, if in this quarter, may wait to receive your despatches, and to save time may meet the messenger from Detroit with the answer at Niagara, and go through the Six Nation Country to New York or Philadelphia, or go on to Sandusky and go by the route of the Tuscarawas¹ and Fort Pitt to Philadelphia, as may be thought most advisable from the information that may be received from Colonel McKee as to the safety of the one or other route. Time does not admit of my entering more fully into this business, but I will be happy to have it in my power to give you every information, and have the honor to be,

&c., &c., &c.

JOHN JOHNSON.

To Major Genl. Clarke. Quebec.

FROM ALURED CLARKE TO J. G. SIMCOE.

QUEBEC, 14 June, 1792.

Dr. Sir,

I am much obliged by your favor from Rivière du Loup, and agreeable to your desire, now return Mr. Dundas' letter respecting Mr. Givins, having received a counterpart thereof.

I have thought it best that Mr. Givins should go to Mr. Hammond immediately. By Tuesday, I suppose, he will be at Montreal, and will of course, call for your commands.

By a copy of Brant's letter, herewith sent, you will find that he has gone to Philadelphia on General Knox's invitation.

The enclosed copies of letters from and to Sir John Johnson, will also inform you what has passed between us, and that I have agreed to the proposed plan of assembling the Indians at Niagara and Detroit, and as you will probably be first acquainted with their sentiments, I submit, as it seems difficult to find a proper person here, if one should offer above, whether it would not be best for you to send [him] immediately to Mr. Hammond.

I am, &c. &c. &c.

ALURED CLARKE.

To His Excy. Lieut. Govr. Simcoe.

FROM JAMES MONROE TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

RICHMOND, June 17, 1792.

(Extract.)

The appointment of Gr. Morris² & Wayne is so generally reprobated that no one appears to vindicate it in either instance. It is said that it wo'd have been difficult to have found more unfit persons for those stations, even if some industry had been used to select them out.

(Printed in the "Writings of James Monroe," edited by S. L. Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 232.)

¹A branch of the Muskingum river where Zeisberger and other Moravian missionaries had established a settlement in 1772.

²Gouverneur Morris, Minister to France.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO SIR GEORGE YONGE.

MONTREAL, 17 June, 1792.

Dear Sir George,

It is with infinite pleasure that I received your letter of the 1st of April, by Captain Littlehales. On the 13 June that Officer overtook me on the St. Lawrence, as I was on my passage in Batteaux, up the most august of rivers. It had given me great satisfaction that the Queen's Rangers have arrived so early. Captain Shaw, who crossed in the depth of winter on snow shoes from New Brunswick, is now at Kingston with the troops of the two first ships and Captains Shank and Smith with the remainder are, I trust, at no great distance from this place, as the wind has served for the last 36 hours, and I hope with sufficient force to enable them to pass the rapids of Richelieu, where they have been detained some days.

General Clarke seems to think that he has not received proper official information of the Corps from the War Office, not considering as such the communications which accompanied me to Quebec, in your and Mr. Dundas' Official letters, directed to Lord Dorchester. He has, however, put me in orders as senior officer in Upper Canada, and orders all departments to report to me as such, and that I am to make my report to him. I shall direct Captain Stevenson to act as Quarter Master General.

The military roads and communications will require some investigation and science; the Superintendence of the Commissaries, Batteaux, &c. are too much connected with military operations not to require military supervision, and I never will, as far as in me lies, degrade the honor of the Army so as to entrust Civil Branches in preference to Military ones, because a few speculators have amassed fortunes in an unjustifiable manner, and contrary to their professional duties; if it be necessary that this office should exist at all, it is peculiarly so, in so wide a frontier as Upper Canada presents, and where there is an actual force, at least, the object of jealousy assembling to a most alarming amount.

I do hope that Mr. Dundas will order another British Regiment to my Capital. I am sure you know they can be well spared from other points, which neither can be the probable objects of attack, and if they were so, could easily be relieved. On the contrary if I am attacked, the force of Great Britain could not protect the communication between Montreal and Kingston so as to supply or give me succours. The moment I shall get to Niagara, I shall demand positive orders and an arsenal from General Clarke. I mean to state strongly my situation, that I may be fully exculpated to my country in case of any sinister events. The British Regiment and Field Artillery are my requests to prevent war. The Artificers' Company to save great public expenditures, granted or not, it will be sufficient for my purpose that I have proof of having made the requisition. I have no personal views, no personal fears, but those of Peace, Peace, Peace, and as I know the Military Contempt in which I hold Washington and such like cattle may induce people to suppose I should not dislike war, I beg my friends to understand I think worse of his heart than his head, and fear he will urge us into war to support his power. I have now done with the subject, which, I own, oppresses me, but be assured, if we are forced into war while I govern Upper Canada, it shall not be the wisest sort, preventive war, but absolutely and entirely defensive, of which the most striking proofs shall be given to mankind; proofs that neither the sophistry of the States nor the credulity of Great Britain can obscure. If the sword be once drawn, I then must act as shall become the desperate station in which I conceive

myself to be placed. I beg of you to preserve this letter as evidence of my intentions. I have the most perfect reliance on His Majesty's Ministers. I will not trust all persons to whom they shall delegate authority without positive orders, or acknowledged discretion.

I have the honour, &c.

J. GRAVES SIMCOE.

Sir Geo. Yonge, Bart. Secretary at War.

FROM ALURED CLARKE TO J. G. SIMCOE.

QUEBEC, June 17, 1792.

Accept my thanks for your letter of the 13th, and be assured, my dear Sir, that it gave me great pleasure to learn that you, Mrs. Simcoe and family were safe at Montreal. I am glad you satisfied Sir John Johnson that we did not mean to employ him merely as a messenger, and as he cannot go, I trust you may find some proper person to send on that mission from Upper Canada, when the King's Service shall require it. I intend talking to Colonel Gordon¹ on this subject when we meet, and if it shall appear that he can be useful in Mr. Hammond's negotiation, and not dislike going to Philadelphia, it is not improbable but I may send him.

Mr. Givins sets off tomorrow, and will enquire at Montreal for any dispatches you may leave there. It will give me great pleasure to hear of your safe arrival at Kingston, and with my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Simcoe, good wishes to all your fellow travellers, and the sincerest regard for yourself,

I remain, my dear Sir,
Your friend and most faithful servant.

ALURED CLARKE.

His Excellency Colonel Simcoe.

FROM HENRY DUNDAS TO J. G. SIMCOE.

Lieut. Governor Simcoe.

WHITEHALL, 20 June, 1792.

Sir,

I transmit to you the enclosed Extracts from two reports of Lord Dorchester See Mr. Long's² letters dated to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, 8th & 13th June, 1792. ty's Treasury, respecting sundry American Loyalists desirous of settling in Upper Canada, and for whom provision has been made for that purpose; at the same time I send you such of the Inclosures referred to in those Reports with List No. 9 as relate to the providing for the above Loyalists by giving them certain Gratuities, furnishing them with necessaries & Implements of Husbandry, and granting to them within the Province under Your Government the respective quantities of Land particularly specified.

His Majesty having signified his Pleasure that the Objects recommended in those Reports should be carried into immediate execution, I desire that you will grant to the respective Families mentioned in the within Lists & Papers as soon

¹Colonel A. Gordon, formerly commandant of Upper Posts.

²Charles Long, afterwards Lord Farnborough, joint secretary to the Treasury with George Rose.

after their arrival as possible, such allotments of Lands, as by the same they appear to be entitled to.

I must trust to your own Judgment & Discretion joined to your local Information for their being placed in such situations as may best answer the ends for which His Majesty's Bounty has been thus graciously exercised. I enclose a Copy of my Letter to Lt. Govr. Clarke on this Subject.

I am, &c.

(Signed) HENRY DUNDAS.

Endorsed: Drat. to Lt. Govr. Simcoe, 20th June, 1792.

FROM GOUVERNEUR MORRIS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

(Extract).

LONDON, April 6, 1792.

I was told yesterday that Mr. Dundas has said that the United States have asked for the mediation of this country to treat about a peace with the Indians. He told the same person, that the treaty made long since by Sir William Johnson seemed to be the proper ground to fix a boundary line between the United States and the Indian tribes. I learn these facts in such a way that I am confident of their truth, and therefore submit them without any comment to your consideration. Ford, 12, p. 133.

FROM GEORGE WASHINGTON TO GOUVERNEUR MORRIS

(Extract).

(Private.)

PHILADELPHIA, 21 June, 1792.

"One thing, however, I must not pass over in silence, lest you should infer from it, that Mr. D. had authority for reporting that the United States had asked the mediation of Great Britain to bring about a peace between them and the Indians. You may be *fully* assured, Sir, that such *mediation* was *never* asked, that the asking of it *never* was in contemplation, and I think that I might go further and say, that it not only *never will* be asked, but would be rejected if offered. The United States will never have occasion, I hope, to ask for the interposition of that power, or any other, to establish peace within their own territory.

"That it is the wish of that Government to intermeddle and bring this measure to pass, many concurrent circumstances (small indeed when singly considered) had left no doubt on my mind, before your letter of the 6th of April came to hand. What is there mentioned of the views of Mr. P [itt], as well as the assertions of Mr. D., is strong as proof of Holy Writ in confirmation of it. The attempt has, however, in its remotest movements been so scouted as to have retarded, if it has not entirely done away the idea; but I do not hesitate to give it to you, my private and decided opinion, that it is to these interferences, and the underhanded support, which the Indians receive, (notwithstanding the open disavowal of it,) that all our difficulties may be imputed. We are essaying every means in our power to undeceive these hostile tribes, with respect to the disposition of this country towards them, and to convince them that we neither seek their extirpation, nor the occupancy of their lands, as they are taught to believe, except such of the latter as has been obtained by fair treaty, and purchase *bona fide* made and recognised by

them in more instances than one. If they will not, after this explanation (if we can get at them to make it), listen to the voice of peace, the sword must decide the dispute; and we are, though very reluctantly, vigorously preparing to meet the event.

"In the course of last winter, I had some of the chiefs of the Cherokees in this city, and in the spring I obtained, (with some difficulty indeed), a full representation of the Six Nations to come hither. I have sent all of them away well satisfied, and fully convinced of the justice and good dispositions of this government towards the Indian nations *generally*. The latter, that is the Six Nations, who before appeared to be divided and distracted in their councils, have given strong assurances of their friendship, and have resolved to send a deputation of *their* tribes to the hostile Indians with an acct. of all that has passed, accompanying it with advice to them to desist from further hostilities. With difficulty *still* greater, I have brought the celebrated Captain Joseph Brant to this city, with a view to impress him also with the equitable intentions of this government toward *all* nations of his color. He only arrived last night, and I am to give him an audience at twelve this day." Ford, 12, pp. 133-5.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO SIR GEORGE YONGE.

MONTREAL, June 21, 1792.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you of the arrival of the Betsy and John Transports at Quebec, on the 28 May, with the first division of the Queen's Rangers, and of their proceeding to Montreal immediately, where Captain Shaw, who came in the winter from New Brunswick,¹ took the command, and proceeded directly for Kingston. I have the honour of acknowledging the receipt of your despatches, delivered to me by Captain Littlehales, Brigade Major, June 13th, as follows: Duplicates dated Sept. 21, 1792. No. 1 letter, relative to the Boundaries of Upper Canada. No. 2 letter, concerning His Majesty's instructions for a Corps of Infantry in Upper Canada. No. 3 letter, explanatory of my Military Rank, and extract of instructions to Civil Governors abroad. I have likewise the honour to inform you of the arrival of the second division of the Queen's Rangers at Quebec, on the 11th of June, under Captain Shank, and of their being in sight of Montreal this day. The early arrival of the Corps of Queen's Rangers has given me great pleasure, and I hope will be attended by beneficial consequences to His Majesty's Service. I shall proceed to Kingston to-morrow morning, where the troops will rendezvous, and from thence to Niagara as soon as possible.

I have the honour, &c , &c.

J. G. Simcoe.

The Rt. Hon. Sir Geo. Yonge, Bart., K.B., Secretary at War.

¹ Captain Shaw with four others and some attendants making in all a party of twelve, marched on snow shoes a distance of 240 miles in nineteen days by the Temiscouata route, arriving at Quebec on March 4. Captain McGill wounded himself accidentally and was obliged to stay behind at the Madawaska settlement. Vide J. Ross Robertson's Diary of Mrs. Simcoe, p. 79.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

MONTREAL, 21 June, 1792.

My Lord,

As I esteem your Lordship, the founder of Upper Canada, I feel it my duty most peculiarly to implore your attention to a part of my dispatches to Mr. Dundas, of this date, where I request the assistance of Government to afford the means of education to the higher classes of the people of that Province within their own precincts. Your Lordship is too well acquainted with the general habits of the Natives of the American States not to know how highly they value education, and that nothing can more effectually tend to promote the emigration of the most valuable inhabitants of the United States, than the certainty that by such a removal, their children will be rather benefitted than injured in this essential point. But, my Lord, when this principle shall apply to the existing inhabitants of the British Colonies, and that they shall see they have no other means of training up their children to useful endowments but by transmitting them to the States, to countries from whence they themselves have been banished for holding principles diametrically opposite to those which the future instructors of their children are assiduous in promulgating, I hope your Lordship's humanity will interest you in preserving these unhappy fathers from so dreadful an alternative, as much as your patriotism will suggest to you the infinite evils which will attend the state by its most respectable inhabitants being alienated from every regard and duty they owe to it, by the early prepossessions of opinions and sentiments, in direct hostility to its interests. If your Lordship should cast your eye over the other parts of my dispatches you will find that I pay great attention to Mr. Pitt's suggestion of promoting every means to lessen the importance of the Forts, should we give them up, and indeed, my Lord, the Junction of Vermont and Kentucky and the establishment of the wavering Provinces of Maine and Rhode Island, so naturally affect the British Interests and Strengthen the United States, that it may be questioned whether just resentment for the perfidy with which they have dealt in not fulfilling the obligations of the Treaty, should not politically considered, give way to the leading feature on which the peace was founded, the mutual advantage of future harmony, and their infractions be considered as petty and vexatious, rather than serious and of great moment: At the same time, I trust that the force confided to my directions will be sufficient to secure the Colony from the Indian Nations, whose affections must sooner or later be perverted from us by our necessary neutrality, and whom the States will leave no stone unturned to render hostile to Upper Canada. The misery, the horror, the enormous expence of an Indian War need no explanation, and I am sure the only way to secure the Colony from it is to seize the present moment and rear up every subject for its Military defence, under the protecting shade of a respectable British Force.

I have the honour, &c.

J. GRAVES SIMCOE.

To the Rt. Honble. Lord Grenville.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

MONTREAL, June 21st, 1792.

No. 10.

Sir,

I had the Honor of receiving your Letter by Lieut. Givins and its Enclosures on the 9th June, and on the 13th of June Captain Littlehales (Brigade Major) brought me your Dispatches of the 10th of April.

I shall be very happy, Sir, when your communications with Lord Dorchester shall enable you to decide upon the Points which I have stated in my letter of the 17th of November last, and I hope for their specific communications; my first Object of course has been done away by the very early arrival of the Queen's Rangers, without which circumstance I could on no Emergency have acted in my Military Station, in the Opinion of Major General Clarke.

It appears to me to be in every Respect proper, that the Water Force upon the Upper Lakes should be under my Authority; and the Officers should derive their Commissions from the Civil Governor of Upper Canada; That being considered as a Colonial Armament, it may as soon as possible be provided for by the Province.

I hope, Sir, my Request that Captain Stevenson may be appointed Deputy Quarter Master General will be ultimately complied with--The reasons why I apply for this Office I have stated formerly to you, and in the most forcible manner to the Secretary at War, to which I beg leave to refer you, and in truth without this Office, I shall find that all my Military Arrangements are imperfect and inefficacious and that Delegations of necessary Duties and Superintendances must be made to other Departments unknown to Military Experience, and for the execution of which Military Honor is no safe guard.

The extent of the Garrisons of Upper Canada; the Roads and Communications to be effected, the vigilance necessary to watch over the Maritime Force, render the Office of D. Quarter Master General about as necessary in profound Peace as it would be in Active War.

The other Object, I have hopes that you will notice is the vast savings that would accrue to Government by a Company of Artificers being stationed in Upper Canada; and I cannot but be confident that when you shall have taken into your Consideration the Circumstances in which Upper Canada now stands in respect to the United States, an Army of five Thousand men assembling on its Frontiers, Mr. Washington indued with Power to call out the Militia of the Neighbouring States, and that the British Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are so situated, as from various Reasons to be no possible Object of attack, nor are likely to be called upon to reinforce the West India Islands; the immense advantage which the Possession of the St. Lawrence gives to Lower Canada a just Disposition of the Forces within that Province and its great Resources, sufficient I may be bold to say, to protect it against any possible attempt from the United States;—When these Circumstances are considered, I cannot but be confident that another Regiment to be employed as I have formerly stated, will be determined upon by you, Sir, to be more necessary in Upper Canada, where its immediate appearance may prevent War, than in the other British American Colonies so differently circumstanced—I hope and anxiously ask for the same purpose, for a competent Field Train.

I enclose to you, Sir, an Extract from a Letter which I have lately received from Mr. Hammond; it confirms the Ideas I have uniformly entertained that the

Leaders of the United States are to be apprehended, and I doubt not but the same principles of profligate Policy would actuate Mr. Washington to maintain his *Power* by which he acquired it, and that the Active Talents of Mr. Mifflin who governs Philadelphia, and the Ardent Ambitions of Colonel Lee, the Governor of Virginia, would involve both those Gentlemen in the zealous support of *Wayne*, should he attack our Posts, an Object which in the General belief of all the People of the States is necessary to the Success of their Indian War, and in which if the Person who Commanded their Army should succeed, He might look up eventually to become the Successor of Mr. Washington.—In this Situation, Sir, His Majesty's Ministers may rely upon my most perfect obedience both in form and substance to their Instructions, and that I will even lose my own Character rather than give any possible Reason to the Subjects of the States to justify a War with Great Britain, at the same time I know their Leaders too well and have too many proofs that they are totally destitute of Public or Private Morality, to believe that the most temperate Conduct can ensure my Country from the greatest of all Calamities, a *War*, if it shall be necessary to the Preservation of the Power of those Men, who now govern the United States.

I most fervently hope that the wise and humane wishes of his Majesty's Ministers may prevail in the Establishment of an Indian Boundary. On my nearer view of Upper Canada, I can only repeat what I have said when at a greater distance "that a very few years of Peace will establish it to protect itself."

The Arrival of Chief Justice Osgoode and Mr. Russel have done away the difficulties I have laboured under; the defeat of St. Clair's Army had most effectually done so, in relieving me from all anxiety that naturally would have arisen had the Army of the United States taken Post at the Miamis, I did not find it necessary to take any extraordinary Steps to avoid the disability I lay under, of taking upon myself the Office of Lieutenant Governor, on account of the Civil State of the Province; but, Sir, I again submit to your Consideration that part of my Letter of the 19th of November in which I have desired an Instruction to fill up the Executive Council, *pro tempore*, in case that by Death or any unavoidable Exigency there should not be a Quorum and this was the method which I had some expectancy it might have been thought proper by you to have adopted on the arrival of my dispatch.

I have been most industriously employed in concert with Colonel McKee and the Indian Department in procuring every possible information to substantiate the claims of the Indian Americans to such Lands as His Majesty's Ministers have thought it proper in their Wisdom that they should retain—and yesterday, the 20th, Lt. Givins carried such documents as were thought useful by the General, Sir John Johnson, or myself to Mr. Hammond.

I agreed perfectly with Major General Clarke that it was unnecessary to communicate that part of your dispatch which hints at the evacuation of the *Forts* to any person; but in conversation with Colonel McKee, as He intimated that he apprehended such a Measure might be necessary to obtain the compliance of Congress with the proposed line of Demarcation, I invited his Ideas, and transmitted them to Mr. Hammond, as our joint opinion, of which I beg to enclose a Copy.

The Chief Justice, &c. proceeded this morning towards Kingston. I mean to follow to-morrow—Capt. Shaw with the first Division of the Queen's Rangers is already at that place, and Capt. Shank with the remainder of the Corps is expected this day at Montreal.—from Kingston I intend to proceed as soon as possible to Niagara.

In the list of Offices voted by Parliament as transmitted to me by your last Dispatch, Sir, I observe that of Surveyor General is marked as without a Salary—

I conceive that there cannot be an Office of Greater Importance to the Interests of His Majesty as Lord of the Soil, and to the several Inhabitants to whom He shall be pleased to grant respective Allotments—and to execute this duty ably and uprightly so as to prevent numberless lawsuits, that great bane of all infant Colonies, which would arise from a contrary conduct, requires great Professional abilities and equal Integrity.—It was on the conviction of the important Qualities necessary for this office, that I did not venture to recommend to you any of the numerous persons who applied to me for my offering them for this Employment—and I greatly fear thro' the incompetence of the persons whom Major Holland, that able Servant of the Crown, has been formerly obliged to employ in Upper Canada, I shall have considerable difficulty, if I may judge from the documents before me, in the preventing the most mischievous litigations.

There are at present in Upper Canada three assistant Surveyors¹ at the fixed salary of four shillings each per diem, when *not employed*, and seven and six pence Currency when employed, and it is apprehended they will not be sufficient for the immediate calls for the arrangement of the Lands about to be granted—to Superintend a Department so extensive and Important. It is necessary there should be a person of great ability, and of course, He must be tempted by an adequate and honourable Salary to undertake so laborious an Office—as I have no Person of sufficient Capacity to propose to you for this employment I shall at present direct the respective assistant Surveyors to continue their Duties till I receive your further orders and Decision on this material Point.

I have the Honor to be with the utmost Respect Sir,
Your very Obedt. & Obligated Sert,
J. G. SIMCOE.

To the Rt. Honble. Henry Dundas,
One of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, Whitehall, London.

Endorsed:—Montreal, 21st June, 1792.

Lt. Govr. Simcoe. No. 10, R. 3rd August, Two inclosures.

MEMORANDUM BY J. G. SIMCOE AND ALEXANDER McKEE.

Suppose a Boundary should be settled upon The following Terms.

1st. The Indian Territory to form a Line separating the British Territory and that of the United States.

2d. The Posts of Niagara, Oswego, & Detroit to be demolished & not held by either & included in the Indian Territory.

3d. Michillimackinac to be evacuated.

4th. The Genesee Territory, but no Post to be continued to the United States, &c. as a *proper Ballance*, Great Britain to Possess the following Territory.

5thly. From the Rapids of the Miami River, or From the River St. Clair on the West & two Leagues deep to the South—this seems to have been the Original allotment of Congress, therefore more reasonable to presume that they would admit it.

By these proposals being adopted, The Settlers at Detroit would be amenable to the British Jurisdiction, otherwise they would become Lawless Vagabonds, and it is obvious injurious to the System of Peace so necessary to the States, Indians, & British.

¹ John Collins, Augustus Jones and Patrick McNiff are apparently meant.

The Settlements extend to the Miami Rapids.

This Arrangement it is probable would perpetuate Peace between the different Nations.

J. G. SIMCOE.

A. McKEE.

To His Excellency George Hammond, &c., &c., &c.

EXTRACT FROM COLONEL SIMCOE'S LETTER TO MR. HAMMOND
BY MR. GIVINGS—DATED JUNE 21st.—

"His Majesty's Ministers do not seem to have made any distinction between Detroit and the other Posts; there is an essential one, it is a large Settlement & I should hope, would remain to us as an Equivalent for the Genesee Country.

"It would be very mischievous to allow Settlements of the extent of Detroit to be Neutral; nor would it be abandoned by its present possessors; It would therefore be the Interest of both Countries that it should remain under a Jurisdiction that might be amenable for the peaceable demeanor of the Inhabitants & Answerable under the Strictest limitations not to extend its Territory."

J. G. S.

Endorsed:—Extract from Communications made to Mr. Hammond by Colonel Simcoe.

(In Lt. Govr. Simcoe's (No. 10) of 21st June, 1792. No 2.)

FROM E. B. LITTLEHALES TO COLONEL ENGLAND AND MAJOR
SMITH.

KINGSTON, July 7th, 1792.

Dear Sir,

By the desire of His Excellency, Governor Simcoe, I am to inform you of his wish that one Officer of the 24th Regiment should accompany Colonel McKee to the Miamis Towns, where he is to have an interview with the Indians. I have wrote to Major Smith by the same opportunity, desiring that Lieutenant Selby of the 5th Regiment might likewise go, but in case that the Commanding Officer of that Regiment should not be able to dispense with his absence from the Regiment, the Governor requests that you will permit two Officers of the 24th Regiment, instead of one to be of the party.

I am, Sir, &c.

(Unsigned.)

Lieutenant Colonel England, Commanding 24th Regiment.

KINGSTON, July 7th, 1792.

Sir,

His Excellency, Lieutenant Governor Simcoe, has directed that I should inform you of his wish that Lieutenant Selby of the 5th Regiment should accompany Colonel McKee, (by the request of the latter), if you should have no objections, to the interview with the Indians at the Miamis Towns.

I have the honor, &c.

(Unsigned.)

To Major Smith, Commanding at Niagara.

FROM FRANCIS LE MAISTRE TO AUGUSTUS JONES.

KINGSTON, July 8th, 1792.

Sir,

It being necessary for the public service that an analysis should be made of a salt spring reported by the Deputy Surveyor General to be near Niagara, His Excellency, Lieutenant Governor Simcoe has directed Mr. MacDonnell to proceed immediately to analyse its quality.

At the same time, His Excellency thinks it proper for various reasons that a Deputy Surveyor should accompany him. I must therefore beg that you will immediately proceed with Mr. MacDonnell to the object of this mission.

You will be pleased to note down as particularly as possible, the nature of the soil and the country you pass through, and any observations that may be serviceable to His Majesty's Government you will communicate in writing.

The mode of conveyance must depend entirely on you, and in the hiring of boats or men, &c., you must use the utmost economy. You will repair to your various and many duties as soon as this expedition shall be over, and be ready to report to His Excellency, Lieutenant Governor Simcoe, so soon as you return, and he arrives at Niagara.

I am, Sir, .

F. LE MAISTRE. ¹

To Mr. Jones, Deputy Surveyor at Niagara.

FROM E. B. LITTLEHALES TO MAJOR SMITH.

KINGSTON, July 11th, 1792.

Sir,

I am directed by His Excellency, Colonel Simcoe, to acknowledge the receipt of your letters and enclosures of returns, &c., by the Onondaga. Then follow the General Orders that you forward.

His Excellency orders that you forward Colonel McKee and the Indian Goods of that Department, as soon as possible to Detroit.

(Unsigned.)

Major Smith, 5th Regiment, or Officer Commanding at Niagara.

FROM GEORGE HAMMOND TO J. G. SIMCOE.

PHILADELPHIA, 11 July, 1792.

Sir,

I had the honor of enclosing extracts of four of my last letters to Lord Grenville, written subsequently to my despatch of the 8th of June, a copy of which I transmitted to Governor Clarke, who, as I presume, communicated it to your Excellency. The three first of these extracts comprehended the whole of my recent correspondence with His Majesty's Ministers on the subject of the proposed settle-

¹Francis Le Maistre was Military Secretary to Lord Dorchester from 1786 to 1795.

ment of the differences between the Indians and this country, and the final arrangement of the Boundaries of the King's Dominions and those of the United States.

You will perceive that no circumstances have yet occurred which can induce me to alter my former resolution of suspending for a while any formal communication to this Government on this important business. On the contrary, I have now the most corroborating proof of the concurrence of the other two members of this administration in the opinion of their colleague, Mr. Hamilton, that it would at this juncture be inexpedient for the Government to enter into any negotiation on principles similar to those laid down in Lord Grenville's instructions to me.

You may be assured, Sir, that I was not insensible to the advantages, immediate and permanent, which the Government of Canada would have derived from the adoption of a proposition of this nature, and that I would have pursued with alacrity any measures that might have appeared likely to effect it. My experience of this country, and my knowledge of the general disposition of Government pointed out to me most forcibly the necessity of not precipitating the discussion, but of endeavouring by less direct and less formal means, to discover the sentiments on this particular question of the individuals who compose the American Administration. You are already apprized of the conduct which I have observed for this purpose, and of its result. It may, however be perhaps not altogether improper to remark that as the King's mediation was the sole principle which I could have proposed as the basis of the negotiation, the refusal of this Government to accept an offer of that nature would have stifled the whole discussion at the very outset.

I could entertain no doubt of [the views] of the present administration upon this point, having received from Mr. Hamilton the most positive assurances, which indeed he confirmed to me no later than yesterday, that the honour and interest of the United States alike impel them not to admit our intervention, which would disgrace this country in the eyes of the Indians, and would assure to Great Britain a decided ascendancy over their gratitude, affections, and services.

Thus forewarned, I could not long hesitate in resolving to exercise the discretion which had been allowed me, rather than to implicate the King's name and interest in a fruitless negotiation, nor to put it out of my power to avail myself of any future contingency more favourable to the views of His Majesty's Government. Had I pursued a different line of conduct, I have a conviction, amounting almost to a certainty, that I should have excited such a general jealousy, as it would have been difficult to allay, and such a suspicion of the real designs of our Court as would greatly embarrass any future discussion of the subject.

Having now stated the motives which have influenced my conduct in suspending for the present any formal proposition upon the basis mentioned in Lord Grenville's instructions, I beg leave, with the utmost deference, to submit to your consideration the effect of two probable events, which may perhaps present more favourable occasions for opening the negotiation: viz. the defeat of the American forces, or the desire of the Indians to obtain our mediation. With respect to the first of these events, notwithstanding the vigorous execution employed to bring into the field the whole number of troops allowed by the Legislature and Mr. Hamilton's declarations that the Government is prepared to augment its Military Establishment rather than fail in its object of reducing the Indians to submission, I am firmly persuaded that another campaign would increase the actual unpopularity of the Indian war to so universal an extent as would compel the Government to sacrifice the prosecution of it to the public opinion. In that case, the offer of the King's mediation affording the prospect of an immediate conclusion of hostilities and of establishing the future tranquility on a permanent basis, accompanied by

the cession of the Territory now occupied by His Majesty's Arms, and claimed by this country, might be urged with a degree of impression, which it would be difficult to avert or to resist. In regard to the solicitation of the King's good offices by the Indians themselves, it would be extremely desirable that that solicitation should be the result of their own spontaneous reflections.

In all cases, it will be advisable, after the repeated assurances of our neutrality which we have given to this Government that there should appear on our part nothing like collusion or any active interference to inspire them with such a sentiment. A suspicion of that tendency, by creating doubts of our sincerity, would infallibly tend to defeat the accomplishment of our object. It will also be essential that all the Indian Tribes bordering on the British Possessions should concur in the solicitation, not only as so numerous a confederacy would present to the Americans the appearance of an increased accumulation of hostile force, but also as a consolidation of all the Indian territorial claims and rights, as requisite to the formation of a barrier so extensive as is contemplated in our respective instructions. Your Excellency is, I doubt not, persuaded as well as myself, that it is neither the interest nor inclination of His Majesty's Government to commence offensive hostilities against the United States. It will, therefore, be highly proper, (though I think everything short of hostilities should be employed to give weight to our interference), to guard the Indians against any expectations of that sort, in the event of this Government refusing to admit our mediation on that ground.

My only reason for supposing the solicitation of the Indians to be a mode of opening the negotiation more practicable than our voluntary offer, arises from the apprehension that the latter would appear to be an interposition not invited by either party, whereas the former would be only a compliance with the wishes of the Nations in alliance with us, and in whose existence and preservation we have a clear, decided, and permanent interest.

There is another question connected with the foregoing, upon which I should wish, Sir, to learn your sentiments. I mean the effect which would result to the Government of Canada from suffering the Indians to conclude a pacification with the United States, independent of our intervention in obtaining it for them or of our arranging the terms of it. I am led to this enquiry by the knowledge that at this instant, this Government, notwithstanding its preparations for another campaign, is using, and will continue to use every effort, (and through every channel except ours), to procure peace by negotiation, either with the whole confederacy of hostile Indians, or by partial treaties with the separate Indians.

Upon the letter marked 3, it is proper for me to observe, that as I entertain a well-founded conviction that the terms therein expressed are the extent of the concessions which this country is for the moment inclinable to make, in order to adjust its differences with Great Britain, I thought it my duty not to conceal that conviction from His Majesty's Ministers.

Although the extracts No. 4 and the accompanying communication from General Knox may be superfluous, I have imagined that it may be perhaps not altogether uninteresting to you to obtain from myself my opinion of Brant's conduct during his residence in this city. Before I conclude this long letter, I feel it incumbent upon me to apologize for its diffuseness, which nothing can justify but my solicitude to vindicate my conduct, and my anxiety to promote by every exertion in my power, the general interests of His Majesty's Service.

I have the honor to be, with great and sincere respect, &c.

GEO. HAMMOND.

Lt. Govr. Simcoe.

FROM HENRY DUNDAS TO J. G. SIMCOE

WHITEHALL, 12th July, 1792.

Lt. Governor Simcoe.

Sir,

I have received your letter No. 7 and have had the Honor of laying it with its Inclosures before the King.

In Answer to Your Observation on the limited number of the Executive Council of Upper Canada, I have to inform you it was judged expedient that one or two Members should be added from the Principal Canadians of Detroit, as soon as a proper selection from them Could be made. You will therefore, as soon as you are sufficiently acquainted with their respective merits and qualifications, transmit to me the Names of three or four Persons of that Country most competent to fulfill the duties of so important a situation.

Your information conveyed to Mr. Hammond, respecting the nature of the Fur Trade, and the Situation and relative importance of those parts over which it extends, must at this juncture have proved peculiarly seasonable and I feel myself much obliged to you for your suggestions on these Topics.

Should His Majesty's Proposed interposition be attended with success, it will I trust be the means not only of placing the Indians in the best possible situation with respect to the Province of Upper Canada—considered internally, but also as to its relative situation with respect to the American States. In this last point of view, it would in a great measure, I apprehend, supercede the necessity of considering so minutely as it might otherwise be requisite to do, the question of what particular posts it might be most expedient to fortify.

As to the Indians, they would, (agreeable to your sentiments respecting them), be thereby put into possession of that branch of the Fur Trade, which is best adapted to their nature, leaving to the Province the benefit of their labours, without its being liable to be corrupted by the habits which that species of labour might induce.

With respect to the great Emigrations which may take place, either from the American States, or elsewhere, I am of Opinion that in the very Infancy of the Province under your Government such Emigrations would not be productive of all the good consequences, which your mind on the first impression may suggest to you. Population is often the effect, but never I believe was, or will be, the cause of the prosperity of any Country. It is not (taken exclusively) found to be the true measure either of the Strength, the riches, or the happiness of a Country. I am well aware that what is true and applies in many instances, may not apply to a Country of the extent of Upper Canada; but an ingrafted Population, (if I may so call it), to a great extent and outrunning, (as it must do), all those regulations, laws, usages, and customs, which grow up and go hand in hand with a progressive and regular Population, must I conceive in all cases be attended with a want of that regularity, and stability, which all, but particularly Colonial Governments, require. I have said this much, not in order to check the Emigrations which may take place from the American States into Upper Canada, but because it appears to me, from what is stated in your letter, that there is every appearance of Settlers coming from thence in Sufficient Numbers, and of their own accord, without going out of your way to entice or allure them. In short my opinion is, that if care is taken to render the Situation of Settlers under your Government comfortable and happy, the fame of their being so, will naturally spread itself, and produce sufficiency of

Emigration from other States. But nothing could be more justly offensive to other Nations, especially Neighbouring States, than to make the Emigration of their Subjects a professed and avowed object of Our Government. Any Artificial Steps taken to effectuate that purpose are not only offensive, but must be attended with considerable expence. Add to this, that if such a Plan was systematically adopted, it would produce Retaliation, and I doubt in the present infant state of Our Province of Upper Canada, whether we should be ultimate gainers in such a contest.

Proper Steps will be taken to put a stop to Emigrations from hence, but as that cannot be entirely effected, it is certainly to be wished that such as quit this Country may be induced to become Settlers in His Majesty's Colonies abroad. With respect to a Table of Fees, I have no doubt but that with the assistance of the present Council you will find yourself enabled to form such a one as may with propriety be enforced for the present, subject to any corrections or amendments which His Majesty may think proper to make on your transmitting the same to me for His information.

In answer to your remarks on the necessity of establishing Schools and an University for the Education of Youth, I am of Opinion that for some time to come at least, the first will only be requisite. The same reasoning applies in this particular as in another which has been mentioned in the former part of this letter, Vizt that the Country must make the University, and not the University the Country. Such Schools, or at least one of them should be of the first order, and whenever any steps are taken by the Province for establishing such a Seminary, as on your representation will meet with the approbation of His Majesty, I shall with great satisfaction receive His pleasure with regard to the extension of the Royal Bounty in support of such a Plan at a proper season as well as in ascertaining the best situation for Towns and Settlements within the Province. I trust with great confidence to your own Judgment and discretion.

I am, &c.

HENRY DUNDAS.

*Endorsed:—Drt, ^
To Lieut. Governor Simcoe, July, 1792.*

FROM ALURED CLARKE TO J. G. SIMCOE

QUEBEC, 12 July, 1792.

Sir,

I received yesterday, your letter of the 3rd instant, enclosing one addressed to you by the Attorney General of the Province under your Government, in consequence of the murder of an Indian Chief, called the Snake, supposed to have been committed by some soldiers of the 26th Regiment. In compliance with your desire, and in order to accelerate as much as possible, the discovery of the perpetrators of so atrocious a crime, I have this day informed Colonel Gordon of the contents of your letter, and directed him to lose no time in securing the persons described by the Attorney General and to forward them under a proper escort to Kingston: and at the same time desired him to use every endeavor to acquire such testimonials as may upon their trial, throw some light upon this unhappy event.

The manner in which you represent the conduct of Captain Lethbridge¹ upon

¹Captain Robert Lethbridge, 60th Regiment; colonel, 25 July, 1810; Inspecting Field Officer in Lower Canada, 1812-3; major-general, 4 June, 1813; died 1831.

the occasion, is very much to his credit, and can but be satisfactory to me, and I trust that the summary steps taken by the Government to bring the offenders to condign punishment, will calm the wrath of the friends of the deceased, and that as they seem already satisfied with the honors paid to the memory of their Chief, no evil consequence will arise.

I am, &c.

ALURED CLARKE.

To Colonel Simcoe.

FROM E. B. LITTLEHALES TO JOHN BUTLER.

KINGSTON, July 16, 1792.

Sir,

I am directed by His Excellency, Colonel Simcoe, to acknowledge the receipt of your return, and to mention that His Excellency sees no reason why the Indians should not be encouraged to come in, and particularly the Tuscarroras, but I am to add that when His Excellency has the pleasure of seeing you, he will communicate his ideas on this subject more fully.

I am, Sir, &c.

(Unsigned.)

Lieutenant Colonel Butler, Niagara.

FROM REVEREND JOHN STUART TO THE RIGHT REVEREND DR. WHITE, BISHOP OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN PHILADELPHIA.

[Extracts.]

KINGSTON, July 17th, 1792.

Right Revd. Sir.

After a tedious Passage of 17 days from Schenectady, we arrived here on the 9th Inst. According to Expectation, I found our Governor here, on my arrival but not my Friend Sir John Johnson—He has quitted this Country in Disgust [perhaps never to return] and left 99/100 of the Inhabitants of these new Settlements to lament the Loss of a Patron, Guard & Friend.—Governor Simcoe with a Chief Justice, Attorney General Receiver & Quarter Master General &c., &c., and a new raised Regt. of Rangers, are now at Kingston. But the Seat of Government is still undetermined, at least, is a Secret to us.—'Tis supposed that he will reside either here or at Niagara during the ensuing winter, until Preparations are made for his Reception at Toronto, or some place not far distant from Niagara.—The Govr. has brought Friends enough with him to fill all the lucrative Offices in his, or Government's Gift.—If Dr. Peters comes over Bishop to us, I shall not boast again of my Situation. We have uncommon Prospects of a fine Harvest. And, If we have Peace & Plenty, what more ought we to desire?—I hope my Friend Brant will assist in bringing about a Peace between the States & the Indians: Altho' I fear his Interest will be over-rated by People on your side of the Water,—I am &c.,

JOHN STUART.

[From a copy in possession of Dr. A. H. Young, Toronto.]

FROM R. G. ENGLAND TO J. G. SIMCOE.

DETROIT, July 24th, 1792.

Sir:—

I was not honored with Major of Brigade Littlehale's letter enclosing the general orders of the 11th of June till the 19th inst. and in obedience to it avail myself of the first opportunity to send you a state of the Garrisons of Detroit and Michilimakinac, a return of the 24th Regiment and the Assistant Commissary's report of provisions in store here with his usual issues. By this opportunity I forward the general order to Major Smith commanding at Niagara and direct him to send you the states, returns, and reports from that Garrison and its dependencies.

I have the honor to enclose you copies of letters and extracts of letters marked 1, 2, 3 and 4, two of which I wrote to the Military Secretary at Quebec for the information of His Excellency Major General Clarke. The other two are reports made to me which I also forwarded to him. As the circumstances contained in them and referred to His Excellency will now no doubt be directed by you, I beg to receive your commands relative to them.

The two prisoners mentioned in the extract to the Military Secretary marked (2) are arrived here which makes the number of Civil prisoners in the temporary jail here eight, and permit me to mention that some direction relative to them becomes necessary as they are all in a very wretched state, and I would beg to submit to your Excellency, if the unfortunate men belonging to the Provincial Marine department have not in some degree made atonement for the offences they are charged with by a miserable, uncomfortable confinement in a wretched black hole and prison for full twelve months.

Captain Elliot, Assistant to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs here, mentioned in my letter (4) to have gone to the Miamis Country with an Officer of the Garrison to distribute provisions to some distressed Indian families there, is returned but does not report anything from that country worth communicating to you.

When I have the honor of hearing from you I beg to be informed whether it is your wish that the Post of Michilimakinac should report to you immediately or continue under my direction, subject of course to your orders. It is garrisoned by a detachment of the 24th Regiment.

In my next I hope to give you some account of the state of the Militia in this District. I propose visiting them when the men can best be spared from their Harvest. Should any return or state be omitted which you may require, I beg it may be mentioned and I will have great pleasure in forwarding it.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your very obedient and very humble servant,

R. G. ENGLAND¹,

Lieut. Colonel, 24th Regiment.

His Excellency Colonel Simcoe, &c., &c., &c.

¹Lieut. Colonel Richard G. England had seen much service in the American war; he became colonel of the 5th Regiment and Lieut. Governor of Plymouth and eventually rose to the rank of Lieutenant General.

FROM ALURED CLARKE TO J. G. SIMCOE.

QUEBEC, 26 July, 1792.

Sir,

By a paper from the Indians at the Bay of Quinte, presented to Sir John Johnson, Supt. Indian Affairs, at a conference held immediately before his departure for England, and by him communicated to me, they appear extremely anxious to have the deeds which have been promised and appear necessary to put them in the unequivocal possession of their lands. This matter now rests with the Government of Upper Canada, and I am persuaded from the knowledge you already have of this business, and in order to set these people's minds at ease, as well as those settled at Grand River, You will take the earliest opportunity to do in their behalf, what you may think proper.

I have the honor to be, &c.

ALURED CLARKE.

His Excellency, Lt. Governor Simcoe.

FROM D. W. SMITH TO JOHN ASKIN.

NIAGARA, 26 July, 1792.

My Dear Sir,

The Governor's proclamations are arrived, dividing the upper country. The N. county is called Essex, and is bounded on the east by the carrying place from Point au Pins¹ to the river La Tranche; bounded on the south by Lake Erie, and on the west by the River Detroit to Maisonville's mill; from thence by a line parallel to the River Detroit and Lake St. Clair, at the distance of four miles, until it reaches the River La Tranche, thence up the said river to where the carrying place from Point au Pins strikes that river. The said county of Essex, with the adjoining county of Suffolk (in which there are no inhabitants) sends one member. Those who have certificates only, I understand, can vote. This tract comprehends the new settlers on lake Erie who have generally certificates, Monforton's company who have none, and Maisonville's company to the mill; in this last space, there are inhabitants on 12 acres front just above the church, who will vote by reason of their having French deeds, "en roture," and those settled on the south side of River La Tranche, a few of whom have certificates, and where I, myself, am a freeholder.

This damned election business seems to bind me to the county, for you know I am not fond of deserting any cause I undertake, and that of the public is most dear to me. Should I be returned without an undue election or the appearance of

¹"Landguard or Pointe aux Pins (Lake Erie), is in latitude about 42 degrees 7 minutes 15 seconds north; variation 2 degrees 48 minutes westerly. There is a pond at the back of the point, the entrance to which has sometimes four feet and a half water on the bar; on the bank of the pond is an old Indian village, from whence there is a good path to the river Thames. There is a great resort of Indians to this place in the spring, induced by the quantity of fish and fowl that may be taken here at that season. This point is about twenty miles or upwards east of the South Foreland (Point Pelee), and bears the only pine timber on this coast." Smith, Gazetteer of Upper Canada.

party or bribery, I shall be most happy, and in that case, I beg an ox be roasted whole on the common, and a barrel of rum to be given to the mob, to wash down the beef. You will draw on me for the amount. I should have great pleasure in helping to frame laws for lands which I have had so much pleasure in laying out. Mr. Pollard, who was appointed sheriff, is returning officer. The writs are issued this day and returnable the 12th September. I depend a good deal on your goodness, favor, and affection in this business, and hope I need not make many apologies on that score. As I have begun the canvass, I am determined to go through with it, and should I succeed, I hope to support my character afterwards. We shall certainly not leave the Province these four years, so that wherever the seat of Government may be, or whatever the destination of the Regt., I make no doubt that I shall be able to attend the Council and Assembly yearly. My having done the Settlers' business without emolument from any quarter, should be some inducement to them, on the score of gratitude, to return me. I rather think it is intended that the people who have French grants on the garrison side should vote, as the description of the county of Kent comprehends a great deal and sends two members. It is said to contain all the country (not being territories of the Indians), and not already included in Essex, and the several other counties, described, extending northwards to the boundary line of Hudson's Bay, including all the territory to the westward and southward of the said line to the utmost extent of the country called or known by the name of Canada.

Should candidates to represent this county go a-begging, and you find I have no chance for Essex, I shall be proud to be returned for this county, but as the French people know little of me, I have not any hopes on that score. I am very ill at present myself, or I would certainly go up to Detroit, but if the people are sincere that is unnecessary, and this will give it a fair trial. You will do me a service by delivering to Mr. Pollard the names of those capable to vote, which you can get from a small register in the land office, marked or rather endorsed, "Certificates granted," and another endorsed "French grants en roturé."

If any of Monforton's or Maisonsville's company have received certificates since my departure, I will be thankful to you to use your influence with them. Colonel McKee has promised me his interest, so has the Commodore¹, and I think I may depend on Captain Elliott, George Leith, and a few others. When I wrote you last, it was expected that Grosse Isle, Rivers Raisin and Rouge would have voted with the settlers, but that is not the case.

Jacques Parent, Laurent Parent, Claude Rheume, Bapt. Le Duc, and John Bapt. Hortelle, just above the Huron church may probably ask for an explanation of my letters to them. They had lands "en roturé" formerly granted to Mons. Longueuil, and they, of course, have indisputable votes. I have therefore addressed them separately. These are the only French deeds acknowledged by the "Tableau des Terres en roturé" on that side of the water.

I am sure you will forgive me for sending so large a packet to you. The most of them are for the freeholders on Lake Erie, all whose names I could recollect. The others you will have great goodness by putting in train for their destinations. The Governor arrived this day.

God assist you prays

D. W. SMITH.

(Printed by Mr. C. C. James in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,
Third Series, 1913, Vol. VII.)

¹Alexander Grant.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

NIAGARA, July 29, 1792.

Sir,

I arrived here on Thursday last after a passage of three days from Kingston, and yesterday had the honor of receiving yours of the 12th July, relative to Your Excellency's having given orders to Colonel Gordon to have the Soldiers belonging to the 26th Regiment, supposed guilty of the murder of the Indian Chief named Snake, conveyed to Kingston, for the purpose of bringing them to trial. My accounts from thence, mention the arrival of eight Soldiers of that Regiment at that place, two of whom are fully committed for trial, and I am sorry to say there is little doubt of their guilt and conviction.

Joseph Brant is returned from Philadelphia¹. I shall take an early opportunity of transmitting to your Excellency the substance of the conversation I have had with him, and also Mr. Washington's intercourse with the Five Nations, as soon as Colonel Butler has explained some parts of it, on which I have requested his assistance.

I have the honor &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

To His Exy. Major General Clarke.

FROM R. G. ENGLAND TO J. G. SIMCOE.

DETROIT, July 30th, 1792.

Sir:—

I did myself the honor of writing to you on the 24th inst., when I sent Your Excellency such reports, states and returns as I conceived were requisite for your information. Since then nothing material has occurred here. Colonel McKee has arrived and desires me to say that he has received no information worth communicating to you. His presence and assistance in the department was much required. I will attend to your directions relative to him, communicated by Lieutenant Talbot, whenever he requires it. Some Michilimackinac Indians who have been on a tour in the Miamis country brought in here yesterday three unfortunate prisoners; though the substance of their intelligence is trifling I enclose it to you. I shall endeavour to procure their release though the Chiefs do not seem much inclined to part with them, and indeed the conduct of all those I have already released don't give me much encouragement to be anxious about them further than what humanity dictates.

I sometime after my arrival here gave notice to the Commandant of the Militia that it was my intention to see the different Companies of the District at the most convenient time for them and to-morrow (Sunday) I propose by appointment to see the two Companies on the South side of the River, when I have visited all within my reach I shall do myself the honor of reporting their state and number to you.

¹Brant arrived in Philadelphia on June 26, 1792. The American cabinet were much pleased with his peaceful declarations, and he seems to have promised them to attend the council with the Western Indians and urge the acceptance of the treaty concluded at Fort Harmar, but almost as soon as he had returned to Niagara, he wrote to General Knox that he could do nothing at the Council if the United States should insist on the boundary fixed by that treaty.

One day in the week is appropriated for the business of the Land Board and much business in that line has been done since I came here, though I found it much complicated, and many interruptions in consequence of Reserves, Indian Grants, and private purchases. The Board is now much occupied in settling a second Concession on the Petite Cote lying on the South side of the River Detroit, some of the difficulties are removed but we are still interrupted by Indian Grants. I will at any time you desire it send you our proceedings copied from the register. In the meantime you can receive any information you wish from Lieutenant Smith¹, 5th Regiment, who was Secretary to the Board for two years he was stationed here, and who took infinite trouble and showed much zeal to put the Settlement on as good a footing as the other Settlements you have seen. He paid great attention to the business of the Board and is entitled at least to the thanks of the person succeeding him in the direction of it.

By some fresh instructions received from the Commissary General, One Hundred Thousand Rations are directed to be provided at this post in addition to those ordered before.

The Ottaway Schooner will sail in a few days and the Dunmore as soon after as possible. Should anything occur I shall have the honor of communicating it, and allow me at the desire of Captain Harrow² commanding the Chippaway, who now sails for Fort Erie to recommend him to Your Excellency's protection. I have found him while I have been here active, diligent, and attentive, he is the Senior Officer next to Captain Grant, and has had every direction in his department, since the Captain went to attend his duty as one of Your Council.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your very obedient and very humble servant,

R. G. ENGLAND.
Lieut. Col. Commanding at Detroit.

FROM JOHN CRAIGIE TO ALURED CLARKE.

QUEBEC, 2nd August, 1792.

Sir,

Your Excellency having communicated to me a Memorial from certain merchants at Kingston to His Excellency Lieutenant Governor Simcoe, dated the 22nd Ultimo wherein they offer to deliver a large quantity of flour at that place for the use of Government together with Colonel Simcoe's letter to you on this subject, I am induced (in compliance as I conceive with Your Excellency's desire) to state my observations on what has formerly taken place respecting this object, at some length, altho' Your Excellency is already fully possessed of it, with a view to Colonel Simcoe's more perfect information.

Since the beginning of the year 1786, in consequence of representations from the settlers in Upper Canada, I have been ordered to receive the supplies of flour required for the Troops at the Upper Posts, from the several adjoining settlements as far as they could furnish the same. There being a contract made by the Board of Treasury in England for the provisions necessary for the Troops in Canada, to be delivered at Quebec or Montreal, the Contractors consented to give for such

¹Lieut. D. W. Smith, who was appointed Surveyor General for Upper Canada two months afterwards.

²Alexander Harrow had served in the defence of Quebec, 1776-7 as a volunteer and since that date in the provincial marine.

supplies of Flour delivered at the Upper Settlements the Market price in Lower Canada, and as an additional encouragement to the Agriculture of that new Country there was further allowed to the settlers a chief part of the expence that would have been incurred in transporting the article from La Chine by Government.

In order that the advantage of these high terms might be enjoyed by those for whom the benefit was intended, the Farmers, raisers of the produce, It has by order of the Commander in Chief at all times been an object of principal consideration to receive the Flour at first hand from the Settler and to avoid as much as possible any interference or dealings with the merchants.

From circumstances peculiar to the settlements in the neighbourhood of Niagara and Detroit, It has been necessary to have recourse for these two years past to Kingston for a part of the supply of flour for these Posts; It appears probable that this year they will be able to furnish the whole quantity required, and if they can, there would certainly be a hardship in withholding from them their share of the advantages which have hitherto been, in some measure enjoyed exclusively by the settlements at Kingston.

If the merchants at Kingston have given the high price of fifteen shillings per Cwt. for Flour the settlers have no doubt enjoyed great benefit from it, but that can be no sufficient reason why Government should indemnify them from the consequences of an engagement entered into without the participation thereof, and in fact apparently intended to defeat the intentions of Government.

It will remain with Your Excellency to determine whether in a Military point of view any addition to the stock of Provisions for the Posts would be expedient: by the actual Distributions they are provided to the 1st of October, 1793.

In regard to laying in a stock of flour beforehand as a Provision for Emigrants that may be expected to resort to Upper Canada, there can be little doubt that sufficient supplies may be with ease provided for any number of People, should instructions be given to that effect, and it is to be observed that if these people are to depend on their own resources, any interference in the flour Market would only tend to encrease their difficulties.

Taking the object therefore under every point of view, I cannot hesitate for a moment in giving my opinion that the proposals in question by the merchants at Kingston ought not to be accepted; I feel myself further called upon by the occasion to represent to Your Excellency that it was from the first moment foreseen that the encouragement afforded to the settlers, in the allowance in part of the expence of Transport from La Chine, would become partial, and therefore improper, whenever the settlements should be able to furnish more flour than was required for the supply of the Posts; that as Your Excellency will recollect for these two last years it has been in contemplation to discontinue the present high rates which have only been allowed from time to time, and in the view that they should soon altogether cease and as it is now sufficiently obvious as well from the above proposal, as from every information, that the flour to be furnished in Upper Canada greatly exceeds the demand for the Posts; I think it my duty to submit whether it might not be expedient to provide in future the supplies wanted for the Troops on the least terms, and for that purpose to give notice that tenders will be received at the several Settlements as soon as the event of the present Harvest can be with precision ascertained, for the quantities of flour wanted for the different Posts, to be delivered there in June and July, 1793.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN CRAIGIE, Com'y General.

His Excellency Major General Clarke.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

NIAGARA, August 6, 1792.

Dear Sir,

I am to acknowledge the receipt of my dispatches and your letter by Lieut. Foy.

I will immediately give you my opinion on the whole of Mr. Hammond's letter and the plan of Mediation, but our Commodore is so impatient to convoy the Prince that he has waked double tides, and I am of necessity obliged to postpone it till the next opportunity. Your Champlain Boundary must be settled.

Your faithful friend,

J. G. SIMCOE.

Major General Clarke, Quebec.

FROM D. W. SMITH TO JOHN ASKIN.

NIAGARA, 6 Augt, 92.

My dear Sir,

Please to do away any impression which may be started on account of the Regt's leaving Niagara & my non-attendance at the Capital after the first year.—Be assured I shall pay my annual visit to the house of representatives with due attention, as there is little Chance of the Regiment going to Europe before the Expiration of the first Assembly.

Yours affectionately,

D. W. SMITH.

John Askin, Esqr., Detroit.

(Askin Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Vol. II, p. 62.)

FROM D. W. SMITH TO JOHN ASKIN.

NIAGARA, 6 August, 1792.

My Dear Sir,

Your letter which you honored me with gave me great satisfaction. I hope I may not be too much buoyed up with the hopes you give me of succeeding to the election. Your doubts about the right of voting on your side of the water will be removed before this. If, therefore, there is any difficulty in bringing me in for Essex, and one of the Kent seats goes abegging, I should be flattered to be returned for that county. Mr. Baby tells me he wrote to his Brother Francois to set up for Essex. This may perhaps cause some confusion, as the French people no doubt will vote for him; and Capt. Caldwell's interest may perhaps gain him the settlers on Lake Erie. Their sentiments will I hope be sufficiently known beforehand that I may not be set up without a chance. Mr. Baby told me, however, that he rather thought Francois would decline setting up, in which case I should have his interest; and at all events, if Francois had made a party previous to his arrival in Essex, and was likely to succeed, he would then give me his interest in Kent.

I leave the weight of the transaction on your shoulders, and whatever you do for me therein I shall be perfectly satisfied, and I believe I know you well enough

to think you do not require many apologies from me for so much trouble. I will endeavour to repay you in the House of Assembly, if I succeed.

I wrote in my last in case of success to have an ox roasted on the Common and to give the mob a barrel of Rum. Mr. Pollard tells me the hustings will probably be held for Essex somewhere about the River's mouth—this may perhaps be a better site for the beef and rum. I am exceptionally unwell for a long time. I hope, however, to weather through the winter, and should I be elected, I shall pay you a visit in the spring—to be chaired.

The Judge¹ I think while here did not wish to give any hopes of the French people for very plain and substantial reasons, and for this candid behaviour I am obliged to him, as it has prepared me for the worst. I forgot to tell you that before the Governor arrived he wrote to my father that he had adopted all that he had recommended on the score of the land business, which was really a counter-part of the Board's Report, so that I hope that everything will go on as smoothly with you there.

We are all excessively happy at the idea of seeing you here. If you make any house at Niagara your hotel other than the Major's², you are not the same John Askin you used to be.

Leith will give me credit for any little sums you may find it necessary to require, such as putting up the hustings, board, cake and wine, Returning Officer's fee, &c., &c.

Love to the good family,
Yours truly,

D. W. SMITH.

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FROM ALURED CLARKE TO J. G. SIMCOE.

QUEBEC, August 7, 1792.

Dear Sir,

I am anxious to learn your sentiments respecting Mr. Hammond's despatch communicated to you some time ago, but more particularly so on that forwarded by Mr. Givins, the *spontaneous* wish of the Indians for the King's mediation towards procuring peace, cannot, I think, be more clearly expressed than it was by the *deputation from all the Tribes, now at war with the United States*, that came to Quebec last summer. However, it would certainly be very easy to bring about a renewal or repetition of it, and as Mr. Hammond seems to think such a measure of importance, I wish you to consider of it, and if you should coincide with him in that opinion, I am to request that you will talk with Colonels McKee and Butler upon the subject, and give such directions respecting it as you may think most likely to accomplish the object Mr. Hammond had in view. I wish the liberality and honor he possesses himself may not induce him to overrate those qualities in, and the consequence of, the people he has to deal with; as in that case I fear the chicanery which we know them to possess may prevent his taking advantage of the unpopular impression that the Indian War has certainly made upon the minds

¹William Dummer Powell, Justice for the District of Hesse.

²Major Smith, father of the writer, then commandant of Fort Niagara.

of the people in general under their government. And yet, there is no giving advice upon the subject, as he, on the spot, has undoubtedly the means of obtaining information that we in all probability are strangers to.

I have not yet been able to find out where the address of the people of Kingston to Lord Dorchester, which you mention, has been deposited, but I will make further enquiry, and if it can be procured you shall have a copy. I am sorry to find that your Corps is growing so sickly, but hope they may recover from a little rest, as it is probable the long sea voyage and fatigue which they have necessarily undergone since their disembarkation has occasioned it. I know your anxiety to take post at Long Point, but can hardly think it practicable at present; in my opinion it will require great exertion and be doing much, to establish such huts for your people this fall, as will furnish them tolerable quarters through the winter. The want of straw for your soldiers' tents is very unfortunate. Surely some can be found.

The last Division of the 26th Regiment had a very quick passage down the river, having reached St. John's in five days, which was lucky, as by that means their invalids arrived in time to be forwarded to England. Mr. Robinson has transmitted the two Proclamations you were good enough to order for me, and I am happy to find you have accomplished the arduous task of dividing your Province into Counties. Other difficulties will, I trust, be as easily surmounted, and that affairs in general will go as well and to your satisfaction. Though so much later in beginning your Provincial arrangements, you have got the start of us by two months as to the actual meeting of your Legislature. I am to review the Fusiliers this morning, and the Prince sets off for your Government on Saturday next, with a larger suite than I wish attended him, from an apprehension that it must occasion some embarrassment.

Pray present my compliments to Mrs. Simcoe, and be assured that I am, with very sincere regard,

Your &c., &c.

ALURED CLARKE.

His Excellency Colonel Simcoe.

FROM D. W. SMITH TO JOHN ASKIN.

NIAGARA, 8 August, 1792.

My dear Sir,

Since I wrote you last I have received a Letter from Mr. McNiff giving me but faint hopes of success—when at the same time I received other Letters from my friends giving me hopes.

Everything now must be left to fate & Providence will naturally direct for the best. I am so pestered with the fever, Head Ache, want of sleep and withal so weak; that nothing else prevents me from setting out for Detroit express—I would kick up such a dust in Essex as never was there before—& I would scrutinize every vote—nor allow any but such as were permitted by the Act of Parliament; that is if the people on Lake Erie & the south side of River La Tranche were unanimous towards my election; for though Government don't wish themselves to introduce the Cabal of who has and who has not the right to vote, yet it is all fair in a Candidate—and the Indians within the Reserves in Essex have just as much right to vote as the people of Maisonville's and Monforton's Companys,

who have no Certificates or grants "en roture" of which there are only 5 that I know of. The Governor wishes very much that I should succeed, & in consequence he has prevented some others of his family from setting up for Detroit that I might have no opposition on the score of any Interest which might be made for them—

As I said before I hope the sentiments of the people will be known in time before the poll comes on.—I will answer your draft for the necessary expences. I enclose another blank address which you may find it necessary to send to some one.

The Governor sends for me constantly & employs me on many occasions—what with crossing the water—& half a dozen Masters to serve, exclusive of God & Mammon—ill health & all together I am completely fagged.

I have only to say God Bless you & yours & to tell you ere long to see you at Niagara, believe me, I am, &c.

D. W. SMITH.

John Askin, Esq, Detroit.

(Askin Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Vol. II, p. 60.)

FROM R. G. ENGLAND TO J. G. SIMCOE.

DETROIT, August 9th, 1792.

Sir,—

Though this Post does not at present afford anything worth communicating to your Excellency, yet I shall continue to write to you by every opportunity, as I conceive it may be satisfactory to you. Since my last we have not had any accounts of our neighbours, consequently the report of their having appeared in force at the Miamis Towns is without foundation. Eighty-eight Indians from Lower Canada arrived here on the 7th Inst., on board His Majesty's Snow Chippawa. I visited them yesterday and directed some presents usual on those occasions to be given them. They are preparing to proceed to their Council with many more who waited their arrival here. Their movements are slow and it may be a few days before I can get them away.

Colonel McKee has been to La Tranche on some business directed by you, and informs me that he will not find much difficulty in accomplishing your wishes. He proposes setting out early on Friday next to the Foot of the Rapids, from whence I shall contrive to hear constantly from him, and communicate to you any thing worth your attention. He takes with him nearly five hundred bushels of Indian Corn and other provisions for the distressed Indian families in that neighbourhood.

Since I last had the honor of writing to you I have seen some Companies of the Militia, and mean to continue my visits on Sunday till I have seen the whole. Those I have inspected, with *GOOD WILL* on their part may be made very useful, but their arms are very bad and several men in each company without any. When I complete my tour I will report to you their numbers as I find them and their state.

I have received by the Chippawa the letter and proclamations addressed to the President of the Land Board, and shall communicate them to the Members on our meeting to-morrow. As there were no directions attending the proclamation of the 9th of July I am at a loss to know if it is your wish that I should get copies of it taken and posted up here. We have not had any account of the division of the Province in Counties, or of the number of Members that this district is to send

to the House of Assembly, and I do not find that there are any candidates as yet announced here, except Lieutenant Smith (5th Regiment) who I suppose wishes to be returned for the new settlement of Lake Erie.

Commodore has no doubt reported to you the state of two large Gun Boats built last year at this Post, one of them calculated to carry a twelve Pounder, the other to carry a six Pounder. There is no establishment ordered for them, consequently they are of no use. I have moored the largest constantly out in the river and have her attended by some sailors borrowed from whichever of the King's vessels are in the river. Her gun is mounted but there not being any one appointed regularly to take charge of her stores no ammunition has been yet put on board of her. I do not consider myself a very correct judge, but they appear to me very unwieldy, and by drawing too much water little calculated for this lake or creeks on it, and will besides require several men to work them.

I endeavour to keep up a constant communication with Niagara by contriving to have at all times one of the vessels at Fort Erie, one here, and one on the Passage to or from. The sloop Felicity is at present at Mackinac with stores. I have from thence a miserable account of the state of the Fort and Barracks, and enclose you an extract of Captain Doyle's last letter who commands there. He reports some sugar in store there which is spoiling, and I have directed him to sell it on account of Government and send me the bill of sales. It is some time there and has accumulated by presents from the Indians.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your very obedient and very humble servant,
R. G. ENGLAND.
Lieut. Col. Commanding at Detroit.

P.S. I have ventured to order some provisions for the three men belonging to the Provincial Marine Department, who are confined in jail here, and who I had the honor of reporting to you before. Motives of humanity obliged me to take this step in order to prevent them from starving.

R. E.

His Excellency Colonel Simcoe.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM P. CAMPBELL¹ TO ROBERT HAMILTON ESQ., ABOUT SPIES.

When in the States, I was confidentially told and assured that your acquaintance Mr. William Shudmar², who is now an Officer in the Continental Army, and sent by Congress in February last to Niagara as a Spy, to report to them the State of the Garrison and Fort of that place, and I have no doubt his travelling companion, Mr. Don, was on the same business, so that Congress must have had some design on that Fortress. This I mentioned in a letter to his friend, Mr. Colin McNab², and requested he would inform Colonels Simcoe and Gordon of it; in the event that the letter had not come to hand, be so good as to advise them. They have to judge how far it will be expedient to admit such persons from the United States as Messrs. Don and Shudmar into any of the British Fortresses. I fell in

¹Probably Captain Patrick Campbell, formerly of the 42nd Regiment and author of "Travels in the interior inhabited parts of America, 1791-2."

²A magistrate and preventive officer for smuggling, residing near the mouth of the Four Mile Creek, Niagara Township.

with several Gentlemen in the United States, particularly in that of New York, and Officers of all ranks, from the General downwards, and found that attacking the British Outposts would be a very popular measure, and by what I could collect of their minds, on this subject the only stop to it is the war with the Indians, and that they are after to attempt it by a coup de main or surprise them by open force.

They say that if the first should fail, the last would not. I cannot, therefore, help thinking that Colonel Simcoe ought to support the Indians openly, even at the risk of being recalled, and if the British Government allow them to be crushed, that they will repent when too late and beyond their power to retrieve. It haunts me most to think that these designing political rascals will wrench the Outposts out of your hands, probably when least expected, and brave you to the face when that is done.

FROM ALURED CLARKE TO J. G. SIMCOE.

QUEBEC, 9 Aug., 1792.

Sir,

I have read your Excellency's letter of the 22 July, enclosing a Memorial to you from the Merchants of Kingston, on the subject of supplying the troops with flour, which I put into the hands of the Commissary General, with directions for him to report the probable effect that the measure therein proposed would have, either as to the original intention of the Commander in Chief in directing this article to be purchased from the settlers in the vicinity of the Upper Posts, or the additional expence that Government might be exposed to thereby; and as the matter which this reference was meant to draw out was intended for your information as well as my own, I, at the same time, directed Mr. Craigie to embrace the subject in the most ample manner, which he has done much to my satisfaction in a letter whereof I enclose a copy, by which I think you will perceive that the proposal made by the Merchants in question, if adopted, would neither be beneficial to Government, nor to the inhabitants of the country in general.

I am with regard, &c.

ALURED CLARKE.

To H. Excy. Lt. Govr. Simcoe.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

Private.

NIAGARA, Aug 9 1792.

Sir,

Upon the report of the atrocious murder at Michillimackinac, Mr. Justice Powell being with me, I consulted with him on the probable steps which had been taken already in that affair, and the means of bringing the criminals to condign punishment.

In the first instance, I determined to dismiss the Magistrate who had taken bail for their offence, and as soon as Mr. Justice Powell, who promised to provide me with a proper form for that purpose, should transmit it to me, to appoint the officer commanding the Garrison, Justice of the District. Mr. Justice Powell seemed to think that the criminals would enter a plea of the competency of our

Court for the purpose of trying them, and he rather seemed to lean on the hardship of their imprisonment should the Court demur at this plea. On this point I was desirous that the longer imprisonment they should suffer, the better and more exemplary. The Justice stated there was no prison, but said he thought a sufficient one might be made by repairing an old Block House. I desired him to consult Colonel England on this subject, and as it is evident that at present our Civil Prison must be in Garrison, I thought it most advantageous for His Majesty's Service that what was constructed pro tempore, might serve for some military use hereafter. I enclose you Colonel England's report. In the meantime, I hear the criminals are trading as usual: I scarcely can believe it, but wait with impatience for the proceedings of the Grand Jury of Detroit. It is whispered they may throw out the Bill—if so, it will confirm me in what I have some thoughts of, the declaring Military Law in Michillimackinac.

I am happy to hear from Capt. Charleton of the admirable behaviour of the Sergeant of the day: He had possession of the Indian,—took off his sash and showed it to the criminals as the badge of his authority previous to their taking the Savage from him to inflict the barbarous murder. I propose to direct the Sheriff of Detroit to procure some proper place of confinement should the prisoners be fully committed.

I have the honor to be, &c., &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

Major Genl Clarke.

FROM ALEXANDER DAVISON TO J. G. SIMCOE.

Per the Caroline.

HARPER STREET, 12 Aug., 1792.

Dear Sir,—

By this opportunity (the last ship this season direct to Quebec) I have sent you to the care of Mr. John Gray a paper packet containing a continuation of the Chronicle and Diary together with some Magazines, to which I must beg your reference for Public News.

I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter under date the 29th April, which afforded me particular satisfaction and some subsequent ones from my friends in Canada confirming the accounts of your good health gave me much pleasure. I now hope the most disagreeable part is over, and that you will experience less interruption in carrying your wishes into effect. It is perfectly understood here that the Baronet¹ leaves the Province this Fall, and I have good reasons to believe that the Noble Lord² will never return to Canada, whose consequence in this country as well as in Canada is dwindling to nothing. I flatter myself by next Season every obstacle that would in any shape baffle your objects, will be removed. I suspect strongly the Right Honorable the Governor General feels very sore, and as far as I can judge from appearances of things the Ministry care very little about

¹Sir John Johnson.

²Lord Dorchester.

him. I shall be glad to hear you and General Clarke have a perfect understanding which in a great degree would promote more successfully the plans you may have in view of being more immediately carried into execution. I shall be anxious until I am assured of your safe arrival at the Government and having arranged matters there. The *Scipio* by the last accounts was safe at Quebec after having lost all her boats and otherwise suffering much by bad weather on her passage. I hope however that she has met with no material damage in her cargo, which I trust will reach your Government in tolerable condition. I am chagrined that I cannot send out the Medals by this conveyance from an untoward accident having happened to the Die after it had been finished, by splitting through the middle on the first essay which rendered it totally useless. It was a mortifying event after the nice pains and time that had been bestowed upon it, however it could not be helped. I have given directions to the Engraver to go on with another Die to be ready against next Spring—It would not, however, be improper in you in your requisition for other articles to include the number of Medals in it which you may judge proper to have sent out, which will obviate any difficulty I otherwise might have with the Treasury in obtaining this permission. The number were 200 which I had ordered to be struck off, but which you can add to, or diminish as you think you may have occasion for them. If before you receive this you have transmitted your requisition for next year, you have only to mention the necessity of having out medals in a letter to me, and I will do the needful.

Our friend, Mr. Nepean, having resumed his official situation perfectly recovered, and if possible more in confidence and valued by the Administration than ever, and attached as he is to everything that concerns you, he will watch over and take special care your interests and those of the Crown do not suffer by any improper interference of men perhaps not so much interested as yourself in the prosperity and dignity of the King's Government.

The Duke of Northumberland¹ is now at Alnwick and is quite recovered, having experienced so much benefit from the baths at the Caldas² last winter, he is resolved on spending the next Autumn months at the same place. He will leave England about the middle of October.

I am quite hurt it has not been in my power to obtain yet Mr. Russell's patent. I find the Treasury Board too formidable a body to be dictated to.

Mr. Wyatt, like many others, who promised fair, has put me off from time to time with plea of a Farm and Buildings, which he assured me I might depend on. I shall at last be obliged to apply to some other person for it.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your very sincere and faithful servant,

ALEXANDER DAVISON.

Governor Simcoe, Upper Canada.

¹Hugh Percy, second duke, who as Lord Percy had served in the American war in 1775-7, and was a firm friend to Simcoe.

²Caldas,—a town of Portugal with warm sulphur springs, frequented by invalids.

FROM D. W. SMITH¹ TO JOHN ASKIN².NIAGARA,³ 14 August, '92.

My Dear Sir,

All the letters I get from Detroit give me favourable hopes, except those I receive from McNiff—they assure me of the Interest and Influence of Messrs. McKee, Macomb, Park, Leith, Sharp, McIntosh, Elliott, Lamothe, McDonnell and several others for Essex.

There is, I understand, however, powerful influence against me. However, if I have fair play, I don't fear, as I am assured that the Settlers on Lake Erie and River La Tranche will vote for me "nemine contradicente," at least these are the words in which their assurances are represented to me.

Perhaps I should have done better to have set up for one of the seats in Detroit, as I hear only of Mr. Macomb, who is to be proposed, but I did not then know they would be entitled to vote; besides were I thrown out on the 20th, I might have had a chance on the 28th. The French people can easily walk to the hustings, but my gentry will require some conveyance; if boats are necessary, you can hire them, and they must not want beef or rum—let them have plenty—and in case of success I leave it to you which you think will be best to give my friends a public dinner, and the ladies a dance, either now, or when I go up, if you think the moment the best time, you will throw open Forsyth's Tavern, and call for the best he can supply. I trust you will feel very Young on the Occasion, in the dance, and I wish that Leith and you should push about the bottle to the promotion of the Settlements on the Detroit. The more broken heads and bloody noses there is, the more election-like—and in case of success, (damn that "if") let the white Ribbon favors be plentifully distributed to the old, the Young, the Gay, the lame, the crippled and the blind—half a score cords of wood piled hollow, with a tar barrel in the middle, on the commons, some powder pour tiner, and plenty of rum. I am sure you will preside over and do everything that is needful, as far as my circumstances will admit. There must be no want, and I am sure you will have everything handsome and plentiful. Elliott I am sure will give you a large red flag to be hoisted on a pole near the Bonfire, and some blue coloured tape may be sewed on in large letters "ESSEX."

Thus talked the woman when she carried her eggs on her head to market. She sat them, she hatched them, she sold them for a crown a piece, and then down she fell eggs and all, and the anticipations of a warm and fruitful imagination were

¹Lieutenant David William Smith, 1764-1837, the only son of Major John Smith of the 5th Regiment, commandant of Detroit and afterwards of Niagara; deputy Surveyor General and deputy Quarter Master General for Upper Canada, and deputy Judge Advocate at Niagara; member of the Assembly for the County of Essex, 1792-6; member for Lincoln, 1796-1800; member for Norfolk, Oxford and Middlesex, 1800-4; speaker of the Assembly, 1796-1800 and again in 1801-2; resigned his post as Surveyor General in 1804 and went to live in England; created a baronet, 1821; author of "A Short Topographical Account of His Majesty's Province of Upper Canada in North America," London, 1799, of which a second edition was published in London by W. Faden in 1813. A sketch of his life, with a silhouette portrait, appeared in the Proceedings of the Association of Ontario Land Surveyors for 1894, pp. 144-8. It contains a list of nearly two pages in length, showing the numerous appointments that he held, as prepared by himself and now preserved in the D. W. Smith Collection of Manuscripts in the Toronto Reference Library; also a list of his numerous properties in Upper Canada.

²John Askin, born in Ireland; came to America about 1759 and settled at Albany, N.Y.; conducted supplies for the relief of Detroit, 1763; commissary at Michilimackinac, 1764-80; became a merchant at Detroit; captain in militia, 1787; lieutenant colonel, 1793; colonel, 1801. The name Askin is believed to be a variant of Erskine.

annihilated in a moment; thus, this is the situation of a disappointed Candidate, who is fed up with hopes from those who wish him well. As I am a little better, nothing prevents me from setting off for Detroit immediately but the coming of the Prince.¹ He is to be here about the 25th—my fate is to be determined the 28th.

Leith tells me you have written to me but the opposite party have got hold of the letter because they guessed its contents. Have proper booths erected for my friends at the hustings, employ Forsyth to make large plum cakes with plenty of fruit, &c. Be sure to let the wine be good and plenty. Let the peasants have a fiddle, some beverage and beef. If my absence merely should be mentioned as a bar to my election, you may assure the world that if there is time between the return being made and the meeting of the Assembly, I will come up to take the sentiments of the County, and I will annually pay Detroit a visit before I go to the Metropolis to meet the Assembly.

Forgive me, I worry you out. I have quite an election fever. However, it will soon be cooled, and let the determination be as it will, I shall be perfectly satisfied and equally obliged to all my good friends.

God bless you and yours, and believe me unfeignedly, faithfully, and affectionately yours,

D. W. SMITH.

(Printed by Mr. C. C. James, in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Third Series, 1913, Volume VII.)

FROM HENRY DUNDAS TO J. G. SIMCOE.

WHITEHALL, 15th August, 1792.

Lt. Governor Simcoe.

Sir,

I have received your letters numbered 8, 9 & 10 & have had the honour of laying them with their Inclosures before His Majesty. It will give me great pleasure to hear that the Salt Spring mentioned in your letter No. 8 is likely to prove of that utility to the Province which your Remarks upon it give me reason to expect.—The intentions of the American States in their Negotiations with the Indians are not I am afraid so favourable to the proposed interposition of His Majesty as might be wished and was expected, although that interposition was conceived upon the most salutary and liberal grounds—I am glad you have communicated your Sentiments to the Secretary at War upon the expediency of appointing a Deputy Quarter Master General, as in forming my own I am desirous of at first receiving His Opinion on the Subject, which has not yet been communicated to me.

In answer to some other points in your last letter, I must observe to you that the pacific disposition and state of this Country with respect to foreign Powers in general, and the consequent reduction of its forces and Establishments in aid of its Revenue, are strong Objections to the Increase or Formation of any naval or Military Establishment for the present, which may not be absolutely necessary—Such Increase would be a Deviation from what is intended as a permanent System, liable only to such unforeseen events, as all general Plans are subject to. In support of this System and at the same time in reference to your observations on the

¹Prince Edward, afterward Duke of Kent.

relative Security of the other Northern American Governments, compared with your own, I must acquaint you that two Regiments have been already withdrawn from the Establishment for Nova Scotia, and sent to Jamaica for its present Security; nor is it intended in the mean time to replace them by sending any additional Force to that Province.

It is proposed that the Surveyor General of Lower Canada shall likewise fill the same situation in Upper Canada, but without any additional Salary. The attention of the Surveyor General may certainly be bestowed at proper Seasons on both Provinces, and at other times I see no reason to doubt but Persons properly qualified may be found to perform the Duties of the Office as Deputy Surveyors at the Salaries you have mentioned.

I am, &c.

HENRY DUNDAS.

FROM PRIDEAUX SELBY TO JOHN ASKIN.

MOUTH OF DETROIT RIVER, Friday, 16th August, 1792.

Dear Sir,

When I left Niagara I was requested by Mr. Smith to wait on you the moment of my arrival at Detroit to assure you how sensible he is of the great obligation he owes to you & his other *worthy* friends who have so strenuously supported his interest in the present contest for a representative in the house of Assembly. Be assured, Sir, that I should have been extremely happy had circumstances permitted me to have made you a personal report of his sentiments on this occasion but my late sickness made it necessary for me to get ashore as soon as possible.

Mr. Smith (from the expressed goodness and partiality of his friends) flatters himself with the hopes of success & he purposes in that event to make his acknowledgements in person as soon as the present hurry of indispensable business is subsided; And lest he should have omitted to make application to any of the Electors, he gave me half a dozen addresses with blank superscriptions, which I now beg leave to enclose to you for that purpose.

With every sentiment of regard, I have the honour to be, &c.

P. SELBY.

John Askin, Esquire, Detroit.

(Askin Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Vol. II, p. 63.)

FROM PRIDEAUX SELBY TO JOHN ASKIN.

Saturday, 17th Aug., 1792.

Dear Sir,

When I did myself the honour of writing to you yesterday, I forgot to mention that in case Mr. Smith is likely to be hard run, I have some votes to bring forward at a short notice, but would rather avoid them appearing unless it was absolutely necessary; of this you will be able to judge in sufficient time to send me information.

With my best Compliments to all your friends I am, &c.

P. SELBY

John Askin, Esq., Detroit.

(Askin Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Vol. II, p. 64.)

FROM GEORGE CLINTON TO J. G. SIMCOE.

NEW YORK, 17th August, 1792.

Sir—

On the 27th of July last, an Indian Chief of the Onondago Nation was cruelly and unprovokedly murdered at or near the Oswego Falls in the County of Herkimer in this State by a certain Jacob Valentine¹, as will appear from the enclosed copy of my proclamation and of an Affidavit taken before Justice Danforth. It is reported to me that immediately after the perpetration of the murder, Valentine was at the Fort of Oswego and that he has since been at New Kingston in your Government. This has induced me to trouble your Excellency with this address, requesting that you will be pleased to cause the offender to be arrested if he should be found in your jurisdiction, and delivered to the Officer (who will have the honor to present this letter to your Excellency), with such passports and aid as will ensure the safe conveyance of the offender into this State for trial.

I feel assured that your Excellency's respect for justice and the law of nations will dictate a ready compliance with this request. Permit me at the same time to assure you that upon any similar occasion my services shall be most cheerfully rendered to enforce the laws of your Province, and that

I am, with the highest respect and consideration,
Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

GEORGE CLINTON².

His Excellency Governor Simcoe.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

NIAGARA, Augt. 20th, 1792.

No. 11.

Sir,

I do myself the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your dispatches of the 5th of May and shall continue from time to time to furnish Mr. Hammond with such information as shall appear useful to him.

I take this opportunity of enclosing the Proclamation for the division of the Province, and of sending you a plan that may illustrate it.

The Principle which it was thought proper to adopt to equalize the numbers for the purpose of representation, was the Militia return.

It has been thought expedient to continue the present Courts of Justice and Magistracy's, till upon mature consideration, it shall be determined what may be the most proper and permanent arrangement; and the Proclamation has been issued accordingly.

There is every prospect of very great emigrations taking place out of the United States into his Majesty's Dominions, and I have not hesitated to promise

¹Apparently a son of John Valentine, preventive officer of the customs at Oswego.

²Then Governor of the State of New York.

to the Quakers and other sects, the similar exemption from Militia duties which they have always met with under the British Government¹.

Upon mature deliberation I have found it most adviseable to hut the Queen's Rangers at the New Landing² upon the Niagara River and early in the spring, I hope to occupy a Post near to long Point upon the Lake Erie, another at Toronto upon the Lake Ontario, and to set myself down on the River La Tranche³. I purpose, if possible to investigate these Places in Person, before the Winter shall close in.

I have the honor to be with great respect,
Your most Obedient and most humble Servant,
J. GRAVES SIMCOE.

To the Right Honorable Henry Dundas, &c., &c., &c.

*Endorsed: Niagara, 20th August, 1792. Lt. Govr. Simcoe, No. 11.
R. 17 Novemr, one inclosure.*

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

Private.

NAVY HALL, NIAGARA, Aug., 20, 1792.

Sir,

I do myself the honor of enclosing the copy of a letter in which I have explained, agreeably to General Clarke's desire, my sentiments of Mr. Hammond's declining to offer ministerially the proposition for an Indian Territory to be established between those of Great Britain and the United States. I feel it my duty to state my real opinion; at the same time I have a just sense of the very limited subject, that all America affords, in comparison to the general and uncircumscribed view which must direct the considerations of His Majesty's Ministers. I, therefore, (tho' I wish, Sir, that you should be acquainted with my personal ideas), by no means am desirous to consider them in any other light, than as the result of private opinion, powerfully impressed upon my mind, and not to be entered among the public dispatches, tho' if necessary, I have no wish to disavow my sentiments.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. GRAVES SIMCOE.

To Mr. Dundas.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

NIAGARA, 20 August, 1792.

Sir,

I am to acknowledge the receipt of my despatches from Mr. Hammond, and of your Excellency's letter of the 18th July delivered by Mr. Foy.

I presume that my letters from Mr. Dundas, dated the 8th May are counterparts of what have been transmitted to Your Excellency.

As you intimated a wish to know my sentiments relative to the despatches I

¹Under date of August 17, 1792, Mrs. Simcoe noted in her diary, that "the Bear, a Government sloop, is arrived from Irondequet Bay and the Genesee, both in New York State, and brought two families from Carolina to settle in this Province. They have had a most terrible passage, being obliged to stay under the hatchway almost all the time." Robertson, p. 136.

²Queenston.

³The Thames.

have received from Mr. Hammond, I lose no time in submitting to you my opinions thereon.

I beg to premise that Col. McKee having personally brought to me Your Excellency's directions to suspend his calling the Western Indians together, for the purpose of ascertaining their Boundary, and assuring me that Colonel Butler could not have received any orders relative to the assembling of the Five Nations, I thought it unnecessary to report to Your Excellency on this subject, as Sir John Johnson would naturally have informed you that we had not sufficient time to execute your orders before Col. McKee had left Montreal, and in particular as Mr. Hammond had determined it not to be a favourable period for that measure.

I feel it, however, both my duty and inclination to state to your Excellency such general reasoning and such particular ideas as occur to me on an attentive perusal of Lord Grenville's last despatches to Mr. Hammond, that gentleman's answer, and those documents, which by the last despatch I have received from Mr. Dundas, because it appears necessary that His Majesty's Ministers should receive the most ample information on points of such infinite magnitude from the Servants of the Crown upon the spot, and because I should wish that the opinions, which I think it my duty to offer, may be transmitted as approved or corrected by Your Excellency's local experience or maturer judgment. My long and uniform observation on the rulers of the United States has never suffered me to hold but one opinion on the subject of all our attempts at negotiation with them: which is, that they mean nothing less than amicable arrangement on the subject of the Posts and that they will never consent to any commercial treaty whatsoever that may be of reciprocal benefit—and that if Great Britain shall deem it necessary to effectuate either, on fair and equal principles, she can never succeed until Mr. Washington, Jefferson, and Hamilton have lost the direction of affairs of the Confederation, and this I believe it will be less difficult to effect by aiming at once to dissolve the Confederacy, than by any other secondary or indirect means.

With such a firm and uniform belief, I am not in the least surprised to find that Mr. Hammond has no hopes of success in a plan that would secure the present generation and provide for the happiness of posterity; nor do I in the least wonder that in his conversation, Mr. Hamilton, without entering into his arguments, should coolly and briefly reply "that any plan that comprehended anything like a cession of Territory or right, or the allowance of any other power to interfere in the disputes with the Indians would be considered by this Government as absolutely impracticable and inadmissible," at once shewing a determined spirit not only to preclude Great Britain from all mediation on behalf of the Independent Indian Nations, but also not to admit a discussion of her own right to retain the Posts. I am, therefore, as far as concerns Mr. Hamilton, justified in what I have always maintained, that if the present Government of the United States is the only medium by which Great Britain is to obtain amicable alliance, peace, commerce, or security, with the United States, I cannot but anticipate the most absolute miscarriage in the attempt.

In respect to Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Hammond informs Lord Grenville that *He* asserts not only the right of pre-emption in the United States, of the Indian Territory which Great Britain by the Treaty admitted, but claims internal jurisdiction to prevent all but those under passes from the States inhabiting (by which, of course, is meant trading), in the Indian Country, in direct contravention to the Treaty of Utrecht, which defined the nature of the Indian Sovereignty and the infraction of which Gordon, (Mr. Washington's partizan), in his History, Vol. 1, page 99, properly describes to have been the occasion of the war in 1754. From

this claim, as Mr. Hammond infers, the Government of the United States would naturally regard any grant of the Indian soil in perpetuity "not only as a dereliction of Right, but also as a sacrifice of part of its Territory."

These leading men in the Government of the United States having so perfectly agreed, Mr. Jefferson claiming as a right the exclusion of all persons (except under authority of the States) from trading with the Indians, within the Indians' Territory, as yielded by the Treaty line to the United States, and Mr. Hamilton saying that any plan that comprehends anything like a cession of right or a mediatorial interference is inadmissible, I am warranted in uniting these gentlemen as determined enemies of Great Britain; the one Jefferson, I know, avows his hostility; the other, Hamilton, insidiously disguises it. And, I think that Mr. Hammond, on these communications alone, has acted most judiciously in not offering ministerially the proposed plan on the part of Great Britain.

But I am far from thinking that no offer should be made to the United States of a Boundary Line, which without the direct appearance of a mediation and interference on behalf of the Indians, might embrace as a general principle the preventing future misunderstandings among the possessors of this part of America, and I should suppose that such a plan must naturally originate from the mutual explanations and discussions which have lately taken place between Mr. Hammond and the Government of the United States, and which would not affect the pride of the people as if they bore the appearance of solely arising out of their recent check in the Indian Warfare.

And this plan might surely be of such a nature as should fairly and naturally be made known to the people at large: without which, I am certain, all overtures on the part of Great Britain will be misrepresented and rendered ineffectual. And this, I conceive, should be done without loss of time. I am sorry that open or avowed mediation did not follow the check of Harmar in the former year, or the recent defeat of St. Clair.

It would have strengthened the opposition to the raising of the force now destined against the Indian Nations. I am confirmed in the justness of my opinion by a late conversation with Joseph Brant. He said it was unfortunate for the Indians that no one had detailed the calamities and cruelties they had undergone, to invalidate those treaties by which the States claimed their lands. He added such a publication would strengthen the arguments of those who opposed the Indian War. I understood that Mr. Clinton, the Governor of New York, had held this language to him.

I therefore do conceive that a proposition immediately brought forward to explain and amend the treaty line upon the basis on which it is stated to have been formed, "liberal equity and reciprocity," to do away what has no existence, such as a West line drawn from the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi, and what would become null and of no effect, the free and reciprocal use of that river, provided the British Trader had no right to pass through the Indian Country to its banks, (Mr. Jefferson's principle),—that circumstance should establish a more precise boundary or the cession of that or other rights, so as, to use the words of the Treaty, to exclude all partial advantages as seeds of discord and to form a certain and well defined barrier. Such a proposition would necessarily include in it the consideration of the State of the Indians and during the course of the ensuing winter might possibly produce the effect of terminating the disturbances, particularly, if, as seems probable, General Wayne shall employ himself solely in disciplining and arranging his army, and not advance into the country. If this purpose cannot be effected through the Government of the United States, the fair principles of our

propositions, I should conceive, might then be universally promulgated and made known, which would most certainly strengthen the British Interests both in the United States and Great Britain and would reduce the present question to its real merits, which seem totally to have been lost sight of in the United States and Great Britain, namely: "whether the United States having failed on their part in doing Great Britain justice in most essential points of the Treaty of Peace, has not Great Britain a right to withhold the evacuation of certain Posts till the stipulation on which they were to be evacuated shall be complied with?" and it would not only force the United States prematurely to acknowledge that it has no intention of fulfilling its part of the Treaty, but would confirm, what there is every reason to suspect, from the universal language of all descriptions of men in the United States, from circumstances, and from Knox's instructions to St. Clair, that Congress is laying in wait till some fortunate occurrences shall enable it to seize by fraud or other violence what is so justly and reasonably withheld.

There is no person, perhaps, who thinks less of the talents or integrity of Mr. Washington than I do. A laudable attachment to his Native Country, as well as his natural avarice and vanity, two principal ingredients in his character, might account for his anxiety to establish the Capital of the United States near his own Estate and in Virginia. I have little doubt but his conduct in these particulars is actuated by cool deliberation and foresight, and that the Capital in Virginia, its confines, the Indian War, and the Standing Army, all tend to one point, namely: the joining the Western and Southern Territories to oppose the increase of the power of the Northern States, whose industrious, domineering and enterprising spirit, added to the superior advantage of climate, will, without this balance, in no very distant period, absolutely command their present confederates.

Should Mr. Washington and his Colleagues succeed in their present attempt to colonize on the Ohio, I doubt not but the strictest Act of Navigation throughout the Confederation will take place, to flatter and consolidate the Northern with the Southern and Western States, and that the Government of the whole, will, through Mr. Washington and his colleagues, sooner or later centre in the hands of the French.

It is to be observed that the Posts we hold, Oswego, Detroit, Michillimackinac, and, I presume, Niagara, are in Territories belonging to Congress as a Confederation, and are called by them Territorial Districts. No settlements on these lands can be made without the permission of Congress; no attacks on these Posts can take place without involving the whole Confederation in its consequences.

It is obvious, therefore, that when Congress complains of the want of power to prevent the infractions of the Treaty by the separate States of the Union, it possesses sufficient authority over these districts within the Treaty line to prevent their becoming any cause of contention, and particularly as Great Britain restrains herself to the simple occupation of the Posts without a thought of extracting the cultivation of the Territories. But I am well aware that Congress neither possesses the magnanimity of the Roman Senate of Old, who in similar instances would not stoop to be the instruments of the base people they governed: nor the fidelity of the British Nation, from whom they sprung: but at a favorable opportunity would declare that it was not bound by the Act of their predecessors and probably would use the very expressions of Mr. Washington to an Indian Delegation:

"I am not uninformed that the 6 Nations have been led into some difficulties with respect to their lands: these evils arose before the present Government: I cannot disannul Treaties before my administration."

The consideration and establishment of a Boundary Line towards Lake Champ-

lain, concerning which differences have already arisen, seems the principal object of the attention of His Majesty's Ministers, and unfortunately forms a very distinct and separate subject for observation.

The Territories beyond the Treaty Line in this quarter, now withheld by Great Britain, are principally in the State of Vermont and do not in any manner belong to Congress as territorial jurisdictions. The primary cause of the dispute must therefore originate within the State of Vermont, and involve in it the question of right of property in the actual settlers, and of a jurisdiction, where, as yet, the Province of Canada has never been extended. Nor will the mischief of such a contest in its relations be more impolitic, that it seems to be particularly violent in its principle.

Of all the Boundaries, a dispute on those of the State of Vermont only, would interest the Eastern Colonies, from whom they are descended, in its consequences: nor are there any very powerful considerations to prevent the people of Vermont themselves from the hazard of war.

Vermont has nothing to lose, and in this point of view, her separation from New York, and ultimately her confederation with the United States, may become very injurious to the interests of Great Britain, as it must be obvious, that in case of unprovoked hostility, the subjects of the United States must be convinced by experience in the destruction of their property, of the fallacy on which they build in common conversation "that the injury which thereby would accrue to the British Merchants, will always prevent Great Britain from resenting any National insult or aggression that may be offered in Canada." And this destruction in case of hostilities ought to happen, unless Great Britain should divest herself of every principle on which her supereminence has been placed, sacrifice to a precarious commerce the interest of posterity, and tamely negotiate herself into a bankruptcy of all that is stable or honorable in her present situation.

In every point of view, therefore, the settlement of a Boundary with the State of Vermont, is of the most serious and instantaneous importance, and I do hope that if a general line be not the object of Mr. Hammond's interposition, and that the principle on which it shall be made be not so extensive as to embrace the whole of Lord Grenville's ideas, that this *point* will be the subject of separate discussion. For this a favorable opportunity has been offered by the transactions of Congress relative to Alburgh, and the quarrels between Mr. Conroy¹ and his neighbours, which seem to require explanation and settlement. The extent of these Boundaries, I conceive, tho' an important, but a secondary object, may include what is in the State of Vermont only, without passing the New York line. But if it should be founded on Captain Mann's ideas, I hope it will be so protracted as to include, at the least, all the islands in the St. Lawrence. It is needless for me to enter into any military views, as the civil ones are of so much more importance, and Your Excellency is so well acquainted on what points I differ from other opinions on military subjects.

Another important Boundary is that of Niagara and Detroit. Military ambition has generally taken the lines of nature for its limits. But rivers and seas are fertile in all the quarrels that attach on the jealous and monopolizing spirit

¹Patrick Conroy, a magistrate and militia officer residing at Caldwell's Manor in Lower Canada on the frontier of Vermont, who had lately complained that the civil authorities of that State were endeavouring to exercise jurisdiction over British subjects there.

of commerce, and the late Treaty Line seems not to have sufficiently secured either the present generation or posterity from the collision of interests consequent to the commerce passing through these narrow communications. This evil, I fear, is irremediable. Upper Canada at any rate has the possession, and every hour will strengthen it. Besides, it is far from my opinion, that better passages to the Detroit and Huron than that of Niagara will not shortly become practicable.

To sum up my opinion, which I have detailed at length, that it may be clearly understood, I conceive that Mr. Hammond should immediately be directed to make some proposition to amend the Treaty Line; that should be as extensive as possible, in order that the arrangement of the Indian Claims might be introduced in consequence of its discussion. But if so general a ground be not thought practicable, that at least the Boundary of Vermont be settled, which I hold to be of more immediate importance and to effect any good purpose I conceive that Mr. Washington's influence and those of his friends should be lessened as much as possible. This may be difficult, but it is not impracticable; the attempt must be made sooner or later. It ought now to be begun. Should Great Britain not succeed in her wish for amicable arrangement, she would have the advantage of laying down fair and equal propositions to be universally known and commented upon, which could not fail materially to serve her cause. With proper provisions, I should perfectly [agree] with Lord Dorchester "that the wisdom and utility of the system would be so evident to the good sense of the United States as to conquer every difficulty on their part." It is to that good sense that I wish the appeal to be made, and to that morality which is by no means so defective in the general mass of the United States, tho' it is not exemplified in the character, the conduct, or object of their leaders. But this appeal must be made through the press, which from the commencement of the American Revolution to its Independency and the present moment has been totally in the hands of the Government. It is true that of late, the morality and wisdom of the Indian War has been questioned, but in answer to the many profligate and inflammatory paragraphs which have been written to stir up the people against the British Government for not evacuating the posts, can there be produced a single answer that states the question on its fair grounds, and asserts the justice and propriety of the United States fulfilling the Treaty on their part? Some such measures must speedily be adopted, some such appeal to popular reasoning must be made, or I am convinced Great Britain will sooner or later be forced into a contest deprived of assistance in the Indians being subdued and probably turned against her: deprived of National Union as the claims of the United States to the completion of the Treaty if not soon denied, will be universally considered as irrefragably established.

Should Congress adopt a Prince of the House of Brunswick for their future President or King, the happiness of the two Nations would be interwoven and united, all jealousies removed, and the most desirable affections cemented, that perhaps ever were formed between two Nations. This is an object worthy the attention of Great Britain, and which many of the most temperate men of the United States have in contemplation, and which many events, if once systematically begun, may hasten and bring to maturity.

I am, &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

To General Clarke.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO JAMES BLAND BURGESS.

NIAGARA, August 21st, 1792.

Dear Sir,

.....

I have just time to acknowledge the receipt of your favour, as it depends upon the winds to stay the vessel, while I answer that and other communications. His Royal Highness Prince Edward is just arrived here, but not yet landed, on a visit to the stupendous wonder of this country. There are also the chiefs of our Indian neighbours, who, coming to compliment me, luckily will have the opportunity of seeing the "Son" of "their Great Father." When those people shall have departed, we move our tents for a week near the Falls, that Mrs. Simcoe may have her amusements.

As you may suppose I am miserably off for accommodation in this country, and I am fitting up an old hovel, that will look exactly like a carrier's ale-house in England when properly decorated and ornamented; but I please myself with the hopes that some future 'Gentleman's Magazine' will obtain drawings of the first Government House, the first House of Assembly, &c., and decorate it with the "Aude, Hospes, contemnere opes" of old Evander.

This country *must* be a great one, and some time or other, from its position, govern internal America. It wants the fostering protection of Great Britain to be vigorously applied at its outset.

I have divided it into counties, of which I send a plan for Mr. Dundas. I have not forgot to name one *Leeds*, and shall give you the first opportunity, your township. A constitutional speech of Lord Stormont's though in the Opposition, made me celebrate his name in a similar manner.

.....
(Letters and Correspondence of Sir James Bland Burgess, Bart., p. 221.)

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

23 August, 1792.

Sir,

I do myself the honor in assuring your Excellency that the giving of the Indians legal titles to their possessions will be one of the first objects of the consideration of this Government.

The dreadful murder at Michillimackinac has been reported. Mr. Justice Powell is fully instructed therein: I hope the miscreants will be brought to condign punishment. I am in daily expectation of hearing further on the subject.

By Sir John Johnson's directions, the Indians in the neighbourhood of this Post are called upon to meet His Royal Highness, Prince Edward, who is hourly expected¹.

I am, &c.,

J. G. SIMCOE.

To Major General Clarke, Quebec.

¹ Mrs. Simcoe relates in her diary that the Governor was seized with a violent spasm of pain in the head, apparently caused by the concussion of firing the salute on the arrival of the Prince, and in consequence was confined to his room for two weeks, and suffered afterwards from frequent headaches.

FROM GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

(Extract.)

MOUNT VERNON, 23 August, 1792.

"Our accounts from the western Indians are not more favorable than those just mentioned. No doubt remains of their having put to death Major Trueman and Colonel Hardin, and the harbingers of their mission. The report from their grand council is, that war was, or soon would be, decided on, and that they will admit no flags. The meeting was numerous, and not yet dissolved, that we have been informed of. What influence our Indian agents may have at it, remains to be known. Hendricks left Buffalo between the 18th and 20th of June, accompanied by two or three of the Six Nations. Some of the chiefs of those nations were to follow in a few days, only waiting, it was said, for the Caughnawaga Indians from Canada; and Captain Brant would not be long after them. If these attempts to disclose the just and pacific disposition of the United States to these people should also fail there remains but the sword to decide the difference; and recruiting goes on heavily. If Spain is really intriguing with the southern Indians, as represented by Mr. Seagrove, I shall entertain strong suspicions that there is a very clear understanding in all this business between the courts of London and Madrid, and that it is calculated to check, as far as they can, the rapid increase, extension, and consequence of this country; for there cannot be a doubt of the former (if we may judge from the conduct of its officers) to impede any *eclaircissement* of ours with the western Indians, and to embarrass our negotiations with them, any more than there is of their traders and some others, who are subject to their government, aiding and abetting them in acts of hostility."

Ford, 12, pp. 173-4.

FROM R. G. ENGLAND TO THOMAS TALBOT¹.

DETROIT, August 28th, 1792.

Sir,

I have the honor to send you copies of instructions given to Colonel Hardin and Major Truman, Officers serving in the Armies of the United States,² and I also send you copies of the Speeches they were directed to deliver to the Indians. Those are the papers required by His Excellency Colonel Simcoe, as mentioned in your letter of the 14th Inst., copies of which had been transmitted by me to His Excellency Major General Clarke, previous to my receiving the General Orders of the 11th of June.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your very obedient and very humble servant,

R. G. ENGLAND,

*Lieutenant Colonel**Commanding at Detroit.*

Lieutenant Talbot, Secretary, &c., &c.

¹Thomas Talbot, 1771-1853, born in Ireland; ensign, 66th Regt., 1783; lieutenant, 24th Regt., 1787; came to Canada, 1790; aide-de-camp to Simcoe, 1792-4; major, 85th Regt., 1794; lieutenant colonel, 5th Regt., 1796-1800; returned to Canada, 1801; began settlement at Port Talbot, 1803; Lieutenant for the County of Middlesex, 1804-8; member of the Court of Requests, 1807; member of the Legislative Council, 1809; colonel commanding 1st Regt., Middlesex Militia, 1812; in command of flank companies and all embodied militia of London District, 1812-5.

²These two officers, bearing pacific speeches to the hostile Indians from the Secretary of War, had been killed by a war-party and the papers found in their possession were sent to Detroit.

FROM REVEREND DR. JOHN STUART TO THE RIGHT REVEREND DR.
WHITE, BISHOP OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

[Extract.]

Right Revd. Sir,

..... You may suppose our Attention here is much engrossed with Politics.—our new Governor & Government.—Governor Simcoe has fixed his residence, at present, at Niagara. But we are still ignorant of the Place which he will chuse for a permanent Seat of Government.—I had some Reason, at first, not to be much flattered with the Reception I met with: But, afterwards the polite Behaviour of his Excellency. & his particular Attention to me, went a great Way towards effacing the unfavourable Impressions I had received.—He has desired me to attend at Niagara at the Opening of the Assembly [12th of next month] as Chaplain to the Upper House, with some Hints that it may tend to my Advantage in future.—Now, altho Nothing is promised; Yet, not to be out of Fortune's Way, I have consented to make this Voyage, at an unfavourable Season of the Year, and greatly to the Derangement of my domestic concerns.—I was much pleased to find, that Men in Power here, seem to be inclined to preserve and, if possible, increase the good Correspondence that now subsists between us and the States.—A number of Indian Chiefs, &c., from Canada passed through this Town in July, on their way to the western Council; And, as far as I cou'd discover, their principal Business is to endeavour to conciliate Peace.—

I have some Reason to think that I may have it in my Power to go to this new Seat of Governmt [when it is fixed] with better Appointments than I have at present. But, so circumstanced as I am, having just compleated my House, with every necessary Conveniency, and laid out almost all my Property in Lands in this Neighbourhood, it will not be a moderate Salary that will tempt me to exchange. If no Bishop is sent out, my Commissarial Commission will, probably, be productive of some Advantages; especially if matrimonial Licenses [as I expect] are to pass through the ecclesiastical chanel.

I am, &c.

JOHN STUART.

Kingston.

[Upper Canada.]

Augt. 29th. 1792.

[From a copy in possession of Dr. A. H. Young, Toronto.]

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALEXANDER McKEE.

NAVY HALL, Augt. 30, 1792.

Sir,

The very high opinion that his Excellency Lord Dorchester and General Clarke entertained of your Zeal and Discretion, embolden me to propose to you the hazarding of a Measure that seems most likely to effect that Indian Boundary, or somewhat like it, which we sketched out when I had the pleasure of seeing you at Montreal.

It is to impress the Indians now meeting from the "farthest parts of Canada" of *themselves* to solicit the King's good Offices. It is to be extremely desired that this solicitation should be the result of their own spontaneous Reflections; In all

cases it will be advisable, after the repeated Assurances of our Neutrality which we have given to Congress, that there should appear on our part nothing like Collusion or any active Interference to inspire them with such a sentiment; a suspicion of that tendency would infallibly tend to defeat the accomplishment of our Object; It will also be essential that all the Indian Tribes bordering on the British Possessions, should concur in the solicitation; not only as so numerous a Confederacy would present to the Americans an increased accumulation of Hostile Force; but also as a consolation of the Indian Territorial Claims and Rights is requisite to the formation of so extensive a Barrier, as we have in contemplation; You no doubt will be persuaded, as well as myself, that it is neither the Interest nor the Inclination of His Majesty's Government to commence *Offensive* Hostilities against the United States; it will therefore be highly proper to guard the Indians against any expectations of that sort; In the event of the Congress's refusing to admit our Mediation upon this Ground—My only reason for supposing the Solicitations of the Indians to be a mode of Opening the Negotiation more practicable than our voluntary Offer, arises from the apprehension that the latter would appear to be an Interposition, not invited by either party, whereas the former would be only a Compliance with the wishes of Nations in alliance with us, and in whose Existence and Preservation, we have a clear, decided, and permanent Interest.

There are many modes by which I conceive this purpose may be effected and which I submit in perfect confidence to your Judgment and Discretion:—But one strikes me as peculiarly forcible; which is that the change from the British Government to that of the United States, has put it out of the Power of the Indians to procure any *Documents*, which may substantiate their claims against the United States, (excepting from the United States themselves which it is unreasonable to expect as they are a party concerned), or from Great Britain, who has only a general Interest to prevent the further prosecution of so destructive a War. It is therefore with peculiar propriety that the Indians can apply to the British Court to assist them with the Copies of their former Treaties with the Indians, and Deeds of Cession, to shew what the Claims of the British were before the grant of Independence; and the very late Compilation of the Treaties under the authority of Congress, (which I transmit for your perusal), exemplifying all the Treaties subsequent to that Event: the Collection of both would clearly point out what were the authenticated Claims of the Whites against the *Indians*. For the Explanation of my Opinions I transmit to you an Extract from a Letter of the late Sir Wm. Johnson's to the Board of Trade in 1763, previous to the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, which seems to have been founded on his exposition—You will see by this Extract the defined claim of the *Canada Indians* and of those of the *Six Nations*; I do not understand that the *Canada Indians* have sold any Territory to the United States, nor have the *Six Nations* to the Northward as will appear by the Comparison of this Extract with the Treaty concluded at Fort Stanwix in 1784; Yet it is said that Land Jobbers have bought this Land from the State of New York, tho' by what I can learn from Colonel Butler, the Indians do not Acknowledge they have sold it; The truth is the Savages seem very ignorant of the extent of their own Claims, and there can be no other means for them to be ascertained, But by those I have already mentioned.

I transmit to you also the letter of Mr. Knox to Joseph Brant, The first paragraph speaks of that *Mohawk* Chief as having a Right of soil in the Western Territory and this is the exact language in all Sir William Johnson's Treaties, and These *Data*, the Right of the *Canada Indians*, as possessors of the Land to the Northward of Oswegatchie, &c., that of the *Six Nations* to all that they have not sold, together

with their ancient Claim of Right of Soil in the Western Territory, give these Nations a *Right* to offer their advice, and to have Recourse to their ancient Father, the King of Great Britain for his Mediation.

I have desired Colonel Butler to endeavor to impress the *Indians* of the *Buffaloe Creek*, who leave this place soon for the Council, with these Opinions; and if I see Captain Brant, should in some degree state them to him. I believe His Behaviour at *Philadelphia* has been in all respects upright and proper.

I have directed Mr. Johnson, the Indian Interpreter, to be sent by Colonel Butler to give you what assistance may be in his power by his influence over the Buffaloe Creek Indians; I am sorry that these People and those of the Grand River are not on good Terms, it is of consequence they should become United to make their *Common Claim* as the Six Nations.

I presume Mr. Washington's address to the Buffaloe Creek people to be much the same as that sent to Brant. It is obvious *that* in no case, *just* or *unjust*, is there a proposition made to give up the Lands, for which the Western Indians are now contending, but should the bargain on the part of the States be proved to have been fallacious, then a further quantum of compensation shall be agreed upon.

The Place of the Treaty under every appearance of Justice and conveniency the Indians may name: if they ask our Mediation it may be where it shall suit the conveniency of all parties; and where their Superintendant General, Sir John Johnson, or the British Ambassador, as shall be appointed, may easily meet them.

It is evident that if the United States agree to the Second Article of Knox's letter, "2d, that the United States require no Indian Lands but those which (have been ceded by *Treaties*) made with the full understanding and free consent of the Chiefs"—We shall be certain of that very usefull Boundary to the Northward which we projected; I know your task to be a very difficult one, but I cannot but auger it will meet with the fullest success, and that the claiming of the intervention of Great Britain will appear to the Indians themselves as a natural Reply to the Message now sent to Congress through Brant and the Buffaloe Creek indians.

You are not unadvised that the Government of the States are attempting to make peace through every means but that of Great Britain.

Your friend Captain Bunbury¹ who is in my Confidence is the Bearer of this Dispatch, to whom I refer you for further Particulars and am with great Esteem & Respect.

Your faithfull Servt,

J. G. SIMCOE.

To Colo. McKee &c.

Endorsed:—In Lt. Govr. Simcoe's of 4th November, 1792.

FROM R. G. ENGLAND TO J. G. SIMCOE.

DETROIT, Sept. 5th, 1792.

Sir:—

I had the honor of your commands by letter from Major of Brigade Littlehales to immediately forward Captain Bunbury¹ and the Indians that accompanied him here yesterday evening to the Council at the Foot of the Rapids and after consulting on the safest and most expeditious manner have decided on sending them early on Sunday morning on Board His Majesty's Snow Chippawa who is now unloading

¹Captain Joseph Bunbury of the 5th Regiment, lately stationed at Detroit.

for that purpose. This mode of conveyance seems to be considered as the most eligible by Captain Bunbury and the Indians and the Chippawa is to wait till Captain Bunbury has arranged his business with Colonel McKee which he conceives will not detain him more than two days at the Foot of the Rapids and she is then to proceed immediately to Fort Erie with him.

Unluckily the sloop Felicity is at Michilimakinac which obliges me to send the Chippaway and by that means to break through my plan of having one of the King's vessels here constantly, and will beg of you to be pleased to order the Dunmore, that sails with the Members of Your Excellency's Executive Council and House of Assembly, to return immediately.

I have not had any letter from Colonel McKee since that dated the 24th ult. which I had the honor to enclose you by the Ottaway nor has anything transpired here since worth communicating to you. Lieutenant Short of the 24th in consequence of your permission proceeds to Navy Hall in order to receive your commands for England.

I have the honor to be Your Excellency's very obedient and very humble servant,

R. G. ENGLAND,
Lieut. Col. Commanding at Detroit.

FROM ALEXANDER MCKEE TO R. G. ENGLAND.

FOOT OF THE RAPIDS, MIAMIES, September 6th, 1792.

Sir:—

The boat having been detained by contrary winds affords me an opportunity of communicating to you that two runners have this instant come in from the Glase who are sent to inform the Indians here and on the Lake that a large body of Americans mounted and without baggage were seen three days ago on the ground where the last engagement happened: with an appearance as if they meant to advance to their Villages. In which case I shall in all likelihood be able in a few days to inform you of some interesting particulars and have the honor to be with great respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

A. MCKEE.

Colonel England.

FROM R. G. ENGLAND TO J. G. SIMCOE.

DETROIT, September 11th, 1792.

Sir:—

I have the honor to enclose to your Excellency copies of two letters which I this moment received from Colonel McKee and also a packet of letters to the care of Captain Stevenson for Captain Brant and others which are requested to be forwarded as expeditiously as possible to the Grand River. The Mohawk Indians from the Grand River have not yet made their appearance, though expected for some days past. Those arrived from Buffalo Creek with Captain Bunbury and Mr.

Johnson, their interpreter, I forwarded on board His Majesty's Snow Chippaway early on Sunday morning last to the Grand Council, as I had the honor to explain to you that I proposed in my dispatch under date the 6th inst.

Colonel McKee has made a fresh requisition for Powder, ball, and Guns at the desire of some Indian Chiefs stating that several of their Indians are sick and require others to go hunt and procure fresh meat. I have consequently ordered the supply he desired which will be forwarded to him immediately.

I send this dispatch by the Sloop Saguinay (a private trader) now getting under way, and feel awkward at not having any of the King's vessels here, being obliged to part with them all for the purposes I had the honor to explain to you in my letter of the 6th inst., and as I cannot have any further communication with your Excellency till the return of one of them which at this particular time may be attended with inconvenience, I hope they may not be suffered to delay at Fort Erie.

Many of the detachment of the Royal Artillery here being sick and at all times the number too few for the quantity of Ordnance mounted I submit to your Excellency if some of those stationed at Kingston under your command may not be spared for this post. I would contrive to accomodate them with the troops of the line or could get up a small house for a few of them at the expense of Fifteen Pounds, the amount of an estimate already furnished me for that purpose by the Assistant Engineer.

I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's very obedient and very
humble servant,

R. G. ENGLAND,
Lieut. Col. Commanding.

FROM R. G. ENGLAND TO J. G. SIMCOE.

DETROIT, September 18th, 1792.

Sir:—

I have the honor to enclose you reports of surveys held here by a Board of Officers, assembled for that purpose on the stores of the different departments belonging to this Garrison in obedience to the General Order of the 17th June, 1790, which also directs that exclusive of the annual surveys of the stores, the Commanding Officers of Posts may make their reports of their situation, &c., more or less general, including thereby every circumstance relating to the safety of their Posts and the condition of all things in them and in their vicinity, but as Your Excellency will perceive the Board of Officers have in their reports included the works belonging to the Garrison, little more remains for me to say on that subject, than to confirm fully what they have mentioned, and to add a remark relative to the Parapet, ditch, and covered way at Fort Lernoult, all which require being much repaired. The Parapet to be new faced all round, the ditch to be fresh cleaned and deepened, it being in several places nearly level with the foot of the Glacis, and the covered way in general having fallen into the ditch and scarce any trace of it remaining, except at the South face of the work. Though these repairs are heavy yet from their being so very necessary I would have been tempted to have made

some of them had not the Regiment arrived late, and been since torn to pieces by constant fatigues in different situations and departments.

During the Summer I inspected the seven Companies of Militia belonging to this District, and am concerned to report that I consider them far from being respectable. I enclose Your Excellency a return of the number that appeared at the different inspections, near a hundred of whom were without arms, and those that were produced merely nominal, few of them being of real use and the men in General, Captain Maisenville's Company excepted, little calculated for service. There probably are more men belonging to these Companies who did not choose to appear as their Commandant (Major McGregor)¹ with the Captains complained much of their inattention and of their not having it in their power to enforce a proper degree of obedience to their orders when they direct them to assemble.

As some regulations relative to this description of men will perhaps shortly be directed, I beg leave to submit to Your Excellency's consideration, obliging a proportion of each Company to be mounted or such a number as in the general organization should be thought proper and necessary. It would not be attended with any expense particularly to the Country Companies, as there is scarce a house that has not from two to three or more horses belonging to it, and when required for the general defence of the Country, I don't think I need point out to you the essential advantage of a Corps of well mounted Militia acting under proper Officers.

As I conceive the situation of his Majesty's armed vessels on Lake Erie may be considered within my report, it is but justice to the Officers commanding them to mention that they have been since my arrival here, active and attentive and apparently well calculated for their stations. The vessels have been the entire Summer and still continue to be very weakly manned. The approved establishment for this year is fifty-seven able seamen, of which number in that class there are and have been twenty-two deficient, besides two carpenters which you will perceive is nearly half the number, and including those men that are sick and others left constantly ashore, the vessels could not sail if not powerfully assisted by the Troops in Garrison.

Exclusive of the vessels in commission there are two gunboats built last year for whom there is not any establishment, and the very reduced state of the seamen on the Lake did not admit of borrowing from the sailing vessels a couple of men to take care of them. One of them has her gun mounted and was rigged, the other for her preservation was sunk close to the wharf, has not her gun mounted and never was rigged.

I don't profess being a correct Judge of ship or boat building, but from the very heavy make and the remarkable clumsy and awkward appearance of those boats I am certain they can neither sail nor row so as to be of any use, and from the quantity of water they draw I am clear they are not calculated for any Military purpose whatever.

By a letter I yesterday received from Captain Doyle, Commanding at Michilimackinac, I find that he has sent his annual report to His Excellency Major General Clarke, without attending to the propriety of its being forwarded through you, a circumstance that by some accident must have escaped him. I will however write to him for a copy of it, and send it to you by the first opportunity.

In the return of ordnance stores you will perceive that there are nearly Four

¹Gregor McGregor, afterwards Sheriff of the Western District.

hundred firelocks in store here, a number that may be considered too inconsiderable if it becomes at any time an object to arm the Militia, and I beg to add that the flints and gun powder served to the Troops here are excessively bad.

I have the honor to be
Your Excellency's
very obedient and most humble servant,

R. G. ENGLAND,
Lieut. Colonel
Commanding at Detroit.

FROM CHARLES WILLIAMSON TO J. G. SIMCOE.

WILLIAMSBURG, GENESEE RIVER, 21 Sept., 1792.

Sir,

I take the liberty of troubling Your Excellency to acquaint you that a few days ago, there came into this settlement 1 Drummer, 1 Fifer, and 10 Privates, deserters from the 5th Regiment British Infantry. I assure you that as far as myself and the other Magistrates of this Country [are concerned] so far from wishing to encourage or give protection to this description of people, it will give us pleasure to apprehend those now mentioned, and any others, that may desert in future from the Regts. under your command.

But unless some previous acknowledgment or arrangement relative to this business takes place between Your Excellency and the Governor of this State, a doubt will subsist how far the Magistrates of this country can, with propriety, grant warrants to apprehend deserters from the British Dominions. A proper application will, I am confident, remove this difficulty at once.

I intended to have taken the first opportunity of informing Your Excellency, that in consequence of several conversations I have had with Mr. Hammond, relative to opening a communication between Niagara and New York through this settlement, we this summer established a regular post from my house to Albany, once every fortnight, and if the post can be of any use to Your Excellency or the Settlement, I with pleasure offer to give every assistance to make it so. To effect this, it would be necessary that an Indian be despatched from Niagara, once every fortnight to my house. He would bring the letters to be forwarded to [New] York, England, &c., and return to Niagara with the letters for that Country. It will then rest with Your Excellency either to agree to give the post order so much per month to transact all your business, or so much per packet, &c.

Mr. Hammond seemed very anxious that a sealed bag be allowed to pass, and only to be opened by a person named by your Excellency, at New York. This is mentioned to Colo. Pickering, the Postmaster General. I did not understand from him there would be any difficulty of procuring this—but cannot say it has been done. However, if this was expedient, I am pretty confident I could settle it next winter when in Philadelphia.

While I am in this country, it will give me sincere pleasure to render you any service that is consistent with my duty to this country, of which I am a citizen, and if at any time the settlers in Your Excellency's Government should require an

extensive supply of cattle of any kind or wheat or flour, it is in my power to procure regular and steady supply to any extent.

I now recollect Mr. Street¹ residing at Niagara, was with me at one meeting I had with Mr. Hammond, relative to this Post. He, Mr. Street, can explain further if necessary.

That Your Excellency may have it in your power to take some immediate steps to recover the 13 deserters, I send this by an express. I have the honor to be Your Excellency's most obedient and faithful servt.

CHAS. WILLIAMSON,²

Late Captn. 25th Regt. Br. Foot.

P.S.

I send Your Excellency the last papers I rec'd, and a plan of the situation of the adjacent country which I had done at Philadelphia last Spring.

CHAS. WMSN.

To Col. Simcoe.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO GEORGE HAMMOND.

NIAGARA, Sept. 27th, 1792.

Sir,

I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your Excellency's Letter of the 11th of July with the Inclosures therein enumerated.

The Letter which I wrote to his Excellency General Clarke, and which I do myself the honor of enclosing for your perusal, will fully evince my opinion that nothing can have been more judicious than your not having offered that Mediation in behalf of the Indians which is intrusted to your discretion, the existing circumstances of the United States being held in consideration.

As you do me the honor of desiring my opinion on two Events, either of which may happen, Another defeat of the Army of the United States by the Indians—or the request of these people for our Intervention and Mediation; I hesitate not to give my most explicit sentiments on these important Subjects.

I trust and have not the smallest doubt that another such unexpected and signal success as attended the Indians against Mr. St. Clair would produce all the effects your Excellency seems to Augur, and that it is possible the generosity of the Cession of the *Posts*, now held by His Majesty's Arms might in that case produce an Effect on the minds of the people of the States, that might lead to a proper Boundary being fixed, and on the principles which His Majesty's Ministers in their Wisdom seem to have adopted.

In regard to the second Object, the Solicitation of the good Offices of His Majesty, as originated from the Indians themselves: On His Excellency General Clarke's communicating to me your wishes on that Subject I lost no time in carry-

¹Samuel Street, 1750-1815, born in Connecticut; a trader and merchant at Niagara, 1780-4; Justice of the Peace for district of Nassau, 1788; member of Assembly, 1796-1800 and 1808-12; speaker, 1809-12; captain, 3rd Lincoln Regt. of militia, 1809-15; deputy Paymaster General of Militia, 1814.

²Agent for an English company, headed by Sir William Pulteney, afterwards Earl of Bath, that had purchased a large tract of land in the Genesee valley.

ing them into Execution, as the enclosed Copy of my Letter to Colo. McKee will fully elucidate to your Excellency.

I cannot refrain from making my observations on your Dispatch to Lord Grenville, marked No. 3, and which in a latter paragraph of the letter your Excellency has honored me with, you say are the extent of the *Concessions* which this Country is inclinable to make in order to adjust the differences with Great Britain; and I am sure I shall not stand in need of an apology to you for my Comments, as they are dictated by an Anxiety to serve His Majesty and My Country. These seem to consist of the following particulars: "1st. the Government of the States would enter into precise stipulations, by which the number of Troops to be stationed in the Forts (if they were suffered to exist) might be limited." Such an Adjustment on the part of Great Britain would be highly impolitic, both in consideration of the weakness of our infant Colony of Upper Canada, the distance she is at from all succour in case of attack, and the facility with which the United States could Assemble a numerous Militia for the purposes of Rapine or Plunder—It is apparent to me, that the Expence of a Military Establishment for any continuance of time, is what the Government of the United States must be very apprehensive of; as it is incapable of raising any Taxes, except by the indirect and precarious mode of Imports. But if, as I conceive, there be very serious objections to Great Britain binding herself down to the maintenance of no more than a limited Military Force, they operate with tenfold Effect, when any limitation of the Naval Force on the Lakes is taken into consideration, the British Naval Force upon the Lakes is absolutely necessary to transport Stores and provisions to the different Garrisons and settlements which we possess on their Borders, and with which we have not any other possible communication; whensoever the Forts shall be ceded to the United States, they will be supplied from the Inland Country, and whatever Naval Force they shall possess upon the Lakes will be solely for the purpose of Defence or Hostility. The most extensive views are now open to Great Britain by the Colonization of Upper Canada; but they in a great measure Commercially and politically depend upon the creation of a Naval Force, which its natural situation, its habitual mode of intercourse, its prior occupancy point out as a Ballance of power, in the interior parts of America, which will amply recompense Great Britain for the most vigorous Exertions she can make in the foundation and support of that Province.

In the wise and luminous Report of the Lords of Trade of the 7th of March, 1768, they observe that "Colonization upon the Continent of America had for its object to extend the Commerce, Navigation, and Manufactures of Great Britain; and for these Salutary purposes it has been the policy of this Kingdom to confine her settlements as much as possible to the Sea Coasts" &c., &c., &c. Following this chain of reasoning, they justly discountenance and condemn the many Propositions that were before them for the settlement of the Internal parts of America, (now called the Western Territory). But, Sir, it must be obvious to you that sooner or later, this great tract of Country will be settled, and that Power which shall command the Lakes, will as inevitably possess its Commerce. It is upon this principle of more remote advantage as well as that of present safety, that I should rather advise the Augmenting our Naval Force (in case the Forts should be ceded) than binding ourselves by any stipulations to accede to its limitation.

In regard to the stipulations still more favorable to the Interests of the Crown, (viz.) that of razing all the present Fortifications of the Posts, and erecting Log Forts at a distance nearer to the Indians, &c., and to allow the British Subjects engaged in the Fur Trade to form factories and depots on the several points of communication between the Lakes, all of which are according to the Treaty within

the American Line; I can only Observe on the two great communications of Niagara and the Detroit, that of Niagara is now totally carried on upon the British Side of the Line, and with great and obvious advantages; that of Detroit in process of time by Captain Mann's very able report will also be more favorably managed by means of our Coasts, and in both of those passes considered in the light of Military protection, of giving facility to commerce, or shelter to shipping, the British shore has the most decisive Superiority.

I apprehend the Treaty of Peace declared all these communications Highways, and open to both Parties.

But, Sir, if the Government of the States should afford a free and *effectual* communication to the Mississippi by means of some of the Rivers falling into Lake Superior, I cannot but conceive this to be an Object of the most serious Consideration: But to be free and *effectual*, I conceive the States must renounce their Right of pre-emption from the Indians, the Ouisconsin is the River best adapted for this purpose—and on our part I should not think it impolitick solely to confine ourselves to our factories or, (if necessary), to our Military Posts; and to stipulate that the Territory itself never shall be purchased from the Indians or settled.

By insisting that the stipulations of Utrecht relative to the Indians govern what has not been otherwise explained in all subsequent Treatys my meaning has ever been to avail ourselves of them, as an irrefragable Argument, for the necessity of more precise stipulations, and by surrendering a litigious Right of indefinite extent, to obtain a more limited and ascertained advantage.

It is obvious Great Britain must from the Encrease of the Western settlements lose the Peltry Trade of Detroit, the sacrifice of it therefore for a Permanent Peace, is barely more than Anticipation—The Valuable Fur Trade to the North West, the States cannot expect to obtain: and when they have got over all the Obstacles of immense Capital and long possession, Great Britain would probably find an access of such facility thro' Hudson's Bay, as forever would annihilate the Possibility of any Competition by means of the Canadian Lakes and Rivers.

I beg you to advert to the Boundary between the Canadian Indians and Six Nations, as copied from the paper I sent to Colonel McKee.—

The Savages choose great and obvious Land marks for their Boundaries. I apprehend this to be one of that Nature—and it includes Captain Mann's Boundary.

If the States mean fairly by us, They must give up the Islands in the St. Lawrence. They are *essential to our Safety*.

I am much obliged by your Communication relative to Brant, it was very satisfactory.

In regard to Your Question, what would result to the Government of Canada from suffering the Indians to conclude a pacification with the United States independent of our Intervention? I can only say, that the most serious effects might be dreaded—the moment the United States should possess the *Posts* there would be nothing to prevent the Indians from attacking our settlements; and how far the subjects of the States would conceive themselves Warranted to turn the views of the Indians, and that alienation of opinion they must have undergone, against the British Nation, Your Excellency is as capable of Judging as I can possibly be—It is what I most seriously apprehend—at present it is to be feared lest the Army of the United States should beat the Indians and follow the fugitives into Detroit, this Brant has told me was His advice to the Shawenoes: and this Chieftain seems so fully impressed of the impolicy of Great Britain permitting the Indians to be

destroyed, that nothing can persuade him, but that ultimately it is meant to support them—Brant has told me that the Senecas have Threatened him and his people, if the Western Indians are crushed, it is very probable this Quarrel would be fomented by the Subjects of the States.

I have the honor to be, &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

To His Excellency George Hammond, &c.

Endorsed:—In Lt. Govr. Simcoe's of 4th Novr. 1792.

(2)

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

NIAGARA. 27 Sept., 1792.

Sir,

Mr. Justice Powell having requested Leave to go to England, on his Private affairs, and purposing to return early in the Spring, I have thought proper to comply with his request.

As some evil Reports may have reached England relative to the Loyalty of this Gentleman founded on a most atrocious and artful Forgery, I feel it my duty to state to you, Sir, that the behaviour and conduct of Mr. Powell, as far as lies within my knowledge, has been in every respect such as becomes the station He holds in His Majesty's Government.

His departure being on a sudden thro' the Genesee Country affords me only an opportunity of acknowledging your dispatches of the 9th of June; and of those relative to the Loyalists which I have received while writing this Letter.

I have the honor to be with the Utmost Respect

Your most obt & faithful St.

J. G. SIMCOE.

To the Rt. Honble Henry Dundas.

Endorsed:—Lt. Govr. Simcoe. Niagara, 27th Sept., 1792. R. Novr. 23d.

FROM D. W. SMITH TO JOHN ASKIN.

NIAGARA, 28 Sept., 1792.

My worthy friend,

.....
 We have done little as yet. Our Grand Bill for the General Settlement of the Law of the Land, will, I expect, pass; & we have passed a Jury bill in general terms thro' our house with some difficulty—a bill to enable 2 Justices to try for 40/, without appeal, is in great forwardness—Ways & means seem the great difficulty—one or two Committees for that purpose have proved nearly abortive—I proposed that every Landholder should pay one farthing P. acre P. annum for all Lands above 200 Acres, which I conceived would not burden the Settler, but the Court

party & the popular party were both against me & I stood alone in the House—however, I am still of opinion that a Land tax, whether it goes by the name or not, must eventually take place—I act from principle altho' I value the world's opinion somewhat—I cannot conceive that one farthing raised by the House of Assembly can be deemed onerous, when the Magistrates in Quarter Sessions will probably have power to raise much greater sums. Mr. Powell & Mr. Baby have set off this evening for New York.

.....

 D. W. SMITH.

John Askin, Esqr. Detroit.

(Askin Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Vol. II, p. 71.)

INDIAN COUNCIL AT THE GLAIZE, 1792.

Proceedings of a General Council of the Several Indian Nations mentioned underneath, held at the Glaize on the 30th day of September, 1792.—Viz.

Delawares,	Nantikokes,	& a few Ouitanons
Shawanoes,	Mohikens,	& large Band of Warriors.
Miamies,	Potowatamies,	
Chippawas,	Cherokees,	
Ottawas,	Creeks,	
Hurons,	6 Nations,	
Munseys,	7 Nations of Canada,	
Connoys,	Mingoes of the Glaize,	
	<i>Sacs—Sawkies,</i>	
	Reynards.	

Before a word was spoke the Shawanoes and Miamis, by two of their Tribes presented the end of a Calumet to each Person of the Seneca Nation which they smoked, afterwards to the 7 Nations of Canada, then to the Hurons & so on through the Chiefs of the Confederacy, and after that ceremony was over *Messquakenoe* (Painted Pole) rose and said.

Brothers, Uncles, Nephews, &c., &c,

This is the day which the great Spirit has appointed for us all to meet together to consult on our general interests and the good of all nations of our colour. And since we have all smoked the Pipe of Friendship, listen attentively to what we shall have to say to you bye and bye.

One of the Chiefs of the 7 Nations of Canada rose and said;

Brothers we have made a long journey to see you and talk to you and have lost several of our people since we began our journey, some of them died on the road coming from the foot of the Rapids and our principal Chief died there. He then

repeated what the Ottawas had said to them at the condolence on the death of their Chief who died at the foot of the Rapids & delivered to the Shawanoes a String of white Wampum¹.

Messquakenoe with a Pipe & String of Black and White Wampum tied to it.

Brothers;

This is the Pipe we sent to the distant nations inhabiting the great Lakes, and other nations W. of the Mississippi, The Potowatamies, Sacs & Reynards, and these are the speeches they sent in answer to our Message to them, which I will soon tell you.

Brothers.

I am one of those appointed by the unanimous choice of the Delawares, Shawanoes, Miamies, Chippaways, Ottawas, Hurons, Munseys, Connoys, Mohikens, Potowatamies, Cherokees, Creeks, Socks, Reynards and all the Western Confederacy who are now going to speak to you. To clear your Eyes that you may see clearly after your long journey. To open your Hearts to the impressions of justice & truth & your Ears to listen attentively to all we shall say to you, and we desire you and warn you not to listen to bad birds who will corrupt your Hearts, blind your eyes and shut your ears against your true interests.

Brothers.

You have come a long way to see us and speak to us, I must now tell you to be strong & speak your mind freely whatever you have to say at this Council fire which was kindled by our forefathers who are now all dead. Take then this piece of Tobacco and whilst you are smoking it, consider what you have to say and tell us what ye have on your minds & hearts to communicate to us.

After waiting some time it being Sun Set Messquakenoe desired the early attendance of the meeting in the morning, The whole broke up.

Oct. 2nd.

Messquakenoe got up & said;

Brothers;

The badness of the weather prevented our meeting here yesterday. I will now tell you all I have to say, then taking up a handful of Strings & Belts of Wampum, thus proceeded.

Elder Brothers of the 6 Nations;

When we last met 4 years ago it was your advice to us to be all united & strong as if one Nation; we are so, we followed your advice. This is the Speech (holding up a String of Wampum) you sent to the Wyandots, and it has been sent by us to all nations to the South & to the West. You see here, the Creeks & Cherokees sitting by us who have come in consequence of our Speeches, to assure us that their Nations will unite with us. All these Speeches in my hands, are from the different nations, assuring us of their friendship & support. There is Pataso (the Snake) sitting here whom we sent to you some years ago to Niagara to acquaint you with

¹In Indian councils, as a rule, the color of the wampum had a political significance; white indicated peace, while the dark wampum indicated hostility and war. The colors varying throughout the council meetings here described had a special and important meaning.

all our affairs in this Country; and the Speeches you returned by him were to be strong & united and to defend our Country. We took that advice and we are resolved to defend it. Our Messengers are now ready to go to the Southern & Western Nations to acquaint them that the principal Chiefs of the 6 Nations have at length come to our general Council fire to confirm here, the advice they gave us, to be strong and united. Taking up a Pipe he proceeded.

This Pipe was brought to us by Wawapessenwa (Blue Jacket)¹ whom we sent with speeches to the distant Western Nations, they desired it to be left at this Council fire for all nations to come and take hold of it and to smoke with it, and desired us to be strong and hold fast our Country. They desired us to acquaint the Six Nations of it. We now do so. You were slow in coming, or it would have been sent back long ago.

Laying down the Pipe & taking up 6 Strings of White and 6 Strings of Black Wampum, he proceeded.

Brothers;

You know when we last met at the Foot of the Rapids 4 years ago, it was unanimously agreed upon by all Nations to be strong & to defend our Country but we have never seen you since that time; We suppose you have been constantly trying to do us some good, and that was the reason of your not coming sooner to join us. We shall now send these speeches to all the distant nations to acquaint them with this Council and of your being present.

Buckangehallis, a Delaware Chief,
Uncles 6 Nations,

Don't think because the Shawanoes only have spoke to you, that it was their sentiments alone, they have spoke the sentiments of all the Nations.

I remember when we last met 4 years ago you told us, and all Nations agreed to it, that if any one of us were struck, we should consider it as if the whole of the Nations had received a Blow and that the whole should join in revenging it, think well of this Uncles of the 6 Nations.

All of us are animated by one Mind, one Head and one Heart and we are resolved to stick close by each other & defend ourselves to the last.

P. Pole, Messquakenoe²,
Brothers of the 6 Nations

This is all we have to say to you at present. You see sitting by us here the Creeks & Cherokees, who are immediately to set off with these speeches to their own Nation.

Cowkiller, of the Seneca Nation got up & with White & Black Strings of Wampum said;

Brothers;

We return you thanks for the kindness with which we have been treated since we came among you and for what you have told us. Our meetings are too late in the day to get through much business. Let us all encamp on this ground & rise at Day light and in the morning we will tell you every thing we have to say.

The Council then broke up.

¹A principal chief of the Shawanese.

²*Anglice*, the Painted Pole.

3rd. October; The weather was very dark & threatened rain which prevented the meeting of the Council this day.

October 4th;

Messquakenoe,

Elder Brothers of the 6 Nations.

We are now ready to hear what you have to say to us.

Cowkiller, a Seneca Chief

With a string of White Wampum;

We thank ye all, Shawanoes, Delawares, &c., &c., &c., &c., for wiping away our tears & setting our hearts right for the loss of our friends our women & children since we last met and I beg you will now listen to what your Elder Brethren the 6 Nations are now going to say to you. then taking a B. & W. String.

Brothers;

We have now come to Council with you as you sent for us and I beg of you to listen, as you desired us to tell you what we had on our minds. We are now following the steps of our forefathers & renewing our ancient friendship, listen therefore to what we have now to say to you.

Then taking the bundle of Speeches & Belts that were delivered to them the last Council day, thus proceeded.

Brothers;

We are very glad you have strengthened the Chain of friendship with all the distant Nations from whom you received these Belts & Speeches,—it was always our advice to you to do so, and we are glad you have followed it; and we return ye our thanks for the pains & troubles you have taken to accomplish it.

Brothers;

You told us also of the Creek & Cherokees Nations being present among us, we return you thanks for that also, as it will brighten the Chain of friendship with all Nations.

A Pipe with Speeches bro't. by Blue Jacket.

Brother;

We thank you for showing us this Pipe of Peace & friendship which was sent to be left here for all Nations of our Colour to take hold of it—we now join our hands to it, and leave it to be lodged with you for the purpose you have mentioned.

Black & White Strings.

Brothers;

I now speak to the Counsellors & Warriors and I desire you will take notice what I say to you—The White People are now looking at us and know what we are about, they were always the instigators of our quarrels; let us now unite & consider what will be the best for us our women & children to lengthen our days & be in Peace.

Several Strings of White Wampum.

Brothers;

I address myself to all the Nations. You know, that 4 years ago we met in Council at the foot of the Rapids you well know all that passed there. You invited us here now as we had not seen you for 4 years and you supposed we were doing something all that time for your good. I now tell you we have been endeavouring to do something for your good the last 2 years in our Council.

Brothers;

When the White People on this Island were as one Man they asked us at Fort Stanwix for Land, we granted it. A few years afterwards they fell out among themselves. The King our Father told us he was going to chastise his Sons and nobody else, and it would be over in a short time. Soon after we were desired by the people of this Island to sit still and not mind the quarrels of Father & Son; But shortly after, our Father the King desired us to take part with him, which we did. Our Father was defeated by the Americans and then made a Peace & left us alone. Our Father then desired us to speak to the Americans for as advantageous a peace as we would get for ourselves, we have been trying to do so in the best manner we could and we now desire you to do the same and to join with us in our best endeavours for that purpose. The Country you live in is a very good one & I like it very much.

Brothers;

You were very fortunate that the great Spirit above was so kind as to assist you to throw the Americans twice on their back when they came against your villages, your women & children. Now Brothers, we know that the Americans have held out their hands to offer you peace. Don't be too proud Spirited and reject it, the great Spirit should be angry with you, but let us go on in the best manner we can to make peace with them.

A Black & White String.

Now Counsellors & Warriors—you have heard what I had to say I hope you will attend to it. Your Warriors were lately in the front, but I hope to see the Counsellors there & they together consulting which is the best means of making peace for the advantage of ourselves our women & children.

Black & White Belt.

Brothers;

You have heard what the 6 Nations have said to you, you will remember, the Americans have come when we have been in Council and kicked out our fire. We now kindle it once more that we may settle what is good & proper for peace for our women and children & warriors.

Cochenawaga, Chief of the 7 Nations.—with a White String.

Brothers;

You sent for the 7 Nations to come to the Council, I now clear your eyes so you can see clearly & your hearts, that ye may understand & attend with due consideration to what I am going to say.

A Large Black & White Belt.

Brothers;

I desire that the warriors will take notice & remember what their Sachems shall fix upon for the good of their women & children & country.

A Large White Belt.

Brothers;

Listen to what I am going to say to you Counsellors, you sent us word when you desired us to come here to come at our Warriors back.

The Sachems of the 7 Nations, desire that all the Nations of our colour in the Island should be of one mind & strong—if any thing goes wrong, it is the fault of the Counsellors and of the warriors. Our Father ye King has always desired us to be of one Mind and have but one Heart and to unite ourselves firmly together for our general interests & safety. The Americans want to take our country from us. The 7 Nations have never once spoken to them since our father made peace. Now Brothers, as the Americans are wanting to speak to us, let us put our heads together and join as one Nation. And if they do not agree to what we shall determine on; let us all strike them at once. These are the sentiments of the 7 Nations.

He then delivered Separate Belts from each of the 7 Nations, with a short speech to each, expressing the Nation to whom the belt belonged.

A Very Large White Belt.

Brothers;

Creeks & Cherokees;—It gives us great pleasure to see you here and of the same mind with the Shawanoes, Delawares, Miamis, Hurons, Potowatomies, &c, &c, &c, &c, &c., and I speak on this large Belt to confirm our union, to take care of your Country, your women and children & to listen to our father the King, who always gives us good advice.

The Council then broke up.

5th October.

Missquakenoe, holding the Belt & Speeches of the 7 Nations.

Brothers of the 7 Nations.

We thank you for what you said to us yesterday, it is confirmation of our old friendship and we will keep it in our hearts. All you have said to us is good and proper and I thank you for all the confederate Nations.

Then taking up the Belt the 7 Nations spoke upon to the Creeks, Cherokees & he said,

Brothers of the 7 Nations.

We will send immediately this Belt to acquaint all the distant Nations with what you have said, and we will acquaint the chiefs of these Nations, that we will follow the advice you have given us which we consider to be good for all people of our Colour.

Then laying down the Belt & taking up the Strings and Belts of the 6 Nations, he said,

These are the Speeches and Belts of the 6 Nations, which they spoke on yesterday. If what they have said is the truth, it is all very well; But listen to what I shall say to them—(laying down the Strings & Belts.)

Elder Brother of the 6 Nations, Black & White String.

You spoke to us yesterday, and what you said we liked very well, but you did not speak to the real purpose you came upon to this Council fire. You know very well you desired us to brighten the Chain of friendship with all the Southern & Western Nations. We have done it, and thought it was proper to acquaint our

Elder Brethren the 6 Nations, herewith, which we did last year, with the Delawares, Wyandots & other Nations at Your villages. We consulted with you also as our Elder Brothers what was best to be done for the safety of our Country & the good of our women & children; But you told us you could not tell us any thing; that our Chiefs and Warriors were invited to an American Treaty. We then told you we were on our way to Quebec to see our Father. When we had finished our business with our Father we returned and stayed 6 days, at the 6 Nations Village and you said nothing to us. Now Brother of the 6 Nations, what you said to us yesterday, was nothing to the purpose for which you were sent to this Council fire. The Road which our forefathers made to your Country is plain and wide. I can see what you are about from this place. Brother of the 6 Nations, you are still talking to the Americans your head is now toward them, and you are now talking to them. When you left your village to come here, you had a bundle of American Speeches under your Arm. I now desire you Brother to lay that Bundle down here, and explain what you have been talking with them these last two years. When we hear all you have to say and if it is right and good, we will lay all our heads together for the welfare of our Country, our women, and children & warriors. Brothers of the 6 Nations, all the different Nations here now desire you to speak from your Heart and not from your Mouth & tell them what that bundle was which you had under your Arm when you came here. We know what you are about—we see you plainly. He then threw down at the Seneca's feet, the Strings of Wampum on which he spoke.

Cowkiller. a Seneca Chief of the 6 Nations.

Brothers;

We desire you all to sit still, we shall move to a little distance to consult on what answer to give you. You have talked to us a little too roughly, you have thrown us on our backs.

The Farmer's Brother then put the String which had been thrown down, over his head & hanging down his back they then moved away & remained an hour.

Cowkiller. String of White Wampum.

Brothers;—

Listen to what the 6 Nations now say to all the Nations. You well know when you returned from Canada last year, you passed by us and went by Brant's Village.—Brothers, you tell us that we are always running to the Americans & telling them every thing. We have been talking to them its true. They sent for us and led us by the Hand to Philadelphia, where we met the 13 United States & Washington. He told us he has had several meetings with the Indians on this Island at Beaver Creek & several other places. You all know & the Wyandots whom I see there, know what was said there, it cannot be strange to any of you.

Brothers;

Washington asked us what was the cause of the uneasiness of the Western Nations, we told him it was in regard to their Lands. He then told us he would satisfy the owners of the land, if it had been sold by people who were not the real owners, thereof. But he wishes for a Council with all the Nations for that purpose.

Brothers;

He did not say he would give up the Lands, but that he would satisfy the Indians for them. That he wanted nothing so much as the friendship of all his Brothers

the Indians throughout this Island. He then desired us to come to you with his Speeches and tell you all he said and he added that if the Posts he had made in the Country gave you uneasiness, he would remove them.

Brothers;

He also told us that after we had finished our business, it might be dangerous for us to return through the Country; but that you had many Prisoners of his, and that you could easily send some of them to tell what had been determined on.

Brothers;

These are the Papers & Speeches (taking up a tin case) we received & we now give them to you; This is all we have to say, take them to your Father and he will explain them to you.

The meeting then broke up till the next day.

6th October.

The Confederate Chiefs assembled & remained for 4 Hours on the ground, at length the Senecas of Buffaloe Creek sent to them to desire a Private Council with their Village Chiefs at their Camp, and the Snake, Buckangeheliss, Painted Pole, and several others went, and they relate the following as the substance of the Conference.

6th. October,

Substance of the Private Council.

Farmer's Brother, Seneca Chief,

Brothers;

We have desired this private meeting with the several Chiefs to explain more fully what was said yesterday.

Brothers;

We have already mentioned to you that we have been two years past in Council with Washington and during that time have heard nothing false from him, but what breathed the strongest desire of cultivating peace and Friendship with all Nations of our Colour on this Island on the ground of justice and humanity; for which purpose he has desired us to speak to you our Western Brethren to know your sentiments, it behooves you therefore to consider well what answer is to be returned to him.

Brothers;

You remember, when our Father & the Americans quarrelled, the Americans desired us Red People to sit still, as we had no business in their dispute, but our Father put the Hatchet into our hands to strike the Americans, and both him and us were unsuccessful. From that moment our lands were torn to pieces and the Americans triumphed as the greatest people in this great Island.

Brothers;

These are matters for you to consider well, before you give us your sentiments fully; We have now delivered ours from our heart, and whatever you may determine on, with regard to a Boundary line, as we have now united ourselves with you, we shall join you heartily in representing to the United States.

Brothers;—

You have told us, you have been listening these 2 years last past to the United States and that during that time, you heard nothing but what tended to the welfare of the people of our Colour; How can this be? for whilst you say you were considering for the good of your Western Brethren, two powerful Armies were sent by the Americans to destroy us; Has their sweet Speeches so much intoxicated you and blinded you, that your sight could not reach so far as where we are now sitting?

Brothers;

Had the Great Spirit been favourable to them, instead of to us, you would have found here their Strong forts and only a small remnant or perhaps none of your Western Brethren, to deliver their sweet Speeches to.

But Brothers they took the same Steps with your Nephews & Brothers the Hurons whom you see here, which they did with you, to induce them to sit quiet, whilst they were destroying us, but they did not succeed so well with these Nations as with our Elder Brethren for you now see them strong in defending their just rights to this Country, they put their Speeches at their Back & united themselves to us as one Man.

October 7th.

The Warriors assembled this morning & went dressed & danced the War Dance at the Council fire, before the Sachems, the Western Inds. met this day & came into the Council in procession as Warriors with 4 Black & White Strings.

Messquakenoe,

Brothers of the 6 Nations.

I desire you will listen attentively to what I am now going to say to you.

Yesterday you asked for a Private Council, as you told us we did not understand some thing that had been spoken to us by you. We now very well understand you and return you thanks for what you said to us. You desired us to consider well what we should determine on for the good of our women, children & warriors. I now tell you Brothers we have considered well and now I am going to tell you the minds of your Brothers of this Country.

Brothers;

Since therefore you have now told us you have spoken from your heart & that nothing remains further for you to say on the subject of business, we hope it is the *truth* & that nothing will now come from you but what may tend to our general welfare & happiness.

You see your Brethren here the Wyandots, and your Nephews the Delawares. The Americans have for several years been talking to them, and have told them never to mind what the other Nations were about and it would be good for themselves. All the Americans wanted was to divide us, that we might not act as one Man. But instead of listening to them, when they saw the intention of the Americans, they put their Speeches at their back and we then united ourselves as one Nation.

Now Brothers of the 6 Nations; This is the way they served you, and you have listened to them. We know they want to break you off from the Nations here. But the Great Spirit, has now put it in your hearts, not to be broken off by them, from the general Indian Confederacy.

4 Black & White Strings.

Brothers of the 6 Nations.

You desire us to listen to you candidly & consider well what we were going to do.

Brothers;

We have now considered what is best for us to do, I therefore desire you to listen to me and I will tell you the resolution of all the Nations as far as the setting of the Sun, as well as to the Southern deputies of whose Nations are now present.

Brothers;

We know very well what the Americans are about and what are their designs. Last Fall when the Great Spirit was good enough to assist us, to throw them on their back, we got their Gt. Chief's papers and instructions at that Point of Land here, which you now see. All the Chiefs here present heard them interpreted to us. If the Americans had been successful, they were to build a strong fort at the Miamis Towns, they were then to come here and build another, and then if they succeeded, they were to proceed to the Mouth of the River and build another strong fort there. They were afterwards to set about building Boats and to drive all the Indians entirely out of the Country, to clear the Lake of them & drive them far back into the Country. But if any of the Nations came & offered their hands, the Am. Chief was to put them at his back & give them Hoes in their hands to plant corn for him & his people & make them labour like their beasts, their oxen & their Packhorses.

Now Brothers of the 6 Nations;

We now tell you we know very well the intentions of the Americans. You have desired us to consider well what you have said to us, and not to be too proud spirited. We are not proud spirited, nor do we attribute our great good fortune these last 2 years, to our own strength alone, but to the great Spirit who governs all things on this Earth & who looks on us with as much or perhaps more compassion than those of a fairer complexion. You know very well the boundary that was made between us and the English & Americans when they were as one people. It was the Ohio River, now Brothers of the 6 Nations, as you were sent here by the Americans to tell us what they say, we now tell you Brothers to go the same road you came and inform them, that the boundary line then fixed on is what we now want and that is the determination of all the Nations present, yours as well as ours. You say Washington will make us a compensation if our land was not purchased of the right owner, we do not want compensation, we want restitution of our Country which they hold under false pretences.

Brothers;

That Road is all bloody, by the Americans forcing themselves into our Country; We therefore desire you to go the Road you came, the Road which our forefathers made. The cause of the American Messengers falling to the ground was owing to their following this bloody path, where numerous bands of distant Tribes are constantly watching any movements into our Country. Had they however arrived safe they should have been returned safe from this Council fire.

You tell us that Washington says he can easily remove the Forts, if they give us uneasiness.

Now Brothers, if the Americans want to make peace with us, let them destroy these forts and we will meet them next Spring at lower Sandusky, where all the parties who formerly settled the Boundary line must be present.

4 Strings Black & White.

Brothers of the 6 Nations;

This is what we desire you to tell the Americans, and I tell it to you as the sentiments of all the Indian Nations in this Country.

Cowkiller, Seneca Chief.

4 Strings Black & White.

Brothers;

The Six Nations return you thanks for what you have said to us, you have considered well before you spoke, we now join with you and will put our heads together and endeavour to get all our Lands back where the Americans have encroached upon us, and we will meet you in the Spring at lower Sandusky as you have mentioned.

8th October,

Messquakenoe,

4 Strings Black & White,

Elder Brother of the 6 Nations.

We have now only to explain to you every thing fully with regard to the Council proposed to be held at lower Sandusky early in the Spring, and I desire you to listen attentively to what I am going to say to you.

Brothers;

When the boundary line was made at Fort Stanwix, our Father the King of England and the Americans were as one. Our Father must have that Treaty, and we will ask him to produce it to vindicate our claims. He must be present also at the Council, for we know nothing of writing and his assistance will be indispensibly necessary for us, as well as all the parties who were formerly at the settling of the Boundary Line. We have a reliance on our Father seeing justice done to us, as we have always found we may confidently depend upon him.

Brothers;

On the present occasion it is fortunate for us, that the Great Spirit & our Father has sent a person vested with his authority to take care of all his children in this Country. It is him we mean to take by the hand and lead to the intended Council at Sandusky, should Washington accept our proposal and manifest that justice & humanity he talks so much about, he pretends toward us; We hope our Father will assist us also with provisions to enable us to meet at the place appointed.

Brothers of the 6 Nations, our Father *Wapemassawa*¹ has come to visit our new settlement here and to distribute the clothing for our old people and children, usually sent them at this season of the year by order of the King our great Father. We will therefore take this opportunity to explain to him the determination of this Council for the information of our Father the Governor at Niagara, and to request his presence and assistance at the intended Council at lower Sandusky.

¹ Colonel Alexander McKee.

9th.

A Deputation from the General Council came this morning to A. McKee, Esq. the Agent, consisting of Msesquakenoe, Petazo, Kekinathuka with the interpreter. They proceeded as follows;

After repeating the proceedings of the Council since they first met, on Strings of Wampum, they spoke upon a large Belt, addressed to their Father, the Governor of the King's Dominions at Niagara.

Father;

We were happy to hear that the King our Great Father had sent you to this Country to take care of all his children.

A general Council of all the Ind. Nations has just been held here and we are desired by the whole to acquaint you with all our transactions. You will perceive the terms on which we have proposed to make a peace with the Americans, and the reliance the Indian Nations place in your assistance and friendship to promote it on just & equitable terms.

Father;

At this Council fire which is in the center of our Country, is placed the Heart of the Indian Confederacy to which we have always considered our father to be joined, therefore we hope on this great occasion, that he will exert himself to see justice done to us, as it must be through his power & mediation that we can expect an end to our troubles, and not being in a situation to keep or procure any writings that may be necessary to assert our just claims; We rely on your friendship to produce those made at the settlement of the Boundary between us & the King our Father and his people at that time. For how otherwise can a just accommodation be accomplished.

Father;

We give you this early intimation of our determination that you may consider it well, and be ready in the Spring, should the Americans agree to meet us, to join us at lower Sandusky, with the assistance you know your children will stand in need of, particularly that of provisions, which their unsettled situation does not allow them to procure in their troubled Country.

Father;

In confidence of your ready compliance we take you by the Hand with this Belt of Wampum to lead you to the Council fire as soon as it shall be held at Sandusky the ensuing Spring.

A large Belt of White Wampum.

Endorsed:—Proceedings of the General Council held at the Glaize 3rd. September & continued till the 9th Oct. /92.

SPEECH FROM LT. GOVERNOR SIMCOE TO THE WESTERN INDIANS.

Answer of His Excellency John Graves Simcoe Lieutenant Governor of His Majesty's Province of Upper Canada &c., commanding His Majesty's forces in the same, to the Speech of the General Council of the several Indian Nations written underneath, delivered at the Glaize the 9th day of October, 1792, and from thence transmitted to His Excellency.

Delawares.
Shawenoes.
Miamis.
Chippewas.
Ottawas.
Wyandots.
Munseys.
Connoys.
Nantikokes.
Mohikens.

Potowotamies.
Cherokees.
Creeks.
Six Nations.
Seven Nations of Canada.
Mingoes of the Glaize.
Sawkees.
Reynards & a few
Ouiatanons and
Large Bands of Warriors.

Children & Brothers,

I have received the Belt & Strings of Wampum, by which you take me by the hand to lead me to your Council Fire, as soon as it shall be kindled at Lower Sandusky the ensuing Spring; The King your Father's benevolence has always been shewn to the Indian Nations, and it will ever give me pleasure, to be the instrument of his bounty & goodness in taking care of his Children.

Children & Brothers,

A general Council of all Nations of your colour, is an event of the greatest magnitude, and demands the most serious attention to their united transactions. I have well considered of your solemn application.

I rejoice that you have proposed to make peace with the United States, & you may be assured of the most cordial assistance that is in my power to promote so desirable a work on Just & equitable terms.

Children & Brothers,

You say "at this Council fire, which is in the centre of your country, is placed the heart of all the Indian Confederacy, to which you have always considered your Father to be joined." The King your Father from the earliest moment of his reign, has believed this union to be necessary for your welfare, & no less so to that of the neighbouring countries; and by his directions, your late superintendant general, Sir William Johnson, in all his Councils inculcated its propriety. The King's love for peace & his faithfulness are proverbial throughout the Universe, & nothing could give him more sincere joy, than to exert his influence to terminate the troubles of all the Nations of the Earth.

Children & Brothers,

I thank you for the early information of your intentions. Your request has made a deep impression on my mind. I have little doubt but that I should have

obtained permission of the King your benevolent Father to have been present at Lower Sandusky, if the United States had concurred in the Invitation.

Children & Brothers,

I will cheerfully transmit to you upon this pleasing occasion, the assistance which has ever been afforded you, by the King your Father, & the provisions which you request shall be forwarded to Lower Sandusky.

Children & Brothers,

I sincerely wish you health, wisdom & prosperity & that all your troubles may be terminated by a peace being established upon a just & solid foundation; that you may follow your hunts in comfort & security, to the common advantage of all mankind.

J. G. S.

With a belt of black & white wampum.

FROM D. W. SMITH TO JOHN ASKIN.

NIAGARA, 2d Octr., 1792.

My dear Sir,

Nothing very particular occurs—but I cannot omit sending you a few lines—I am unfortunate in my endeavours to do what I conceive would serve you in general—I proposed a bill to enable the Magistrates in Quarter Sessions to levy County Rates—but it has been thrown out—I have been of opinion also that the Magistrates in Qr. Sessions should choose the different County, Town & Parish Officers but that it seems wont succeed either—Most of the Members being for a Town Meeting & that these Officers should be elective—however, as I conceive these meetings to have been the Cause of the late unhappy Rebellion & must always be attended with Riot & Confusion, it does not meet my ideas—I think the Majority of the People should never be call'd together but to choose their Representatives for the House of Assembly; and perhaps to assemble them without an instrument from the Governor may be illegal & to force an Instrument from him by Law may be an infringement of His prerogative. I have been working a hundred ways to get your fire bill passed—& this day I have brought something into the House which I think will succeed—it is that wherever there shall be found in any space of half a mile square 40 Houses—it shall be lawful for the Magistrates in Qr. Sessions to make regulations for the prevention of fire in that place¹—The great delicacy & difficulty started is the mentioning the name of the Town of Detroit—however as the Proclamation unquestionably puts you in the County of Kent, I trust you will find no difficulty as the bill is framed merely to serve Detroit—No answer to the Merchants memorial which on all hands seems as difficult as it is desirable to execute. The Etiquette of Courts is too often but silence, when they can not comply with the Petition; I fear that no answer being given to this, that nothing can be done therein.—from the knowledge I have of the Dy. Sur. Dept, the Govr. has thrust another troublesome task on my shoulders, for which I have neither salary nor fees—altho' he has given me a Commission to act as Surveyor General till the King's pleasure is known—The Democratical party seems to think [this] will lead me to think as the Government wishes, but I hope I am above bias—&

¹This was passed as "An Act to guard against Fires in this Province," Chapter v. of the Statutes of 1792.

I do not feel it at all incompatible to discharge my duty to my Constituents & at the same time have regard to the general interests of the Unity of the Empire—Our House of Assembly for the most part have violent levelling principles which are totally different from the ideas I have been educated with—The neighbouring States are to[o] often brought in as patterns & models, which I neither approve or Countenance—I think modesty should be the Characteristic of our first Assembly—I conceive it political, prudent, and grateful, & I am confident the contrary behaviour wont succeed to do the Country any good—whatever may be the future prospects of designing Men; we cannot at present exist without the assistance of Great Britain, she has ever shewn herself a foster Mother to her Colonies & any procedure which I conceive tends to divide the Interests of the Parent Kingdom & all her Colonies I will oppose with all my might—on this principle I have voted against an addtl duty on Rum—first because I conceive it a Regulation of Commerce & that the Parliament has reserved the right of imposing such duty to themselves, because as Guardian of all the Colonies she would not suffer one to infringe too much on the produce of another—Secondly because West India Rum in that case would pay twice the duty of Rum distilled in Lower Canada or at least nearly twice & thirdly because I conceive that the addtl Duty on W. I. Rum tends to a partial prohibition & that we are only losing our time in flattering ourselves with Supplys because the Governor has no power; or the Parliament inclination to ratify such an Act—I am thus particular that if you think proper you may explain my reasons to my friends & constituents, altho' not to give up my Letter; for altho' I wish you to consider it confidential, there is nothing in it I am convinced that is not worthy the sentiments of an Assembly Man. The family most heartily say God bless you.

(D. W. SMITH.)

P.S. I have been canvassing in the Cabinet—the Levee & the office respecting the Militia, which I believe will not be organized this year—I do not find that any promise has been made to the Young frenchman¹ to be Colonel but I rather think he will be appointed Lord Lieutenant of one of the Counties—in which I suppose he won't take a Commission himself but will probably have the appointment of the Justices & Militia Officers—I think it won't be for Kent—but cannot speak positively—

(Unsigned and unaddressed but undoubtedly in the handwriting of D. W. Smith.)

(Askin Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Vol. II, p. 74.)

FROM ALURED CLARKE TO J. G. SIMCOE.

QUEBEC, 8 Octr., 1792.

Sir,

The great desertion which has lately prevailed amongst the troops at Niagara, is an alarming circumstance and calls for every endeavor to stop an evil so detrimental to the service.

The means you have used were doubtless calculated to obtain that end, and though the reward offered is far beyond what has been customary or would be right to let grow into practice, yet the disease pointing out the necessity of a prompt

¹Hon. Jacques Baby.

remedy, I cannot but approve of the offers you have made, and when you shall transmit them under the proper shape of disbursement, they shall undergo the regular course of payment.

It has been a constant object to reward the Indians by any other means than by money.—It is recommended that in future, whenever their services shall entitle them to any extraordinary gratuity, it may be given in such articles from the Indian Store as may be most satisfactory and beneficial to them, as by that means they will be really benefitted, the other only serving as the means for intoxication and augmenting their distress.

I am with great regard.

Yours, &c.

ALURED CLARKE.

Lt. Govr. Simcoe.

FROM GEORGE HAMMOND TO J. G. SIMCOE.

PHILADELPHIA, 19 Octr. 1792.

Sir,

I had last night the honor of receiving Your Excellency's despatches of the 27th ulto. by Mr. Baby,¹ and I cannot but regret the shortness of that gentleman's stay in this city, enables me to submit to you some desultory observations only, on their general contents, instead of entering into so fully as I could wish and as the importance of the subject requires. I have been much flattered by your commendations of my conduct, relative to the discretionary powers which were entrusted to me, for the purpose of opening the negotiation with this Government: maturer reflection and repeated experience have convinced me that the resolution I then formed was well founded.

No alteration seems as yet to have taken place in the sentiments of the American Administration upon this point. We must therefore leave the completion or modification of our design to the progress of future events. I have not received from His Majesty's Ministers any further information upon this subject, except an assurance from Lord Grenville that His Majesty had been graciously pleased to approve of my conduct in exercising the discretion which had been allowed me.

Your Excellency's instructions to Col. McKee appear to me extremely judicious, and if implicitly followed by that gentleman, admirably calculated to obviate the appearance of too active an interference on our part in influencing the Indians to solicit His Majesty's mediation in terminating their disputes with the United States. The suggestions of requesting our assistance in furnishing them with treaties and other documents may be improved with great effect, and is perhaps the most unobjectionable principle on which they may found their application without offending the pride of this Government, or awakening its suspicion. I shall be very solicitous to learn the result of the Indian Councils, not only on account of the discussion to which it may eventually give birth, but also as it will in some measure affect the negotiations actually existing between the Americans and myself. These negotiations are for the present suspended, in consequence of a long elaborate representation, vindicating the infractions on the part of this country, which I have received from Mr. Jefferson, and which is now under the consideration of His Majesty's Ministers. As soon as I shall obtain a knowledge of their senti-

¹James Baby of Detroit.

ments, I shall renew the negotiation. In fact, we have hitherto advanced no further than a statement of our mutual violations of the Treaty. The American Ministers profess an earnest anxiety to remove the obstacles opposed to an amicable adjustment, and in obedience to my instructions, I have expressed a similar desire on the part of His Majesty's Government as far as may now be practicable and convenient. The sincerity of our respective professions will be best exemplified by the expedients we may hereafter reciprocally propose for finally arranging the disputes in question. As Mr. Baby will set off for New York in an hour or two, I must postpone until another occasion, my observations on your very interesting communications to General Clarke. At present I have only time to add, that I have the honor to be with great respect.

&c., &c. &c.

GEORGE HAMMOND.

His Excellency Lieut. Govr Simcoe.

I enclose you a copy of one of my latest despatches to Lord Grenville from which you may collect the common intelligence of the day.

G. H.

FROM RICHARD CARTWRIGHT¹ TO J. G. SIMCOE.

Report on the Subject of Marriages and the State of the Church of England in the Province of Upper Canada, humbly submitted to His Excellency Governor Simcoe.

The Country now Upper Canada was not settled or cultivated in any part except the settlement of Detroit, till the year one thousand seven hundred & eighty four, when the several Provincial Corps doing Duty in the Province of Quebec were reduced, and together with many Loyalists from New York, established in different Parts of this Province, chiefly along the River St. Lawrence and the Bay of Quenti—In the mean time from the year 1777 many families of the Loyalists belonging to Butler's Rangers, the Royal Yorkers, Indian Department & other Corps doing Duty at the Upper Posts, had from Time to Time come into the Country and many young Women of these Families were contracted in Marriage which could not be regularly solemnized, there being no Clergyman at the Posts, nor in the whole Country between them & Montreal.—The Practice in such cases usually was to go before the Officer Commanding the Post who publicly read to the Parties the Matrimonial Service in the Book of Common Prayer, using the Ring and observing the other forms there prescribed, or if he declined it, as was some times the case, it was done by the Adjutants of the Regiment—After the Settlements were formed in 1784 the Justices of the Peace used to perform the Marriage

¹Hon. Richard Cartwright, 1759-1815, born at Albany, N.Y.; a loyalist who acted for some time during the war of the American Revolution as secretary to Lieut. Colonel John Butler of the Rangers, and accompanied him in his campaigns in the Indian country, 1778-9; became a partner in a mercantile business with Robert Hamilton at Carleton Island and Fort Niagara, 1780-5; then independently at Cataraqui or Kingston, 1786; a magistrate and member of the Land Board for the District of Mecklenburg, 1787-92; Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, 1788-92; lessee of the King's Mills at Kingston and the Apanee River; member of the Legislative Council, 1792-1815; member of the Land Claims Board, Midland District, 1797-1800; Lieutenant of the County of Frontenac; Colonel commanding 1st Frontenac Regt, and the militia of the Midland District at Kingston, 1812-15.

Ceremony till the establishment of Clergymen in the Country, when this Practice, adopted only from Necessity, hath been discontinued in the Districts where Clergymen reside.—This is not yet the case with them all, for though the two lower Districts¹ have had each of them a Protestant Clergyman since the year 1786, it is but a few months since this (Nassau or Home) District hath been provided with one; and the Western District in which the settlement of Detroit is included, is to this Day destitute of that useful & respectable Order of Men; yet the Town of Detroit is and has been since the Conquest of Canada inhabited for the most part by Traders of the Protestant Religion who reside there with their Families, and among whom many Intermarriages have taken Place, which formerly were solemnized by the Commanding Officer or some other Layman occasionally appointed by the Inhabitants for reading Prayers to them on Sundays, but of late more commonly by Magistrates since Magistrates have been appointed for that District.

From these Circumstances it has happened that the Marriages of the Generality of the Inhabitants of Upper Canada are not valid in Law, and that their Children must *stricto Jure* be considered as illegitimate and consequently not intitled to inherit their Property.² Indeed this would have been the case, in my Opinion, had the Marriage Ceremony been performed even by a regular Clergyman, and with due Observance of all the Forms prescribed by the Laws of England. For the Clause in the Act of the 14th year of His present Majesty for regulating the Government of Quebec which declares “That in all cases of Controversy relative to Property & Civil Rights resort shall be had to the Laws of Canada as the Rule for the Decision of the same,” appears to me to invalidate all Marriages not solemnized according to the Rites of the Church of Rome, so far as these Marriages are considered as giving any Title to Property.

Such being the Case it is obvious that it requires the Interposition of the Legislature as well to settle what is past, as to provide some Regulations for the future, in framing of which it should be considered that good Policy requires that in a New Country at least, matrimonial Connections should be made as easy as may be consistent with the Importance of such Engagements; and having Pledged myself to bring this Business forward early in the next Session, I am led to hope that your Excellency will make such Representations to His Majesty’s Ministers as will induce them to consent to such Arrangements respecting this Business as the Circumstances of the Country may render expedient, Measures for this Purpose having been postponed only because they might be thought to interfere with their Views respecting the Clergy of the Establishment.

Of this Church I am myself a Member and am sorry to say that the State of it in this Province is not very flattering. A very small proportion of the Inhabitants of Upper Canada have been educated in this Persuasion and the Emigrants to be expected from the United States will for the most part be Sectaries or Dissenters; and nothing prevents the Teachers of this Class from being proportionately numerous, but the Inability of the People at present to provide for their support.—In the Eastern District, the most populous Part of the Province, there is no Church Clergyman. They have a Presbyterian Minister,³ formerly Chaplain to the 84th Regiment, who receives from Government fifty Pounds P. Ann. They have also

¹Rev. Dr. John Stuart and Rev. John Langhorn.

²A history of these difficulties attending the subject of marriage in the first years of Upper Canada may be found in the Canadian Historical Review, Vol. II, 226 (Sept., 1921), by Hon. Justice W. R. Riddell.

³Rev. John Bethune.

a Lutheran Minister¹ who is supported by his Congregation. And the Roman Catholic Priest settled at St. Regis occasionally officiates for the Scots Highlanders settled in the lower Part of the District, who are very numerous & all Catholics. There are also many dutch Calvenists in this Part of the Province, who have made several Attempts to get a Teacher of their own Sect but hitherto without success.

In the Midland District where the Members of the Church are more numerous than in any other Part of the Province, there are two Church Clergymen who are allowed one hundred pounds Stlg P. Ann. each by Government, and fifty Pounds each by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. There are here also some itinerant Methodist Preachers, the followers of whom are numerous. And many of the Inhabitants of the greatest Property are dutch Calvenists, who have for some time past been using their Endeavours to get a Minister of their own Sect among them.—In the Home District there is one Clergyman who hath been settled here since the month of July last.—The Scots Presbyterians who are pretty numerous here And to which Sect the most respectable Part of the Inhabitants belong, have built a meeting House, and raised a Subscription for a Minister of their own who is shortly expected among them.—There are here also many Methodists & dutch Calvenists.

In the Western District there are no other Clergy than those of the Church of Rome. The Protestant Inhabitants here are principally Presbyterians.

From this Statement your Excellency will be able to draw the proper Conclusions; and to judge how far the Establishing the Hierarchy of the Church of England in this Province may be proper & expedient.

I have the Honor to be with the most profound Respect.

Your Excellency's most humble Servant.

RICHD CARTWRIGHT, Junr.

Newark, 12th October, 1792.

Endorsed:—Report on the Subject of Marriages & the State of the Church of England in the Province of Upper Canada by Richd Cartwright, Junr.

In Lt. Govr. Simcoe's of 6 Novr. 1792.

(2)

FROM D. W. SMITH TO JOHN ASKIN.

NIAGARA, 19 Octr., 1792.

My dear Sir,

I have received your Letters & your account with which I am perfectly satisfied & shall not fail to improve on the ideas you have given me in your Letter & introduce them into the House of Assembly at our next meeting—indeed I shall wish to be guided in a great measure by yr advice—if there is any thing I can serve the people of the New Settlement in, I beg I may be informed—I am afraid the Country may hold me longer to it *than* I am aware, particularly if I succeed in another Election, but that I can hardly expect unless I have interest enough to get the votes of the french & the English divided—The Council have been sitting on Land business a long time;—& troops of our Neighbours are coming in to occupy Townships bodily—In order to give me some weight in the Counties, I have petitioned for 1200 Acres there & a Minute of the Council goes to the board for that

¹Rev. Samuel Schwerdfeger.

purpose—Essex is chiefly located, so don't forget me in Suffolk.¹ I shall send you my petition for the exact Spots—The Govr. is much better & I hope to attend him to Detroit before the Houses meet if he is not drawn away in search of his Capital.

.....
 As I am uncertain whether Mr. McNiff belongs to my department & of course whether he is under my controul, so I have forbore to write to him, but that will soon be discovered—I have had several private confabs with the Chief about the Continuation of the Court of Common pleas—will admit of it for reasons to be hereafter explained to you—the 40/ Bill which I brought into the house will I hope obviate the difficultys You mention of Debtors under £10 not being subject to imprisonment—Send word the *particulars* of what you wish relative to the navigation—& I have little doubts of carrying thro'—The Proofs relative to the delivery of goods are hard & require mature deliberation—As to Amendment I communicated the purport of your Letter to the Commodore²—& shall to Mr. Hamilton—Mr. Macomb is gone!!!

God Bless you & yours.

D. W. SMITH.

John Askin, Esq. Detroit.

(Askin Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Vol. II, p. 83.)

FROM D. W. SMITH TO JOHN ASKIN.

NIAGARA, 20 Octr., 1792.

My dear Sir,

Since I wrote to you yesterday I have rec'd your Letter of 13th inst., P. our good friend George Smith.

I shall certainly be acquitted for having proposed a Land Tax having at the very time a petition on before the Governor & Council in the Names of my father and myself for 6400 Acres, which is since secured or rather ordered in Council—this circumstance will be the strongest that I have acted from Principle & should Malicious reports be spread I beg that you will promulgate my sentiments, situation, & concern relating to the Land business—Every one, myself included, are willing for a Rum tax but in my opinion there is a difficulty or rather delicacy in imposing it—And I think the first principles of our Legislature should be governed by modesty & what will likely class with the opinions of those whose concurrence in the Act the Law has rendered necessary.

The Young french Gentleman has been so strongly recommended at Quebec, & his interest is considered so valuable that it would perhaps be reckoned indecent to attempt the thwarting of what seems settled, however I have doubts that the Lords Lieuts. will take place; & I believe the General Cry is against it.

My interest shall be exerted to get you the Command of a troop—His Excellency approves of Horse in all the Districts & Circular Letters are gone to the Militia Commandants on the Subject—Colonel England's recommendation would

¹Suffolk extended from Point aux Pins at Rondeau Harbor to Catfish Creek and included lands back to the Thames.

²Hon. Alexander Grant.

certainly have weight & should be sent as soon as possible, & the like recommendation from Col. McKee, who would surely give it, will, I conceive, seal your wishes & confirm the Appointment.

My appointment of Surveyor General is merely temporary.

The family say God bless you and send you long life, believe me nobody wishes it more than

D. W. SMITH.

(Unaddressed but undoubtedly to John Askin.)

(Askin Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Vol. II, p. 76.)

FROM E. B. LITTLEHALES TO SAMUEL HOLLAND.

NAVY HALL IN THE COUNTY
OF LINCOLN. UPPER CANADA.
October 20th, 1792.

Sir.

I am directed by His Excellency Lt. Governor Simcoe, in Council to write to you, on the Subject, of a small Promontory, situated in the front of Johnstown, now called Cornwall, between the East part of the Town Plot, & the *petite Pointe Maligne*, on the River St. Laurence, which is said to be claim'd by Lt. Colonel James Gray, under Promise, or Allotment from you, But as no Document of that kind can be found amongst the Papers of either the Land Granting or Surveying Departments; I have to request, you will be pleased to direct; I may be furnished with such Information as you can give relative to the said piece of Land, that the same may be communicated to His Excellency.

I have the Honor to be Sir
Your most Obedient & Very Humble Servant

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

Samuel Holland Esqr. Surveyor General.

FROM RICHARD CARTWRIGHT TO ISAAC TODD.

KINGSTON, 21st October, 1792.

Dear Sir,

I was favoured with a letter from you by the spring ships, and am much obliged to you for the kind mention you were so good as to make of me to some of the officers of the new government. The Chief Justice appears to be a very worthy and respectable man, and I am extremely sorry that his necessary attendance at headquarters, which at present is at Navy Hall, opposite Niagara, will deprive me of the pleasure and benefit of much of his company and conversation. It is but a few days since I returned from thence, the first session of our Legislature having ended only on the 15th. Some useful regulations of police have been enacted, but the material part of the business has been to establish the English laws as the rule of decision in all cases of controversy relating to property and civil rights, excluding, however, the bankrupt and poor laws, and those relative to ecclesiastical rights and dues, which are manifestly inapplicable to the situation of this country.

The trial by jury is also established in all causes above forty shillings, according to the English mode; but it has not been thought advisable to change our Writ of Summons, or rules of proceeding in our Courts, for the English *Capias*, and the complicated, elaborate, and artificial systems of Westminster Hall; which have appeared to me the most fruitful sources of oppression and chicanery, and to be rather calculated to swell the importance and fill the pockets of the professors of the law, than for the speedy and effectual administration of justice. Thus far all is very well, but some of the proceedings of the Lower House have a tendency to show that the objections made to the division of the Province as likely to obstruct their trade, and create separate interests between its two portions, were better founded than I at first thought them. A Bill passed the House almost unanimously for establishing custom-houses and appointing officers at the Point of Bodet and on the Ottawa river, for the purpose of levying a duty of sixpence per gallon on all rum and wine that should enter the Province of Upper Canada. Not to mention the impolicy and inexpediency of the tax even so far as it would operate upon the trade and consumption of the settled parts of the country, it appeared so highly unjust as levying a contribution upon our fellow-subjects in Lower Canada who come to trade within our geographical limits, indeed, but far beyond the sphere of our influence, and where we can neither protect nor facilitate their commerce, as for example to the North-West and Mississippi, that it met with but a single friend in the Upper House. However, these gentlemen are so full of the idea of getting money, even for county charges, without any apparent expence to themselves, that they cannot, or will not see the injustice and impropriety of the measure, and I have no doubt will renew the attempt at the next session; not considering that if they should succeed, which is not at all probable, the Lower Province would have it in their power to retaliate upon them most severely.

The River Tranche is still talked of as the seat of government, but I hope this plan will not be persisted in, for it appears to me as complete a piece of political Quixotism as I recollect to have met with, and will be going out of the way of the inhabited part of the country, instead of coming to govern it. The maxim to follow nature not to face it is as proper for our guide in politics as in all other concerns; and however splendid the project may be of establishing a capital that shall give laws to a numerous population which is to cover the immense peninsula formed by the lakes, and the Ottawa and St. Lawrence rivers, it is a scheme perfectly utopian, to which nature has opposed invincible obstacles; unless Mongolfier's ingenious invention could be adapted to practical purposes, and air balloons be converted into vehicles of commerce.

To what is to be ascribed the present state of improvement and population of this country. Certainly not to its natural advantages, but to the liberality which Government has shewn towards the loyalists who first settled it; to the money spent by the numerous garrisons and public departments established amongst us; and the demand for our produce which so many unproductive consumers occasion on the spot. As long as the British Government shall think proper to hire people to come over to eat our flour, we shall go on very well, and continue to make a figure, but when once we come to export our produce, the disadvantages of our remote inland situation will operate in their full force, and the very large portion of the price of our produce that must be absorbed by the expence of transporting it to a place of exportation, and the enhanced value that the same cause must add to every article of European manufacture, will give an effectual check to the improvement of the country beyond a certain extent; the farther we go, the more powerfully must these causes operate; and when we go beyond the banks of Lake

Ontario, it will cost as much to bring our rude produce to market as it will be worth, and yet from such exports alone it is that we can become beneficial to the mother country, who certainly can have no intention to make us manufacturers. I believe, indeed, that the origin of our settlements took its rise from motives more noble than views of commercial advantages; namely, to provide a comfortable asylum for the unfortunate Loyalists reduced to poverty and driven into exile by their attachment to Britain; and it was, perhaps, necessary to crown the generous conduct which has been held with regard to them, that they should have the benefit of the English laws and form of Government. But on the present plan this object is lost sight of for an *ignis fatuus*, and the Government will "waste its sweetness on the desert air"; the energy will be spent where it has nothing to operate upon; and much money will be lavished away, where it can be of little permanent advantage to the Province, however useful it may be to some individuals. Whereas had the Governor fixed his residence at this end of Lake Ontario, between which and the Point of Bodet, lies the greatest mass of our population, its influence, co-operating with the comparative advantages of the situation, would have had a powerful, beneficial, and lasting effect. And much chagrin would have been spared to the inhabitants of the two lower districts, who compose full three-fourths of the population of the Province, and who cannot be pleased to find that they are to be neglected, and left to themselves, while Government is pursuing, at a very great expence, imaginary advantages. I could say a great deal more on this subject, but my letter is already swelled to an immoderate length, and I should not have gone even so far, had it not been to satisfy you that my sentiments, however uncourtly, are founded in reason and truth, and do not proceed from prejudice and interested considerations. I have given you this sketch of politics rather in compliance with your request, than from an expectation of its attracting much of your attention; while you are so near such important scenes as are now acting on the continent of Europe; where the worthy triumvirate of Russia, Prussia, and Austria seem determined to rivet the fetters of despotism upon mankind, and show themselves equal enemies to the temperate reforms of Poland, and the extravagant republicanism of France.

(Life and Letters of Hon. Richard Cartwright, pp. 47-51.)

FROM JOHN CRAIGIE TO ALURED CLARKE.

QUEBEC, 27th October, 1792.

Sir:—

As the season is at hand when the communication with the Upper Posts will for a time be closed, I think it my duty to submit to Your Excellency, that if from the circumstances stated in my letter of the 2nd of August last, any change in the mode hitherto followed in receiving flour at the several Settlements for the Troops should be deemed expedient, it might be proper that measures should be adopted in time, in order that information in respect to the resources of the Settlements in the article of flour, and the terms on which supplies thereof could be obtained, may be transmitted in the course of the winter.

For this purpose if the supplies of flour for the ensuing year are to be taken on the best terms for which they can be obtained for Government, I conceive the most certain way of securing to all the Settlers the opportunity and advantage of this market for their produce would be by public notice or advertisement that sealed tenders would be received at the different Posts on a fixed day from all persons

choosing to offer for such quantities of flour of the first Quality properly packed and warranted, as may be wanted. No tender to be for less than ten Barrels, each to contain two hundred pounds net.

The quantities on a General outline may be estimated as follows for the several Posts—

Kingston	200 lbs.—000/-	including provision for	150 Loyalists.
Niagara	560 lbs,—000/-	Do. Do.	100 Loyalists.
Detroit	400 lbs,—000/-	Do. Do.	200 Loyalists.
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	1160 lbs,—000/-		450.

Should the encouragement hitherto given to the Settlers in Upper Canada be continued, information will then only be requisite in regard to the resources, but in that case effectual measures should certainly be adopted to prevent the abuse and exercise of partiality, which from the supplies in all probability greatly exceeding the demands, must be so likely to happen and so difficult to avoid.

The inconvenience however, I conceive can only be obviated by regulations to be made on the spot, and adopted when flour is received.

At all events it is necessary that information should be transmitted in the course of the winter, in regard to the supplies which can be depended on, in order to determine the demands to be made on the Contractors.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN CRAIGIE,
Commissary General.

His Excellency Major General Clarke. &c., &c., &c.

FROM D. W. SMITH TO JOHN ASKIN.

NIAGARA, 28 Octr., 1792.

Dear Sir,

I have had a good deal of conversation about your light troop; I think the Governor wishes it much; but I would have You by no means neglect the recommendations of Cols. England & McKee. I fear there is no power in this Country to put the Militia Captains on pay or even to pay for their Arms at present—Your Rifle is very good I think but not altogether calculated for light Horse, is rather long, heavy & wants Rings &ca. as on the light Horse Carbines.

I beg you will improve on the idea among my Constituents of my having a Grant of 1400 Acres in the Counties, & that I shall build thereon & make some kind of Establishment when I am rich enough—This will surely satisfy them a good deal & I know you will take every advantage of it.

D. W. SMITH.

John Askin, Esquire, Detroit.

(Askin Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Vol. II, p. 78.)

SPEECH OF THE WESTERN INDIANS.

FOOT OF THE MIAMIS RAPIDS, 28th Octor, 1792.

Several of the Western Indians being collected here for the purpose of receiving their Annual supply of Clothing &c., invited Captain Brant to a Council this morning at the Musquitché Camp.

The Snake after welcoming him and two other Chiefs who attended him, to the Council fire which had been kindled for the purpose of uniting all the Indian Nations as one Man, He performed the usual ceremonies followed by their forefathers of wiping the tears from his eyes, which might be occasioned by misfortunes or the loss of friends since their last meeting: He also removed any grief or uneasiness that remained in his heart; and opened his Ears that he might listen to what his Nephews the Delawares and his younger brethren the Shawanoes had now to say to him, then desiring him to throw behind him anything bad that had been collected in his ears, or reports of bad birds, he laid down

Three Strings of Wampum.

and thus Proceeded—

Brother, Now since we have wiped away your tears and cleared your heart from every bad impression, I desire you will listen to what I shall now say to you—

You know it is not long since we had a General Council, and you are informed, Brother, as well as ourselves of the determinations of that Council.

Brother Brandt.

We looked upon you as one of ourselves, and you and the Shawanoes & Delawares spoke across that Council fire as one Man, to the Cornplanter who brought something with him under his Arm.

Now, Brother, be strong—You desire us in this quarter and all those of our Colour to be strong and as one Man, we are so, and we have sent some of our people to the Southward to unite them with us—We now desire you to be strong in your quarter you the Six Nations & Chippewas: We have never lost sight of your advice to be strong here.

Brother, It is not you alone but all your six Nations, I desire to be strong as well as us, that we and our Children may have a little longer to live.

Strings of Wampum.

Brother, The Mohickens have told us it is eight years since they heard that all Nations were united as one Man, and that since they had come among us, they had found everything agreeable to their mind, and that they had left the Speeches they had brought with the Snowbird—That they were now going home to get ready to bring their Women and Children to live amongst us—That they found our father was very good to us, and they find themselves hampered among the white people and wanted to get into a place where they could be more at their liberty.

We then desired them to be strong and bring on their families, that there was plenty room for them and no doubt our father and the Six Nations would help them on their Journey; when they had finished their Speech to us they delivered

Six Strings of Wampum.

Brother, We now desire you to be ready in the Spring, as soon as the lake is open, with all your people—General Washington has always been sending to us for peace, Now if he is true and wants peace, the Ohio must be the boundary line, as we long ago agreed upon, and we will meet him at Sandusky.

Brother,—We desire you to lose no time in joining us there, that we may be strong at the making of the peace, if the Americans meet us there.

Four Strings Wampum.

Capt. Brandt.

Brothers Shawenoes and Nephews Delawares—I am very glad to hear what you have said—It sets my heart right, and I will meet you at the appointed place—I desire you Brothers Shawenoes and Nephews Delawares to take care and be aware of what we are about—General Washington is very cunning, he will try to fool us if he can—He speaks very smooth, will tell you fair stories, and at the same time want to ruin us—Perhaps in a few days, he may send out a flag—that will be only to blindfold us.—It will not do for one man to turn about and listen to that flag—We must be all at it, as we are all united as one man.

A large Band of Wampum.

The Snake.

Brother. You need not be afraid of any of the Nations here listening to any flag Washington may send us, as we have already concluded on meeting him at Sandusky, and we will receive no flag until we know whether he will meet us there or not.

ALURED CLARKE TO J. G. SIMCOE.

QUEBEC, 29th October, 1792.

Sir,

I have the honor to enclose to your Excellency copy of a letter of the 27th inst., from the Commissary Storekeeper General, on the subject of supplying the Upper Posts with flour for the ensuing year.

On the receipt of this article for the Troops, besides the current price paid by the contractors at Montreal, an additional allowance in lieu of transport which is provided at the expence of Government, has been made to the settlers; this however originated at a time when the entire produce of the Settlements exclusive of their own consumption did not exceed the demand for Government, the excess therefore being collected from every part of the districts operated to the benefit and encouragement of the whole, and by which also, a saving of expence was made to Government.

These settlements having increased greatly in their population and improvements, there is every reason to believe that, after reserving what may be necessary for the use of the inhabitants, the quantity of flour at market will be much greater than is required for the supply of the King's Troops and Loyalists; a circumstance of the bounty therefore instead of operating to the General advantage as heretofore, may be converted to the benefit of a few Individuals monopolizing the quantity wanted by Government.

Not willing however to make alterations or take any means independent of your advice and opinion, which from your situation and local information must be better grounded than mine can be at this distance, I am induced from every consideration to leave it to you to determine whether the Bounty hitherto granted to the settlers in Upper Canada in the receipt of flour for the Troops, by the additional price (in lieu of transport) can with propriety and general benefit to the settlers be continued for another year, or whether the saving to Government and the difficulty of making the encouragement hitherto granted operate longer in the same way, would not render it more advisable to receive the flour wanted by Gov-

ernment at the market price. At all events be pleased to state how far the supplies from the Settlements may be depended on, so as to determine the demands to be made on the Contractors.

I am, with great regard, &c.

ALURED CLARKE.

His Excellency Lieut. Governor Simcoe.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO D. W. SMITH.¹

NAVY HALL, 31st of October, 1792.

Sir,

I have received your letter enclosing that of the Land Board of the County of Lincoln in answer to your circular letter of the 16th instant.

As the Land Board state that they have no records of the Mill-seats & their possessors, &c., It will be your office to procure from the occupiers, copies of the authorities, from whence they derive their possession; but I must direct you to state to the Land Board, that no authority, to my knowledge, has ever been delegated to any of His Majesty's Governors to grant certificates or locations that could pledge the faith of Government to the grant of *Mines*; nor has it ever appeared that they have assumed such unwarrantable power. The faith of Government has been generally pledged, to give titles to locations, made under proper authority, for the sole purpose of agriculture—and the Land Board, as well as the officers who preceded them, had never any other power, in this particular.

In regard to Mill-seats, some of them are under express contract in this very district—In all the others, the Land Board have very properly thought themselves precluded from any other than a recommendatory power, to the Governor & Council, which of course would have its weight, if beneficially intended for the country at large.

I must also observe that it ought not to rest upon the Surveyor alone, to guard the interest of the Crown, as any Gentleman of the Land Board is as likely to know the proper situation for Mill-seats, & such singular advantages, as the Surveyor; unless his previous survey should have been strictly held as necessary to the issuing of any certificates.

I think it proper that you should distinctly state these remarks to the Land Board as their letter is so far inexplicit, as it includes, under the general name of reserves; *Mines*, of which I did not require any account, as well as Mill-seats.

It is true, this may have been copied from the 8th Article of the Instructions of the 17th February, 1789, but the whole of that Article properly & expressly guards the interests of the Crown, from either the inattention or misconstruction of those who are entrusted to execute its benevolent purposes.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant.

J. G. SIMCOE,

Lt. Gov. Upper Canada.

To Lieut. D. W. Smith

Acting Surveyor General of Upper Canada.

(MSS of D. W. Smith, Toronto Public Library.)

¹D. W. Smith had been appointed Surveyor General for Upper Canada in the preceding month (Sept. 28). He was not, however, a practical surveyor, but held the position as a portfolio of the Executive Council, having been elected a member for Suffolk and Essex in the first Legislature, on Aug. 27th.

CIRCULAR LETTER TO LIEUTENANTS OF COUNTIES.

Sir.

Having thought it necessary for the Public benefit to create Lieutenants of those Counties within the Province which are sufficiently populous to require such a Superintendency, I enclose to you a Commission under the Great Seal of Upper Canada appointing you Lieutenant of the County of _____

It may not be improper to observe that this high office, under the Constitution of Great Britain is generally conferred upon those Persons who seem most respectable to His Majesty's Government for their property, Loyalty, Abilities, and Discretion in their several Counties, and who from a Combination of such Possessions and Qualities acquire that weight, respect, and public confidence which renders them the natural support of Constitutional Authority.

If on the one hand this Office has been at all times bestowed by the Sovereign with the Circumspection and Caution due to the Important Trusts which it involves; on the other, it has been a principal object of honourable Ambition which the British Constitution approves in the first Men of State making a due provision of Power for that legal Aristocracy which the Experience of Ages has proved necessary to the Ballance and Permanency of her inestimable form of Government.

In Naming you, Sir, to this Office on the first establishment of the true British Constitution in her Colony of Upper Canada, I am influenced by the Consideration of finding you already at the Head of the Civil Jurisdiction of the County in which you reside, and having the same Opinion of Your Loyalty and Character which occasioned your Original Appointment, I am happy in adding my public Testimony to that of Lord Dorchester.

It is my wish that the Magistrates whom you are now to superintend may appear to you to be worthy to be continued in Office, but should there be Improper persons in that station you will be pleased without hesitation to give me the necessary Information.

A Commission will probably be issued soon after the meeting of the Legislature, agreeably to the British Custom, including such persons in each County as shall appear proper to be continued, or added, if any Addition shall seem necessary to the several Lieutenants, as Justices of the Peace.

In regard to the Militia of your County, as it is to be supposed that the Legislature will shortly frame a General Act for the Province, I should not wish at present to make any Alterations in its Officers; you will be pleased however to be prepared with such lists as may be necessary to fill up any Vacancies or to supply any Augmentation should such appear requisite—All Commissions are to be recommended by you, and if then they shall be approved by me, they are to be signed as in the British Act by you as Lieutenant.—I beg to observe that I consider all those who keep Taverns, however respectable in their private Characters, as not admissible either as Officers of the Militia or Justices of the Peace. You will be pleased to take the Customary Oaths with as much Publicity and Solemnity as possible.

I am Sir, &c.

J. GRAVES SIMCOE.

Endorsed:—No. 1. In Lt. Govr. Simcoe's No. 13. To the Duke of Portland of the 21st Decr., 1794.

J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

NAVY HALL, NOV 4th, 1792.

Sir,

I do myself the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your dispatches of the 20th of June, on the 28th of September at this place.

I lost no time in doing every thing in my power to carry his Majesty's benevolent Intentions, relative to the Loyalists & other persons who accompanied them into effect; & for that purpose, as the Legislature was then sitting, I directed Capt. Stevenson to cross the Lake to Kingston & to assist them to the utmost of our Power, & which I was sure that Officer would perform in the same manner as if I could have personally attended to the business.

The Loyalists did not arrive there till the Third of October; such accommodations were offered to them as could be procured for the present. Many, however, expressing a wish to enter immediately upon their own Lands, Capt. Stevenson, who returned hither with some of their principal Agents, was sent back that if there were sufficient Numbers as had been represented by these Persons, inclined to settle at Toronto (York), He might direct the King's Vessels to carry them thither with their Provisions & Necessaries—Upon that Gentleman's arrival at Kingston, He found very few desirous of going to so remote a distance from all settlements at so late a Season, but most of them had gone off to Lands as yet ungranted in the Neighborhood of Kingston—The Surveyor of that district has been directed to locate them there, & I hope they may become serviceable Settlers in that exposed Frontier.—

I am to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 15th of August—I am sorry to inform you that Mr. Collins' report on the Salt Spring which I transmitted in a former letter No. 8, has proved in no shape what I had a Right to expect from so formal & positive an assertion; however, convinced of the magnitude of the object, Salt imported from Quebec selling for three Dollars a Bushel, & the Proprietor of the Salt works near the Genesee River having offered to deliver it for one Dollar at the Lake side, I have made investigation of the Springs that are already worked between Niagara & the head of the Lake & I consider them as an object worth the attention of his Majesty's Government—I beg leave to assure you, Sir, that no person can more strongly feel the wisdom & propriety of his Majesty's Ministers in lowering all permanent Establishments as much as possible that they may provide against contingencies; & I should not consider myself as faithful or just to the Trust reposed in me, did I not as far as lies in my power execute their intentions; but I must beg leave to say that I have sufficient cause for what I have heretofore stated as a necessary military force, preventive of War, being stationed in Upper Canada—It is true should a settlement have been established on the liberal terms intended by his Majesty's Ministers, with the United States; or should our mediation be now accepted by them, to procure a permanent Peace with the American Indians, so that we should preserve a national consequence with these People, & not let our Connexion & Command rest upon the personal tenure of the frail lives of Butler or McKee, (as I have reason to believe it does at present), in the former of these instances, I should consider any other Regiment than the Queen's Rangers & Company of Royal Artificers remaining in this Province, tho' most certainly very useful from their necessary expenditure and assistance in forming Towns (the great deficiency in both the Canadas), by no means necessary in a Military view, & in the latter instance, our preserving our Ascendancy over the Indians & turning the Influence which private men formerly acquired by living

among them, a case that no longer exists in British Subjects, to the General Government, I should not hesitate to say that a Regiment would be sufficient to garrison Michilimacinae, Detroit, & Niagara—But I consider a Company of Military Artificers as absolutely necessary to save an immense expence, which from the price of Labour must fall upon the British Government, & as promoting its growth & settlement beyond calculation.

I have given Commissions to the Officers of the Naval Department under the Governor of Upper Canada, as I find they formerly held them from Lord Dorchester as civil Governor¹. This Department is without any kind of discipline & obedience & must remain while the Seamen are not liable to Military Authority & the Deputy Quarter Master General at Quebec has their management.

I do not, Sir, by any means propose an increase of expence in this Service, but I think it proper that under the Commander in Chief's directions I & the D. Quarter Master General of Upper Canada should have their sole management as being on the spot—and I think it expedient that Naval Articles of War should be framed for their Discipline & Governance, or if that be thought unnecessary, I should propose that, as many Recruits are annually brought to Chatham, who are rejected because they are *Seamen*, that such Persons should be sent to the *Queens Rangers*, 'till the complement of the King's Vessels on the Upper Lakes should be full, & that they should serve in these Vessels & would be without doubt better Seamen than the refuse of the Merchant's Seamen picked up at a bounty to remain for three years, & who are the most profligate men I have ever heard of—Seamen of the first description would become settlers & form a nursery for the Lakes that would materially serve the Public Interests.

It appears to me essential that this Service should be under the controul of the Deputy Quarter Master General upon the spot, & I am confident the public Service has been carried on with an Activity & dispatch that it would not have experienced had I not been this last season assisted by Captain Stevenson in that Capacity.

To these defences of the Country will be added the Militia but they too must be trained & rendered subordinate by a Provincial Act which I propose to have passed the next Assembly. I have appointed an Adjutant General, as in Lower Canada, an Office indispensable to the arrangement & management of the Corps, & whom I propose that the Province shall pay whenever they shall raise taxes for the support of Government. I hope that it will be thought proper to furnish the Militia with Arms, due provision being made for their preservation in the Act; & I have promised to submit to you a request of the MacDonnells of Glengary That a competent number of broad swords, the property of the Crown, & now in store in Lower Canada, may be issued to them—as I consider it both politick & just to encourage these settlers, who proved themselves such Loyal Subjects during the late War, I hope, Sir, for a favorable Answer to the request.

The Queen's Rangers are huttred by great exertions at the Niagara Landing, now *Queenstown*; Mr. Street, an Inhabitant of the place, chose to dispute the Right of the Land; I directed the Attorney General to defend the suit, & Judgment was given in favor of the Crown—There are some Lands in the neighborhood of this place reserved for Fortifications, &c., &c., strictly speaking by the tenor [of] the late regulations, I conceive them to be under the superintendence of the Ordnance Department.

¹The Provincial marine established on the lakes at this time continued until after the outbreak of the war in 1812, when a detachment of the Royal Navy replaced it and continued until 1832.

As these Reserves might let for some trifle, & otherways are subject to encroachments, I shall direct the Engineer to let them on such terms & conditions as may be proper 'till such time as I shall receive your directions whether they may not more properly be considered with the reserved Lands of the Crown? as I am persuaded his Majesty's Military Servants would not recommend any Fortifications to take place on these Grounds. Upon my passage up the River I found many of the Reserves already made for the Crown in private possession—I have appointed a Person¹ solely to attend to these Reserves & the Woods, & to collect & pay their Rents to the Receiver General. It is true, at the outset they will be small; but if some superintendence does not immediately take place, they will be totally lost among the mass of settlements. I purpose by the first opportunity to transmit a more particular report upon the situation of the Country in this respect, & such plans as a very able Gentleman whom I have had the good fortune to meet & have appointed to act as Surveyor General, Lieutenant Smith of the 5th Regt., has submitted to the Council for the location of future Townships, & which has been approved of & directed to be carried into Execution.

Mr. Robinson², one of the Council of the Province, having not yet returned from England, nor taken his seat, has signified to me his request of resigning that appointment, & his seat in the Legislative Council.—from the very limited number of that Council much inconvenience has already arisen, & very severe fatigue has been occasioned to the few who compose it, & as there is no large Town, It would be difficult to find Men in the Province to whom the Salary would be a sufficient Object to induce them to quit their own habitations, & to apply themselves solely to the public duty of the Office, & yet it is most necessary that the Executive Counsellor should be present at the seat of Government, I therefore beg to submit for his Majesty's consideration for this appointment Captain Lieutenant Æneas Shaw of the Queen's Rangers, a Gentleman of Education, Ability, & Loyalty & who has served his Majesty during the greater part of the last War as Captain; on the reduction he retired to New Brunswick, where with great Industry he formed a Plantation which he quitted to serve under me as Captain Lieutenant, risking the chance of his being reduced on half pay with an inferior income—He has a large family, & as he is one of those Gentlemen who is most likely to effect a permanent Landed Establishment in this Country, I beg, Sir, in the strongest terms to recommend him to your Protection.

The Commissary, Mr. McGill, is a person of a similar description to Captain Shaw: of great ability, probity & Loyalty & if it shall not be thought fit to encrease the Number of our Council, (which the application of the Income of the Solicitor General might for the present supply); this Gentleman would I doubt not lend his Services without Salary, expecting the next Vacancy.

Captain Stevenson who has leave to return to England on his family Affairs will be the bearer of this dispatch, & who is perfectly capable of communicating any Information you may require relative to the Government.

I beg leave to enclose a Copy of my Letter to Mr. Hammond of the 27th of September, In answer to his, pointing out the manner in which it is most advisable for the Indians to call upon Great Britain for her Interference to terminate the War between them & the United States, & which is inserted in inverted commas in the letter (I enclose) to Colo. McKee of the 30th of August—I also transmit the result of the Indian Council, & the proceedings of the Six Nations.

¹Christopher Robinson.

²William Robertson of Detroit.

I beg to send a Map of the River St. Lawrence that in case of a Treaty being entered into with the States, it may plainly appear of what consequence it is to render it effectual & permanent that the British Boundary should enclose the Islands of the St. Lawrence.

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect Respect, Sir,
Your most Obedt & Obliged Servt.

J. G. SIMCOE.

To the Rt. Honble Henry Dundas
One of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.
Whitehall.

Endorsed:—Navy Hall 4 Novr. 1792. Lt. Govr. Simcoe. R. 28 Feb. by Captain Stevenson. Five inclosures, a Map.

J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

NAVY HALL, NIAGARA, NOV. 4th, 1792.

Sir,

I do myself the honor of transmitting to you the Journals of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly, together with such Acts as have been passed during the Session.

In my passage from Montreal to Kingston, I understood that the general Spirit of the Country was against the Election of half pay Officers into the Assembly: and that the prejudice ran in favor of Men of a Lower Order, who kept but one Table, that is who dined in Common with their Servants—It was by great good fortune, that the temporary Residence I made at Kingston, created sufficient Influence to bring the Attorney General, Mr. White,¹ into the House; and His Majesty's Service has been essentially promoted by Lieutenant Smith,² the son of Major Smith; who Commanded for the last two years at Detroit, being Elected by the Inhabitants of that District into the Assembly.—This Gentleman owes this distinguished mark of favor to the singular Gratitude of the People for the Attention which He shewed and the liberality and disinterestedness of his proceedings as Clerk and indeed as the Efficient Person of the Land Board in that District.

With regard to the general disposition of the two Houses, it was nearly what might have been expected from the Characters and situations of the Persons who composed them—The House of Assembly consisted chiefly of the most active Characters in the several Counties. It was impossible to obtain any knowledge of the temper and disposition of the Several Candidates from the Want of Inter-course, and communication, and perhaps, had any wishes been formed for the success of any particular Candidate, they must have been unavailable as no means Could have been found to suggest them. At their first meeting, they were active and Zealous for particular measures, according to the promises they had made, or the Instructions they had received, many projects were accordingly framed, which only required a little time to evince their impropriety or Futility. Having Officers to create and Salaries to bestow, they were rather too Liberal of their Patronage, and pledged their Credit to the payment of £174, annually to different

¹He was elected for the Counties of Leeds and Frontenac.

²D. W. Smith.

Officers; the Legislative Council made no Engagements, but of course their Expences must be equal.—The Sum of £348 was therefore the first Item—A Bill was in its progress for the building of Gaols and Court Houses in the four Districts—And many of the Members were not averse to Parliamentary Wages.—All these Charges were to be defrayed by a Duty of Six pence per Gallon on all spirit and wine passing thro' the Country, which it was presumed would produce a Revenue of £1500, and a Bill for that purpose actually passed. It had been suggested to them in conversation that a County rate was the natural supply for the Discharge of all expences contracted by the County, but the Answer was that the smallest Tax on real property would prevent Emigration. It was replied, that the Quit Rent Originally imposed at four shillings and two pence per hundred Acres and which far exceeds any projected Rate, did not prevent the Coming in of settlers, but all arguments were useless to persons actuated by their fears. The House of Assembly consisted entirely of Land holders, the Duty on Rum was therefore their only expedient to answer the demands of the Province, and all opposition in the House of Assembly was useless.

The Bill was thrown out upon the second reading in the Legislative Council, upon various grounds; but the reason which actuated those who had no interest to gratify, was the obvious injustice as well as impolicy of the Bill; three-fourths of the Spirits passing thro' this Country is the property of the Merchants at Montreal, and what could justify a project which at the outset must provoke a Misunderstanding and perhaps vindictive measures between the two Provinces?

The Legislative Council were more cautious and moderate, and I have good reason to believe, will be found to constitute a seasonable check upon any precipitate Measure, without throwing the Burthen of a Negative upon Government.

The Rum Tax Bill was the only point on which the two Houses disagreed, some resentment was expressed by the Lower House, at the loss of their favorite measure, but it soon subsided.—They seemed rather to have a stronger attachment to the Elective principle for all Town affairs, than may be thought altogether advisable; and a Bill for that Purpose was allowed to be postponed without much difficulty.

The favorite measure in the Legislative Council, is the Bill to make valid, the irregular marriages already contracted in the Province; two of the Members, and almost all the Province are in that predicament—a hasty and ill digested Bill was brought forward by a leading Character,¹ who is personally concerned, and it was only on an express promise, that a Draft of a Bill should be prepared for the Opinion of Government and sent home this Winter, that He was induced to withdraw his measure.—this is a circumstance which requires the serious and immediate consideration of Government—the people seem very desirous to avail themselves of regular Sanctions tho' they have but little opportunity.

Upon the whole I have no reason to be dissatisfied with the Disposition and conduct of the Assembly, considering that it is composed of Persons, of not very restricted notions, and newly acquainted with power; and hope that by treating them with temper and moderation, they may become a beneficial Establishment to the Province and vindicate the excellence of our Constitution.

The dividing the Province into Counties was not only a measure necessary to establish a certain Basis for representation, in a Country where there is not as yet a Village, but I had a further view to unite and melt into each other the several Districts, which from circumstances and their appropriated Names, I was well informed, had seemed to acquire separate and distinct Interests—To complete

¹Hon. Richard Cartwright.

this purpose, I thought it best at the outset to assimilate the names, a circumstance which must naturally have taken place, when with the encreasing Population of the Country, new Districts must have been formed for the Speedy Execution of Justice.

In order to promote an Aristocracy, most necessary in this Country, I have appointed Lieutenants to the most populous Counties, which I mean to extend from time to time; and have given to them the recommendatory Power for the Militia and Magistracy as is usual in England—of course those persons are selected, whom I have found at the Head of the respective Counties.

I confess myself much at a loss for a proper Subject for taxation. I have in the strongest manner called upon the Legislature, in their private capacity to lend their Assistance to the Executive Officers of the Government for the preservation of the Reserves of the Crown, and from this Source, I hope in a few years there will be a great Revenue. The prospect of which is highly satisfactory to the Inhabitants of the Province and will facilitate its speedy settlement.

I have the honor to be with great Respect, Sir,

Your most Obedient and most Humble Servant

J. GRAVES SIMCOE.

To the Rt. Honble Henry Dundas

One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Whitehall.

Endorsed:—Niagara, 4th Novr. 1792. Lt. Govr. Simcoe. R. 8 March, 1793. Two inclosures.

J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

No. 11.

NAVY HALL, NIAGARA, 6th November, 1792.

Sir,

In my general letter, descriptive of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly, I did myself the honor of intimating to you the necessity there was for a Bill to make valid Marriages that had been contracted in Upper Canada, and of providing for them in future; I enclose a Bill, framed for that purpose, by Chief Justice Osgoode, which I must beg that His Majesty's Ministers will take into their early consideration. I also subjoin a Report on this Subject submitted to me by Mr. Cartwright; but I cannot omit this Opportunity of most sincerely and anxiously requesting the attention of His Majesty's Ministers to the Ecclesiastical State of this Province. I have no reason to alter those opinions on this Subject, which I humbly submitted to the consideration of His Majesty's Ministers, previous to my leaving Europe.

I need not, I am sure, Sir, observe that the best security, that all just Government has for its existence is founded on the Morality of the People, and that such Morality has no true Basis but when placed upon religious Principles; it is therefore that I have always been extremely anxious, both from political as well as more worthy motives that the Church of England should be essentially established in Upper Canada, and I must be permitted to say, Sir, I received the greatest satisfaction from your expression: "that you did not think that Government complete

without a Protestant Bishop," as I conceive such an Institution necessary to the support of the experiment that is now making, whether the British Government cannot support itself by its own Superiority in this distant part of the World.

I beg, Sir, to observe to you the sources from whence a Protestant Clergy shall arise, seem totally to be prevented by the want of the Episcopal Function in this Province, on the one hand, the distance and situation of Nova Scotia render it less practicable that any Candidates for Ordination should have recourse to the Bishop of that Diocese, than to those of England or Ireland; and on the other, those who have been ordained by the Bishops in the United States, are by an Act of Parliament incapacitated from performing any duty in Upper Canada—but did the situation of the Province, in this respect, degrading as it would be to the Church of England, end merely in the Privation of its Office and Benefits, it might not be of such infinite political importance as the room that is hereby made for the introduction of every kind of Sectaries many of whom are hostile and none congenial to the British Constitution. I am perfectly aware of the great necessity that there is of guarding against any unnecessary Expence, in the further Establishment of this Country, yet I cannot but consider that it would be the worst and most disabling of all Economy to lose the great opportunity that is now open, of forming the Character, Temper, and Manners of the People of this infant Colony to British Habits and to British Principles, and this I think may be done comparatively at little Expence—the great Body of Puritans in America, however misrepresented, draw their Origin from the Church of England, and are nearer to it in their religious Belief and Customs, than they are to any other sects, or religious Descriptions; the state of Poverty in which they must for some time remain after their Emigration will naturally prevent them from the possibility of supporting their Ministers by public subscription; in the mean while, the Government has it in its Power immediately to provide for any Protestant Clergyman, in the separate Townships, by giving him a reasonable landed property, in perpetuity, for himself and family, and entrusting him with the care of that Seventh which is to be reserved for the Protestant Clergy; under these circumstances, it is probable that the Sons of respectable Settlers would offer themselves for Ordination, and tho' they might not in the first instance have the Learning of the European Clergy, their Habits and Morals might as essentially promote the interests of the Community.

It is by these means, Sir, that the Influence of the Protestant Clergy may extend and encrease with the rapid Growth and Value of those Lands which are reserved for their Maintenance and which without a due attention being paid, in this respect, will naturally be considered by the People at large, as detrimental to the Colony, and may at no very great distant period of time, become a temptation to those, who shall be hostile to the Union of Upper Canada with Great Britain.

I have the honour to be, Sir, with great Respect
your most obedient and most humble Servant.

J. GRAVES SIMCOE.

To The Right Honourable Henry Dundas,
One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, &c., &c.
London.

Endorsed:—Navy Hall, 6 Nov. 1792. Lt. Govr. Simcoe. R. 28th Feby. 1793, by Captain Stephenson. Inclosures referred to Law Officers 5 March. Two inclosures.

FROM ALEXANDER DAVISON TO J. G. SIMCOE.

Private.
No. 15.
Original per packet.
Duplicate per the

LONDON, 6th November, 1792.

Dear Sir:—

The last letter I had the pleasure to receive from you, and none of your other friends have had later, than of the 28th May. In the earnest solicitude about your situation public and private, I cannot but be anxious under so long a suspense. We have long looked for vessels from Quebec, and that there should be a blank of all intelligence from that quarter for between eighty and ninety days at this season is a circumstance not remembered. I hope in a day or two to be compensated for this tedious disappointment by receiving happy accounts. There is much stir in the American Frontiers, and their papers seem to be desirous of irritating you.

Sir John Johnson is here, and I am well assured will never trouble you nor the country as Superintendent of the Indians in Canada. Some of Mr. N's¹ friends who knew the fact, told him how the Baronet talked at Montreal of his partiality for you and injustice to himself in respect to your appointment to the Government, and his disappointment after Lord Sydney had promised it, &c., &c. which all came upon Mr. N's shoulders. Our friend after Sir J. had a certain time to breathe, sent an official message to him to say he was going out of the Kingdom for a few months and would be very glad that he would come forward boldly with anything regarding him now, and not afterwards in his absence; he was very ready to meet him on any point. To this manly and candid part the Baronet opposed a very poor spirited one, and told the messenger that he had nothing to say against Mr. N., and that he had received satisfactory explanations about him. In short the Baronet makes but a sorry figure by this concession.

I sincerely hope for your ease and the good of the service that you will have an active, clever and loyal superintendent, otherwise better none. The times require that the person you entrust with the care and management of the Indians should be properly qualified. I am sorry Robertson, one of your Council, does not go out, as you would have made his local information and talents, which are good, useful to the Colony. At the beginning of your Government all the ability and good endeavours of the Council will be wanted to make things go smoothly on and exempt you from plague, which I hope to hear.

The Duke of Northumberland is here, just recovered from a severe attack of his almost only enemy on earth, which disabled him from writing for a long time, and perhaps the arrears of correspondence, which were considerable, may prevent him writing to you by this packet. That you are much in his mind and conversation, I can vouch, and I hope you will not stand on points with him in his present state, but give him a letter with that information you know his mind is ever in search of.

The affairs of Ireland, and even those of G. Britain are taking a very serious aspect. That epidemical spirit for mischief which has been operating under the mask of reform, or a moderate application for redress of grievances, is growing fast into disorder and rebellion. The stupor which had lulled those in power is however

¹Evan Nepean, Under Secretary of State.

now going off, and they and all ranks of people who have any penetration and regard for the tranquility of these countries are actually alarmed at the heights the frenzy for innovation and change has and may rise to.

It is become to all good subjects a matter of regret that Government has delayed so long those measures of rigour and justice toward the worthless demagogue whose machinations must at last be opposed by those measures, but the which may have done tenfold mischief under the passive indulgence that has been so long shown, of which most active advantage has been taken to mislead and inflame the innocent multitude either in magnifying the "Grievances," the power and majesty of the people, or in lessening the dread of coercive Government, a doctrine which the example of France but too successfully supports. The writings of Paine and all the inflammatory societies would have probably been harmless, had not the dreadful lesson been given in Paris which a desperate and numerous rabble can do against the efforts of a Government united with the general sense of those inhabitants who possessed the Chief part of the property, commerce, and character in the country.

I hope at the meeting of Parliament to see a manly and truly patriotic spirit on all sides, upon the interesting question of the state of the country, with respect to the tranquility of the people and the means of establishing good order on a permanent basis. I hope to see party spirit suppressed at least, and all hearts zealously join efforts in this great cause, to which I trust all other business will give place. Let us see Mr. Pitt, seconded by Mr. Fox, in moving to take into their immediate consideration, and fairly and roundly come forward with a plan of granting relief to the people of the three kingdoms in certain admitted hardships, and on the other hand settle and proceed on a vigorous system of procedure toward those miscreants who have offended against the laws and peace of society. Nine tenths of the nation would applaud such conduct in Parliament, and support Government and good order against the schemes of a banditti of zealots who may hope to succeed in schemes of *rapine* and plunder under the specious and insinuating terms of liberty and equality.

By this conveyance I send you the continuation of the Morning Chronicle and Diary from the 18th August to this day inclusive to be forwarded from New York by Mr. Delafield.

I am with respect and sincere regard, dear Sir,

Your faithful servant,

ALEXANDER DAVISON.

Governor Simcoe, Upper Canada.

FROM D. W. SMITH TO JOHN ASKIN.

NIAGARA, 7 NOV., 1792.

My good friend,

As this will probably be the last Opportunity I shall have of writing you before the Winter Express I take up the pen to write you a few lines and to assure you how much I value & prize your Friendship. The Lieutenants of Counties seem to be a settled thing. A Commission goes up by this Opportunity for Colonel McKee, appointing him for Essex. I understand one of the same Nature for Kent is filled up for Mr. Baby—these Commissions authorize the recommendations for

Magistrates & Militia Officers.—I argued much on this subject, made use of all the information you gave me, but to no purpose—I suppose therefore you will prefer being on the list of Magistrates & Militia Officers on the Essex side, & as you have landed property there, you will of course be able to make any arrangement you wish under the Auspices of Colonel McKee, to whom I have written to be appointed a Magistrate & not to be forgotten in the Militia.

As to news here, we have none, not even a scandalous story.

I expect you will be well prepared with Memorandums for me in the Spring relative to what amendments you want in the present Laws.

Give my best respects to the Commodore, tell him I have again been speaking about Mr. Hay, & that I have hopes the Governor will try to do something for him. His Excellency is well disposed to serve the Son of the late Lt. Govr. Hay. I think Naval or preventive officer at Oswego will be the first effort of service to him.

D. W. SMITH.

(Unaddressed but undoubtedly to John Askin.)

(Askin Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Vol. II, p. 80.)

THE TRANSPORTATION OF WHEAT AND FLOUR.

Representation on the subject of transporting Wheat and Flour to Lower Canada, humbly submitted to His Excellency Governor Simcoe.

May it please Your Excellency.

Our last harvest having been very abundant, and there being besides a very large portion remaining of the Crops of the preceding year, it appears probable that there will be a very considerable Quantity of wheat to export to Montreal from hence in the course of the ensuing Summer—at the rate usually paid for other Articles the transport of a Bushel of wheat from Kingston to Montreal will amount to fully ten pence including Storage at La Chine, Cartage from thence & Wear & Tear of Sacks which will at least be a fourth and in the ordinary State of the Market a third of the whole value of the Commodity—To prevent as much as possible the price of this Article from being thus absorbed by the expence of Transport, I am induced to submit to Your Excellency in behalf of the Inhabitants at large, the propriety and expediency of an arrangement by which the King's Batteaux returning unfreighted by Government might be directed to take, free of expence, from 60 to 70 Bushels of Wheat, or from fourteen to sixteen Barrels of Flour each—this would produce a saving of from three pence to four pence per Bushel, a very material object upon an article that is likely to be our staple Commodity, without apparently in the least impeding the Public Service and with every Aid the Country can receive by these means they must still feel very powerfully the Comparative disadvantages of their remote situation.—Sensible of your Excellency's Disposition favourably to receive any subject that may appear conducive to the Benefit of any part of the Province, I have taken the liberty to lay this Representation before you—And am with the most profound Respect.

Your Excellency's Most Obedient
and very humble Servant.

RICHD CARTWRIGHT, Junr.

Kingston, 12 November 1792.

SIX NATIONS' COUNCIL AT BUFFALO CREEK.

Proceedings of a Council of the Six Nations held at Buffaloe Creek.

Tuesday, November 13th, 1792.

Present:

Lt. Colonel Butler, Agt. I. D.	} By order of
Major of Brigade Littlehales.	
Lt. Talbot 24th Regt.	
Lt. Grey 7th or R.F.	
W. B. Sheehan	
Wm. Johnston	} Interpreters.

His Excellency
Lt. Governor
Simcoe.

With the Chiefs of the Seneca, Onandago, Cayuga, Tuscarora Indians and their Allies, Delawares, &c., &c., &c.

On the part of the United States, Mr. Chapin (son of the Superintendent General) Mr. Parrish, Interpreter.

Cow Killer—A Seneca Chief Spoke thus.

Brothers,

Give attention to what we are going to say. We are happy to see the King's people and those of the United States side by side. We last winter went by Invitation to Philadelphia; upon our return we reported our proceedings to the King's Superintendent, who seemed pleased.

The United States recommended our mediation in making a peace with our Western Brethren; and being also solicited by them to attend; The King's people furnished us with every assistance, and sent a person with us; We accordingly went to Detroit, where we met with every attention, and were amply provided to the place of our Destination.

Brothers,

While at the Council of the Glaize, our Brethren called us Elder Brothers; said, they had often sent to us for four years past for our Advice and assistance. White Belt six Rows of Wampum.

Brothers,

After the above was delivered we asked why the great Council Fire was kindled and if they had any thing on their minds?—They replied "*that* was not all they wished to mention; that four years ago they sent an express to their Elder Brethren, informing them of their situation.—The answer the Six Nations returned was, they were all of one colour, and ought to be *firm* and *united*; in consequence of which they received a large bunch of Wampum, containing the Sentiments of twenty different Indian Nations.

Brothers,

After receiving the message from our Elder Brethren we took their pipe, and our Confederacy smoked it, and returned the same with all our opinions.

Brothers,

"We now return the Pipe, and hope you (our Elder Brethren) will smoke it with the same sentiments you offered it to us.

Brothers,

"We the Six Nations after having smoked out of the Pipe, said *we* were all of

one mind, in ancient times our Forefathers were at war with each other, some nations occasioned Disturbances amongst us, perhaps it was the will of the great Spirit; We the Six Nations then exerted ourselves to procure peace; in process of time the English *Our Fathers*, came to trade with us, they demanded a small piece of ground; this we granted, they still solicited for more Land. They assisted the Indians when they became settlers in making peace, and recommended all we have hitherto done, that we ought to be of one mind. We told the Hurons we conceived them to be the promoters of the existing troubles and thanked our Brethren in general for defending our property.

Brothers,

"Tho' we were happy at your success in repelling the late Invasion of your Territories yet we recommend the advice of the King (our Father) to keep possession of your Country by making an Adequate Peace.

Brothers,

"When the White People arrived at Albany, the great King and the Americans were one; our Father Sir William Johnson had the care of us, we then agreed to give the white people Lands East of the Ohio the *Boundary Line*; selling other Lands to the East of that *Boundary Line*, was the cause of breaking the minds of the Indians.

Brothers,

"Attention; we hold this Pipe, you call us Brothers, we wish unanimity, that the chain of Friendship may be brightened; we will cordially assist you to hold it and to carry the heavy burthen."

After delivering the above Speech the Shawanese answered.

Brothers,

"Tho' we call you Elder Brethren, we look upon it you do not speak from your *Hearts* as you are but just come from counselling with the Americans, we know you have Intercourse with them." When this was said, they told us they would adjourn, and desired us to make our minds easy, as they would speak more freely. We replied we shall now go back to (the Interpreter) Johnson and relate what has passed.

On reassembling we spoke as follows.

Brothers,

"You consider us as people who speak only from our Lips, and that we converse with what you call *Yankies*, it's true we have held Treaties with the United States, the British have advised it when for our Interest, but we never lost sight of the Confederacy; you seem Jealous of our Intercourse with the States, we are independent people and not biased by British or Americans."

Brothers,

"All the time the English and French were at war, they were fighting for this Island, the French were conquered, soon after the people now called Americans disagreed with the English; and in the contest the King was thrown down; and gave up this Country to the States.

This is the Language the States hold forth to us; They consider themselves the proprietors of these Lands, in the same manner the King did; when he took them from the French and could shew them upon paper.

Brothers,

This being related our Western Brethren did not appear to comprehend it, owing to the Interpreter, but when it was explained by another Interpreter, the

Confederacy were satisfied, and promised to abide by our advice, and thanked us for following the wise measures of our Forefathers.

The Western Nations then spoke.

Brothers,

"We give you sincere thanks for what you have related; the States last autumn sent an army into our Country commanded by General Butler to proceed to the Glaize, if he met friendly people they were to be unmolested; from thence he was to march to the foot of the Miami Rapids, and so on to Detroit, but he was not to act offensively to the garrison; these were his orders from General Washington.

Brothers,

"This Army came into our Country, we defeated them, we consider ourselves sole proprietors of this Land, and tho' Washington is *lately* become a great man, we are resolved to receive no messages from him by the Bloody road.

Elder Brethren,

"We are and shall always look upon ourselves as the sole owners of this Country, but as peace is good, we are willing to follow your advice, and will listen to the Voice of Peace from the Americans, provided it is for our Interests, we have no objection to meet them (the Americans) at Sandusky.

Brothers,

"We are determined to follow your advice to take care of our Women and Children, in former times you recommended the strictest union, which we have always adhered to. We will make peace, in an equitable manner; but if we cannot obtain it upon those conditions, we expect you conformable to our ancient compact, will assist us to protect our Women and Children; and as you have an open Road, we request you to communicate our Sentiments to the President of the United States.

Elder Brethren,

"The President, we hear from you, is desirous to speak to us, and has delivered his wishes to that effect thro' you, we desire you to acquaint him we will meet the States early in the Spring at Sandusky; at the same time to signify that we claim some Lands on the East side of the Ohio, purchased from Individuals not authorized to dispose of them, we give up these Lands as a compensation for our Lands on the West side of the River Ohio."

The Cow Killer then continued his Speech having finished repeating the transactions at the Miami.

Brothers,

We give it in charge to remember us to the great Man at Niagara, who we understand is lately arrived from England, and has the care of the Indians as well as the White People, in this part of the Country, we urge it to you to request his attendance at the proposed Council, at Sandusky next Spring; Colonel Butler has been long acquainted with our affairs, we therefore solicit his attendance, and hope our Father will consider us, and provide some provisions at the place of meeting; We conclude by observing that if the Governor or his representative does not meet us, and those persons deputed by the United States do not also meet us, we shall suppose they do not wish for peace.

Four Strings of Black & White Wampum.

Addressed to Mr. Chapin.

Brothers,

You represent the United States, we were sent by you to the Westward, and have related what passed there.

Brothers,

Give attention—

We address you in the same manner as the President of Congress;—by his desire, we went to the Westward; the road is opened for him to pursue, and accomplish the desired peace; We have repeated your wishes to the Western Nations and explained them; there is a peaceful path and a bloody one; prevent your armies from proceeding in that Country, and enable us to render that service you seem so desirous of. The Six Nations are now returned, and have contributed as much as possible their assistance, with their Western Brethren, to restore peace; We hope the United States will not by any improper means, defeat the intended purpose; for should such be the case, as it is the wish of the Indians to live in peace, they will look upon the President of the United States as the cause of its not taking place.

A Belt eight rows Black & White Wampum.

We expect sensible persons will be appointed to attend the Council, and that all Records of purchases of Lands, Treaties and Documents, Maps, &c. since the first arrival of the white people among us, will be brought and produced by them, as they will then be particularly investigated.

Four Strings of Black and White Wampum.

We request that what we have now said, may be immediately communicated by *Express* to Congress, and an answer sent back to us as soon as possible without any delay that we may make our Western Brethren acquainted with it; as it is a matter requiring our most serious consideration.

Brothers,

More particularly addressed to Colonel Butler.

We have related all our Business to the Westward and we now repeat that we cannot negotiate any thing at the proposed place of assembling (viz.) Sandusky, without the Governor's and your (Col. Butler's) presence it being a matter of the most essential Importance to us; we therefore hope you will be prepared to clear up all doubts and to be active and alive to our Interests as Reflections have been insinuated that when we formerly consulted the commanding officers they could not give us final answers, we trust that is now obviated, and that the Governor will make a Speedy Reply.

Brothers,

We expect the Governor will bring to Sandusky all papers, Maps, Records and treaties relative to us Indians.

A Belt eight Rows of Black & White Wampum.

Brothers,

It gives us great pleasure to see you who represent the King Our Father and the United States sitting in Council together, it has been very different for some years past when you were much divided in your Sentiments.

Adjourned.

Nov. 14th.

Present the same as yesterday. Colonel Butler called the attention of all the Chiefs to listen to the answer I (Major of Brigade Littlehales) was going to give to their Speech of yesterday, as follows.

Brothers of the Six Nations and Your Allies, Sachems, Chiefs and Warriors,

I am deputed by the Governor, who resides at Niagara, the Representative of the King Your Father, to meet you at this Council Fire.

Brothers,

I have listened attentively to what you repeated yesterday respecting the transactions of yourselves and Western Brethren at the Miamis; it will afford peculiar satisfaction to find your endeavours have proved in some measure successful as you know it has been recommended by the King your Father to negotiate matters amicably, well convinced it is for your Interests.

Brothers,

I shall communicate Your invitation to the Governor to attend the Council at Sandusky next Spring and to bring with him all the Records, Treaties and Documents of every description relative to the Indians and I am well persuaded he will embrace the earliest opportunity of sending you an answer.

Brothers,

I cannot conclude without the strongest assurances of the Governor's firm attachment and Friendship for his Brothers of the Six Nations as well as all the Indians; and I am confident he will be particularly happy to render every possible assistance, consistent with his situation, to bring about that peace, apparently so very essential to *your Interests*.

Mr. Chapin then spoke.

Brothers,

You that are present of the Six Nations give attention.

Brothers,

I come here in behalf of Congress representing my Father the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. I am sorry he is not here.

Brothers,

I rejoice that the British and the Indians and the people of the States are altogether at your Council Fire. I shall send on an Express directly to the Board of War with exact minutes of your proceedings, indeed I shall most probably go myself. I shall give a faithful account of everything.

Brothers,

I shall particularly mention what you said about the meeting at Sandusky next Spring and your wish that good persons may be sent to that Council.

Brothers,

(Parrish the American Interpreter translated this Speech to the Indians at the conclusion of every sentence, *here* the Cow Killer interrupted him, and said not only good persons, but sensible proper people no Land Jobbers but such as Colonel Pickering) Mr. Chapin proceeded.

Brothers,

I, or my Father, will acquaint the States, that you particularly desire that all papers, Maps, Treaties and Records between the White People and the Indians may be brought to your Council at Sandusky next Spring.

Adjourned.

FROM D. W. SMITH TO JOHN ASKIN.

NIAGARA, 13 Novr., 1792.

My good friend,

I have received your letter of 2d November which gave me its usual satisfaction. I do assure you upon my honor I have done everything in my feeble power to get your wishes gratified; I am bound to it not only from Inclination & Gratitude but from Honesty for I consider myself much in your debt.—but I am sorry to say my interest seems very feeble to the accomplishment of your desires—I am afraid you have conceived I am a favorite with the Governor; so far as a discharge of the trusts committed to my care entitle me to it, I believe I am, but beyond that I know nothing of the Cabinet, however I have not failed to oppose the measures that seemed *odious* to you nor feared to say so—the Interest which brought the Young French Gentleman into the Councils has prevailed in having him appointed Lord Lieutenant for the County of Kent and that interest was not only planted previously to the Government's taking place but seems to have taken exuberant Root in Quebec, where his Consequence, his Interest, his Property & his Loyalty seem to have been blazoned in lively tropes—I shall, however, yet endeavour to fall on some Scheme of getting this independant troop of horse established for you.

Should ever my interest be arrested, I can act too & I *pledge* myself never to sell it but to accomplish your wishes—I am happy to find that you entertain thoughts of being returned at the next Election as it will be highly flattering to me to resign to my worthy Patron—Having struggled to put the Constitution on a good permanent basis, I shall bow to my Constituents, thank them, & put my hand to the Plow.

The Road for the New Settlement shall be asked—& if I can't get troops, I will try to get it cut by a formidable Surveyor's party.

The Dutch Minister¹ shall have my support for his Provisions—but the Governor can do little out of his Council, & I am fearful has no power to bestow a single Ration—the approved Provision List was sent to Quebec before my time—We will have a confab in the Spring about the Number of members sent & how the District ought to be divided—The Assembly will, I believe, meet at Niagara the first 4 years—The Seat of Government is yet undetermined. I have nothing more to say at present than that if ever I have a Stiver of influence with the Government it shall be exerted to the adoption of your service, to which I am ever bound being your debtor from Gratitude & Justice—I wish you by no means to neglect your applications to the Commodore & Mr. Hamilton—their Age & situation in the Province make their recommendations of weight.

.....
D. W. SMITH.

Please God I shall see you early in May for 2 or 3 days—tell my Constituents I have a proper sense of their goodness & my duty to them.

(Unaddressed but evidently to John Askin.)

(Askin Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Vol. II, p. 82.)

¹Zeisberger.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO GEORGE HAMMOND.

NAVY HALL, NIAGARA NOV. 17th, 1792.

Sir,

I presume that Mr. Givens has, before this, safely delivered to your Excellency my Letter & inclosures, containing the Result of the Indian Councils at the Miamis River.

Captain Littlehales, being desirous of visiting the United States, at this dead season of the year, will proceed immediately to Philadelphia & convey to your Excellency the Speeches which *He* lately received from the Six Nations at Buffaloe Creek in consequence of a request sent to me by those People, desiring that I would Order a British Officer to be present at the delivery of the Message, which they were intrusted by the Western Nations to transmit to Congress.—It includes, of course, the United Requisition of the Indians that I should be present at Sandusky, & bring with me the Antient Treaties, &c., which were held with them before the King had declared the Independancy of the United States.

I am to beg your Opinion on what answer it will be necessary for me to give to these People, our Ancient Allies & True Friends; who as you will perceive, have declared that they shall construe a refusal on my part, to be present at Sandusky, as an Evidence that the British do not wish for Peace; a doctrine that in direct contradiction to the Servants of Government, self-interested Traders may have taught them. In this dilemma I request your immediate advice.

I am, &c.
J. GRAVES SIMCOE.

His Excellency George Hammond.

Endorsed:—His Excellency Lt. Govr. Simcoe's Letter to his Excellency George Hammond. In Lt. Govr. Simcoe's No. 12 of 23d Novr., 1792.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO GEORGE HAMMOND.

NAVY HALL, NOV. 17th, 1792.

Dear Sir:—

This letter will be delivered to you by Major of Brigade, Captain Littlehales, my private Secretary, in whom I have the greatest confidence as a gentleman of the strictest integrity and honor. He will fully inform you of many circumstances which cannot be committed to writing, and I think he may be useful at the present moment.

I forwarded Your Excellency's letter, relative to young Spencer to Colonel England, who commands at Detroit.

Mr. Baby arrived here on the 10th, and I have received your letter of the 19th of November.

I am anxiously waiting to hear that the Duke of Brunswick has destroyed French Philosophy and introduced the way for National Liberty being extended to that most uneducated and unhappy people.

I must beg of you to furnish Capt. L. with such money on account of his expenses as he may require.

I am with great truth,
Your Excellency's faithful servant.
J. G. SIMCOE.

To His Excellency George Hammond.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

Number 12.

NAVY HALL, NIAGARA 23d Novr., 1792.

Sir,

I was this day honored with your Dispatch of the 12th of July. I beg leave to observe that on comparing the Copy of his Majesty's Instructions given to me, with that which was transmitted to Lord Dorchester & received by General Clarke & finding a Blank left in the List of Executive and Legislative Council for the Gentlemen of Detroit, I filled up the Vacancy with Mr. James Baby,¹ the son of a respectable French Gentleman of that District lately deceased, & the nephew of Mr. Baby of the Council of Lower Canada.

Mr. Baby is, by far the principal french Settler in that District, his Brother was lately brought into the Assembly. In my Letter of the 19th November, immediately after my arrival at Quebec, I proposed Mr. Baby for that Seat, which I supposed was reserved for a Person of his description, to which as I received no answer from you, Sir, I conceived there was no objection.

This Gentleman has accordingly taken his Seat, & been very serviceable in both Councils.

I beg leave to refer to my Letter of the 5th of November for the Recommendation of a Gentleman to fill the Seat now vacant by Mr. Robertson's² Resignation, as we are in want of an efficient number of Persons, to be always present & ready to form a Council; the Business of granting the Lands of this Country would alone require perpetual attendance, the Officers on half pay are the most respectable Settlers, but the Salary of Executive Councillor being scarcely better than what they must resign, would not compensate them for the expence & Inconvenience of quitting their Families, the mercantile People, added to their precarious situations, have rose from obscurity so rapidly and apparently to their neighbours, as would rather lessen than add strength to Government, could they afford the necessary attendance.

In the List of Legislative and Executive Counsellors, said to be Sir John Johnson's, a Copy of which I have, & where it was proposed to select one or two Canadians from Detroit, the numbers recommended were much greater, & might have admitted of two Canadians as a just proportion; at the present numbers, Mr. Grant, as well as Mr. Baby, being from that settlement I should presume may be thought sufficient; but in order strictly to comply with your directions, I have made Enquiry from those Persons who are Judges of the respective situations of the *Canadian* Gentlemen in the Latter District & I am sorry to say that except Mr. Baby, there is no Person, whom it would be proper for me to recommend to you for so important a Trust.

I must observe that his Majesty's Instructions having Omitted to ascertain what should be a Quorum of the Executive Council, it is the Chief Justice's Opinion—that three Executive Counsellors ought to be present to perform any Act of serious or judicial Import.

¹James Baby, (Jacques Baby de Rainville) 1763-1833, born at Detroit; his family was one of the oldest and most respected in Lower Canada; educated at Quebec; travelled extensively in Europe; a merchant at Detroit until the cession when he removed to Sandwich; member of the Legislative and Executive Councils, lieutenant colonel of the militia, 1793; colonel of 1st Kent Regt., 1812; commanded flank companies and other militia in the Western District, 1812-5; sustained heavy losses by the war; Inspector of Finances and President of the Legislative Council.

²William Robertson, late a partner of John Askin at Detroit.

Being anxious in every Respect to possess myself fully of your Sentiments & scrupulously to carry them into effect while I execute the Office of Lieutenant Governor in this Colony, I trust Sir, you will permit me to observe, in those passages of your Dispatch relative to the Effects of Population, as are applicable to this Country, & perhaps to no other *Colony whatever*; but I must beg to premise that I never harboured the idea, that the British Government should encourage Emigration from the United States by any overt act, which might justly offend their Government that I am perfectly sensible lays in wait to take every Advantage of such Conduct.—Nor is it necessary—my Proclamation has found its way into the States in sufficient numbers—but in regard to population at large, with all due deference, I humbly beg to submit to you, that without it takes place to great extent this Country will not be able to pay its own Expences in a Series of years—but that with a rapid population—it will shortly be able to support itself; & this arises from the peculiarity of its circumstances, the distance of the Country from the Sea renders all manufactured Commodities so immoderately dear, as not to bear any further Impost, & by the wise Reserve of one Seventh of Land a Basis is laid for a Revenue to rise and encrease proportionately with the population & settlement of the Country.

It may be true, Sir, that simple Population is not found to be the true measure of the Strength, the Riches, or the Happiness of a Country, but let Population be multiplied by Industry & the sum will certainly be Strength, Riches & Happiness & this Industry Sir, will be peculiarly the Product of Upper Canada—the Emigrants into that Colony from the United States are aware that they must be industrious, & their Labours will be most usefully applied in clearing the Country, and in agricultural Industry: it is to be added, that these Emigrants not only bring in with them an experience in this kind of Labour, which renders them Superior to the Europeans, but in general, they are allured by the Advantages of the British Government, which they have felt, & to which it is my firm & uniform belief, during every period of the late War, the greatest number of the *native* Colonists were unalterably attached; it is upon this Reasoning Sir, I conceive it would be for the interest of Great Britain, that the Population of Upper Canada should not only be progressive & regular, but immediate & rapid. The Principles of the British Constitution the American Colonists have ever enjoyed, & the forms & substantial power of it, now to be exercised in Upper Canada, will soon have the same value in their Eyes, as with the rest of Mankind—it has been justly considered that the Principal Cause of the American Revolt was the Want of an Aristocratical Power which might afford a legal Provision for the fair Claims & just ascendancy of honourable Ambition, & not suffer it to waste its Energy in Dissatisfaction & Discontent.

In Conjunction with the Council of this Province I have granted some Townships, special care has been taken that they should be only to those Persons who seem likely to bring an Acquisition of Settlers into the Country; our Aim has been to proceed with due Regularity, & I am happy to say, Sir, I believe, in perfect Conformity to those ideas, which your Dispatch now before me is meant to convey.

We have thought proper to adopt the Table of Fees, used by the Province of Nova Scotia, & I shall make immediate Application to His Excellency Governor Wentworth, to transmit the same for your Perusal, that no time may be lost, in the final Arrangement of what those, who wish to settle in this Province are so desirous to ascertain.

In respect to a just attention to the Interests of Religion & a Provision for the Education of the rising Generation, who must take their due Lead in Society,

under the present Constitution, & principally fill up the Offices of Government, I only beg leave Sir, to refer you to my late Dispatches upon these Subjects. I have therein stated strongly what I have felt sincerely; and these momentous Concerns will not only involve in themselves the Comfort & Happiness of the Settlers in this Country, & be the surest means of rendering it populous, but will chiefly contribute to that intimate Union with great Britain, which if duly improved & properly supported as Necessity requires at the present Season; I see no reason why it should not become permanent for Ages.

I do myself the Honour of transmitting the Proceedings of the Council of the Six Nations, at Buffalo Creek, Confirming those of the United Council of the Indians assembled at the Miamis; & my Letter to Mr. Hammond on that Subject. I was anxious to communicate as early as possible to Mr. Hammond, this, the final result of the Indian Determinations, & the completion for the present of the Negotiation on the Part of this Government.

Major of Brigade Littlehales, who attended at this Council, offered to be the Bearer of my Dispatches to Mr. Hammond, by going through the Wood & Swamps; the only practicable means, at this Season; I accepted of his manly & zealous offer, with the greater Pleasure as he is furnished with ample knowledge of the situation of the Indians in this Country.—I have little doubt from Mr. Hammond's former Communications, but that he will approve of the manner in which this Business has been conducted.

I beg leave to assure you, Sir, that I see no reason to alter any one of those Opinions, which I formerly did myself the honor of submitting to His Majesty's Ministers, previous to my leaving Great Britain; I feel myself particularly indebted to you, Sir, for the Confidence you are pleased to repose in me, & I will persevere to the best of my Judgement & Capacity to make use of such means & powers, however limited, or however extensive, as shall be entrusted in my hands, for his Majesty's Interest & the Promotion of the Public Service.

I do myself the honor of enclosing the proposals of Mr. Holland, Son of the Surveyor General, for exploring the North West Country, and ascertaining the Geography of this part of the World, should, at any time, such a measure be thought advisable.

I have the honour to be, Sir, with the greatest Respect,
Your most Obedient humble Servant,
J. GRAVES SIMCOE.

Right Honorable Henry Dundas,
one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, &c., &c.

Endorsed:—Niagara, 23d Novr., 1792. Lt. Govr. Simcoe. No. 12. R. 19th April. Three inclosures.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

NAVY HALL, Novemr. 25th, 1792.

Sir,

I must beg leave to call Your Excellency's Attention to a Circumstance that may happen should it be the determination of Mr. Washington, as I believe it is, to carry on the Indian War, and in consequence to refuse the British Intervention. In this Event, as He seems already to have quitted the Original & untenable Grounds of the War, That the Indian Territory was ceded by Great Britain, He

will probably, from our Influence with the Savages, deduce the Necessity of perseverance in his Operations.

Under these Circumstances, if the Disposition of the Army of the United States be contemplated, It will appear from Mr. Hammond's letter that the defence of Fort Washington¹ and its dependencies are sufficiently provided for, and not only so, but should, in the next Summer, the Troops in those Garrisons take the Field, they would form the Basis of a powerful Army sufficient for all the purposes of diversion when reinforced by the Militia of Kentucky, whose Animosity against the Indians & warlike disposition, render them a very formidable Enemy.

The main body of General Wayne's Army, whether at present detained at Pittsburg, by the unprecedented failure of the Waters of the Ohio, for the purpose of Discipline, (or to awe the back Counties of Pensylvania, whose discontents have been thought of sufficient Consequence to draw forth a Proclamation from the President), I should conceive may be employed to cut off all Communication between the Six Nations & Western Indians by proceeding up the Allegany to Fort Franklin² & ultimately to Presque Isle,³ by this Position, Genl Wayne would effectually awe the Six Nations; and in case the ultimate designs of Mr. Washington and his Colleagues being arrived at sufficient Maturity, will be on the direct & most practicable rout by Land to Niagara.

If the Six Nations should resist or take an active Part their Country would immediately become the Seat of Action, and probably a most profitable Conquest. In either Case, their Acquiescence or Resistance, the Establishment at Presqu'Isle would include the building of Batteaux & proper Gun Boats, & ultimately the forming an Establishment at Miamis Bay. It is upon the possible Event of the United States equipping a Naval Armament at this or any Port of the Lakes that I wish for Your Excellency's Instructions whether I shall or shall not consider it as Hostility, that it would be so in the Event, cannot be denied; that the Possession of the Forts have always hitherto been supposed to secure that of the Navigation of the Lakes, is a known fact; and that popular Conversation has led the Minds of the Inhabitants of this Country to expect an immediate Opposition on our parts to any Armament appearing upon the Lakes, is a matter of general Notoriety. I find no General Order to direct my Conduct but that "force must be repelled by force," and this Interpretation I should certainly place upon any attempt of the United States to pass thro' those Communications, both shores of which are in *Possession* of His Majesty.

In respect to the point of View in which the People of the United States are inclined to consider this Matter, I cannot but offer my Opinion to Your Excellency that Mr. Knox⁴ in his letter to General Sinclair where he adverts to the necessity

¹At Cincinnati.

²The United States constructed Fort Franklin in 1787 at the junction of French Creek and the Allegheny River, the same position of vantage that had been formerly occupied by Fort Machault and Fort Venango, viz., at Franklin City, Pa., of the present day. "Fort Franklin stood on what was formerly Elbow Street, now called Franklin Avenue. . . . A monument inscribed with its name, and giving the dates of its construction and abandonment (1796) has been placed where it stood." W. T. Bell, "Notes on the Early History of Franklin and Venango County, Penna." (1910).

³Erie, Pa.

⁴Jefferson proposed to the cabinet the construction of a fort at Presqu'Isle mainly to affirm the right of navigation upon Lake Erie and at the same time to interpose a barrier to the free communication of the Senecas living in the State of New York with the western nations. Hamilton and Knox objected to this proposal for fear of hastening a war with Great Britain. Washington remarked that the accomplishment of such a project ought to be deferred until the United States could provide a sufficient garrison for such a post. Jefferson had already suggested to Hammond that the two countries could agree upon the size of the naval force to be maintained on the lakes.

of keeping fair with Great Britain "till Events should arise of quality and magnitude sufficient to impress that People & the World at large of the rank injustice & unfairness of the Procedure"—had in his View not an uncertain, but some specific Object; and as Sinclair is generally understood to have advised a Water movement from Presqu' Isle, and General Knox in his Instructions to him expressly says "that the delicate Situation of Affairs may render it improper for the present to make any Naval Arrangements on Lake Erie, as they might tend to discussion & Altercation, &c.," from these Circumstances, I am led to consider that our preventing the Construction not only of Vessels of Burthen, but of Batteaux, & their passage upon the Lakes, is the unjust and unfair Procedure which General Knox had in his Contemplation.

I have thus done myself the honor of stating those Opinions to Your Excellency which lead me at this juncture, to request Your precise Orders on this important Subject. It is not probable, that any Event can take place to call for my decision before I can receive Your Excellency's Instructions upon this head, but should such be the Case, I think it not improper to state that under the precise Orders of "repelling force by force," I should not think myself justifiable in giving any interruption to the Armaments of the United States that did not molest the territory or Possessions of His Majesty.

I have the honor to be with the most perfect Respect & Esteem,
Your Excellency's Most obedt.

J. G. SIMCOE

Colonel Commanding in Upper Canada

To His Excellency Major General Clarke
Commander in Chief &c., &c. Quebec.

Endorsed:—(1) In Genl Clarke's to Mr. Dundas No. 64.

FROM GEORGE HAMMOND TO J. G. SIMCOE.

PHILADELPHIA, 27 Novr., 1792.

Sir,

I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of Your Excellency's despatch of the 24th October, together with its several interesting enclosures by Lieut. Givens. The solicitation on the part of the Indians of His Majesty's interposition appeared to me so pointed and important, as to induce me not to conceal my knowledge of it from the American Ministers. I therefore, upon the second morning after the receipt of your letters, waited upon Mr. Hamilton, and requested him to inform me whether this Government had then learnt the result of the Indian Council held at the Miami Rapids. Upon his answering in the negative, I stated to him loosely and generally, that I had received information from you that the Indians had evinced a willingness to meet early in the spring at Sandusky, any persons deputed by the American Government to treat with them, and that in consequence of this disposition, they had sent a formal message to you, soliciting His Majesty's good offices, not only as mediator, but also as the principal party in the several treaties concluded with them subsequently to the year 1763, and antecedent to the separation of the Colonies from Great Britain. I did not enter into any other particulars, than merely to express my sense of the propriety of this

application to the King, as a power eminently interested in the restoration of tranquility on the frontiers of his Dominions, and as the possessor of those Treaties that defined the Indian Boundaries as existing at the period of ceding the Territory comprehended in them to the United States, which cession could unquestionably transfer no other rights of soil, or of any other nature, than such as His Majesty actually enjoyed. I concluded by requesting that my present communication might be considered as purely informal, in the making of which, I was actuated by no other motive, than a friendly anxiety to give this Government intelligence of an event which materially affected it, and with which it was unacquainted. Mr. Hamilton in reply thanked me for the confidence which I had placed in him, but expressed his opinion that his Government would not deem it expedient to accede to the Indian proposition of mediation, since he conceived that such a proceeding would diminish the importance of the United States in the estimation of the Indians, and might eventually lead to a disagreeable discussion with Great Britain, in the case of any difference of opinion arising between her Government and that of the United States in arranging the conditions of the Peace.

He was proceeding to add other observations of a similar tendency, but I terminated the conversation by saying, that I had formerly communicated to him my personal, individual opinion, to which I still adhered, in favor of this proposition, a recurrence to which on the part of the Indians appeared to me extremely natural as affording the most feasible mode of adjusting the present unhappy differences. But as he imagined the American Administration would refuse to adopt it, it was at present totally unnecessary for me to enter into any examination of the motives which might dictate that refusal. As my conversation with Mr. Hamilton had been, on his part, merely confidential, and on mine, intended solely to sound more precisely the general disposition of the American Ministers, I waited afterwards on Mr. Jefferson, as being the more regular medium of communication with this Government. To this gentleman, I held pretty nearly the same language as that which I had used to Mr. Hamilton, accompanied with an assurance, that if the Government should concur in the Indian application to His Majesty, I had the strongest reason to believe that His Majesty would regularly contribute his assistance in effectuating so desirable an object, as would be the restoration of Peace. I then repeated my expectation that for the reasons I have before mentioned, he also would consider this communication as entirely informal. Mr. Jefferson contented himself with briefly replying that he viewed it in that light, and would not fail to lay the information I had given him before the President without delay. I must not omit adding that previously to my leaving Mr. Jefferson, I mentioned the service which Colonel McKee had rendered to the United States, in protracting the Council until the arrival of the Six Nations. I desired him to keep this circumstance in mind, as it afforded the most complete refutation of the assertion of an hostile interference on the part of the Government of Canada, which had been so industriously propagated last year, and which probably would be renewed.

Since these two conversations, I have not received from any of the American Ministers any direct intimations relative to this important subject. I have, however, learnt indirectly, sufficient to leave no doubt upon my mind, that they still persevere in their determination to endeavour to effect a pacification solely by their own exertions, and not to require or admit our intervention or assistance in settling the conditions of it. Should they, however, recede from this resolution, I shall instantly make you acquainted with the alteration in their sentiments, by the safest and most expeditious mode of conveyance. I enclose to you an

extract from my late despatch to Lord Grenville, from which you will perceive the Schism now existing between the two most influential members of the American Administration,¹ and the probability of serious disturbances occurring on the confines of the Southern States. In regard to the interference of the Spaniards in that quarter, I have learnt from the best authority that this Government has the most decided proofs of the justice of its suspicions on that subject.

Since the meeting of Congress, the members of the Committee appointed at the last Session to investigate the causes of the failure of the expedition under Genl. St. Clair, have resumed their deliberations, as the report they presented has been generally considered as extremely unconclusive and unsatisfactory.²

I have the honor to be, &c.

GEO. HAMMOND.

His Excellency Lt. Govr. Simcoe.

FROM HENRY DUNDAS TO J. G. SIMCOE.

WHITEHALL, 6th Decemr., 1792.

Lieut. Govr. Simcoe.

Sir,

I have received your Letter of the 20th of August last together with one private of the same date inclosing a Copy of a Letter from you to Lieutenant Governor Clarke, the last of which I have read with particular attention.

His Majesty's Servants are aware of the Inconveniences which arise from the want of a final adjustment of the Boundary between His Majesty's Dominions and the American States and to effect which they will neglect no means which promises success, nor fail to seize the most favorable opportunity which may occur for that purpose.

In the mean time, it is almost unnecessary to add that too much care cannot be taken, (consistently with the Protection of His Majesty's Subjects and the Security of the Posts in our Possession), that in all matters of dispute between His Majesty's Subjects and those of the American States, His Majesty's Government in Canada should be such as to preclude the Possibility of a Spirit of ill humour and discontent existing at the time when Propositions for the Completion of so desirable an Object are likely to be brought forward.

I am, &c.

HENRY DUNDAS.

Endorsed:—Drat. To Lt. Govr. Simcoe. Decemr., 1792.

¹Hamilton and Jefferson.

²Printed in American State Papers, Military Affairs, Volume I, pp. 36-9.

FROM HENRY KNOX TO THE WESTERN INDIANS.

TO THE SACHEMS CHIEFS AND WARRIORS OF THE WYANDOTS, DELAWARES, OTTAWAS, CHIPPEWAS, POTTIWATIMAS, SHAWANOEES AND MIAMIS AND THE HEAD MEN OF ALL THE OTHER TRIBES IN ALLIANCE WITH THEM, TO THE SOUTHWARD OF THE LAKES AND NORTH OF THE OHIO, AND EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

BROTHERS.

We have heard your voice, and received your messages, through our good friends the Six Nations, appointing the time when the leaves shall be fully out the next Spring, to meet the Commissioners of the United States at the Rapids of the Miamis River which runs into Lake Erie.

The President of the United States, embraces your proposal, and he will send Commissioners to meet you at the time and place appointed, with the sincere desire of removing forever all causes of difference so that we may always hereafter be good friends and brothers.

It is designed that there may be a full assembly of all the Chiefs and Head men of all your Tribes, so that the Peace, which we hope will then be Concluded, may be fully known, and perfectly observed, by all the parties.

The United States will endeavour to furnish by the way of Canada and the Lakes, a full supply of provisions during the Treaty. But lest there should be any unforeseen obstacle to the measure a supply will also be forwarded by our nearest posts to you for this purpose, and it will be expected that there be no interruption on your part to the transportation thereof. We shall prevent any of our parties going into the Indian Country, so that you may with your women and children, rest in full security. And we desire and shall expect, that you call in all your Warriors, and prevent their going out again; it will be in vain to expect peace while they continue their depredations on the frontiers.

GIVEN by order of the President of the United States
in the City of Philadelphia this twelfth
day of Dec. one thousand
seven hundred & ninety two.

H. KNOX,
Secretary of War
having the direction of Ind. affairs.

Endorsed:—Genl. Knox's letter to the Western Indians. Recd. the 20th & a copy sent to Head Quarters the 21st. Feb., 1793.

FROM R. G. ENGLAND TO J. G. SIMCOE.

DETROIT, December 29th, 1792.

Sir:—

Immediately after I was honored with Your Excellency's command relative to Oliver Spencer, a Prisoner boy, taken by the Indians in the neighborhood of Fort Washington, I applied to Colonel McKee to endeavor to obtain his release, and an express was instantly sent by him to his correspondent at the Glaze where the boy is, and have the honor now to enclose you a copy of the answer he received.

I regret exceedingly that our endeavors have not yet been as successful as my anxiety for a boy under his description induced me to hope, but we have so far succeeded as to ensure the boy being properly taken care of, and as the Colonel proposed going to the Foot of the Rapids as soon as the ice is sufficiently formed as to admit of his travelling, there is little doubt but from his influence he will be able to obtain his release, and bring him with him on his return here, where every possible care shall be taken of him by me till the navigation opens and a proper opportunity offers of sending him to you in order that he may be restored to his parents.

I did not receive a letter which Mr. Hammond in his letter to you mentioned to have addressed to me, and which I beg you will be pleased to inform him, lest he should consider me inattentive in not acknowledging it, as I suppose it related to this unfortunate boy.

I have the honor to send Your Excellency copies of returns of the strength of the Americans at Fort Jefferson, which were lately sent to Colonel McKee by them; you will perceive that they are not very strong in ordnance, provisions, ammunition, or stores, though their number of men has lately increased. The account that accompanied those returns to Colonel McKee mentions the Little Turtle (an Indian Chief)¹ being lately arrived at the Foot of the Rapids with twenty six more horses and four head of horned cattle, therefore I suppose the cattle guard mentioned by a prisoner taken at the attack on the Militia at Fort Sinclair, (a new Fort lately built) has been discovered and the cattle taken or destroyed. The account further mentions that the Indians who have lately returned from war say there is a large body of Troops assembled at Fort Hamilton, and that in consequence the Indians propose to keep together at the Glaze as much as possible and look out.

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's very obedient and most humble servant,

R. G. ENGLAND,

Lieut. Colonel Commanding.

His Excellency Colonel Simcoe, &c., &c., &c.

FROM R. G. ENGLAND TO J. G. SIMCOE.

DETROIT, December 29th, 1792.

Sir:—

A man calling himself Joseph Collins lately came in here from the Illinois Country with a view as he represents to obtain permission to trade with the Post at Michilimackinac from that Country, and to supply it with Provisions in the Summer. His speculation appearing to me a little wild, particularly as he was not known by any one here, and did not bring any letters to recommend him, and as I did not consider an intercourse with the Illinois to be very eligible at this time I conceived it proper to confine him to a lodging I had procured for him, and now send him to Navy Hall in order to be forwarded to Fort Pitt (as he wishes) provided Your Excellency should approve of it or to be dealt with as you should consider proper. I am well aware I should send him back by Fort St. Joseph² the route by

¹The Little Turtle, 1747-1812, had been one of the principal chiefs of the Indian force that had defeated St. Clair.

²On the river of that name, near where the city of Niles, Mich. now stands.

which he came into this settlement, but as I have not sufficient proof of improper intentions on his part and from his declaring himself a British Subject, motives of humanity prevent me from turning him loose among the Indians, which from his suspicious character I am certain would be attended with immediate death to him. My principal apprehension of him was a suspicion of his being employed to bring messages to the Indians in this neighborhood from those tribes assembled in September last at Post Vincent who entered into a Treaty of Peace or neutrality with General Puttman¹ who presided there, and where this man was as he acknowledged to me and Colonel McKee, who I consulted, assured me that sending him back the route he came would, if he had our sanction and pass, create a jealousy and alarm among the Indians, and if he had not, that he would most undoubtedly be scalped. He is a shrewd, sensible, active fellow, and I am certain from his tone of voice is an American, though he says he has lived chiefly at Jamaica. He is very well acquainted with the Illinois, Mississippi, Ohio, and Wabash Rivers and Settlements, and as he tells me, is acquainted with the particulars of the Treaty and Council held at Post Vincent in September.²

I acknowledge I felt myself much at a loss what to do with this man, but as I am unwilling to encourage any intercourse that may create jealousies among the Indians or be attended with improper consequences to this Post or Settlement, and as the expense of sending him to Navy Hall is not very considerable I have made that option which, I trust will meet with Your Excellency's approbation.

I have written to Lieutenant Talbot to pay his guide or escort thirty dollars which Colonel McKee agreed with him for. I would have detained Collins here till the Winter express set out but calculated the expense of keeping him would nearly equal what I have promised his escort, and if his intentions should be unfriendly, he certainly would be an unfit companion for the person entrusted with Official Letters and large remittances from this Post. Whatever he may turn out to be, he gives room for strong suspicions.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your Excellency's, &c., &c.,
RICHARD ENGLAND,
Lieut. Colonel Commanding.

FROM JOHN MCGILL TO J. G. SIMCOE.

QUEENSTOWN, 8th January, 1793.

Sir,—

I had the honor of receiving your Excellency's commands of the 21st December last enclosing the copy of the two letters from Head Quarters on the subject of supplying the Posts in this Province with flour for the present year.

I conceive it my duty to submit to your Excellency that the bounty hitherto allowed as an encouragement to the Settlers, (in lieu of transport), has, from the want of a circulating medium of cash, and the mode of payment Government found it expedient to adopt for the supplies, been converted entirely to the benefit of a few individuals monopolizing the whole quantity wanted by Government. In order to accomplish this and to ensure continuance of the monopoly in their own

¹General Rufus Putnam.

²September 26, 1792.

hands, their first object was to supply the settlers with such articles as they might immediately stand in need of, and with Notes or Bons substituted to supply the deficiency of circulating Cash, for which they in return received flour, by this means so much of the quantity at market as answered their purpose centered in the hands of those monopolizers residing at, or near the different Posts, depriving every other person who lived at a distance from a share of the supplies, and consequently of the Bounty intended by Government, for the general benefit of all the Settlers.

The nominal money in circulation here, for the payment of all kinds of produce, is nothing more than notes of hand (or what is termed Bons,) on small Scrips of paper from $3\frac{3}{4}$ Sterling to thirty six shillings Sterling issued by people in Trade payable on the 10th, 15th, & 25th October annually subject to no Interest, and generally pass in the neighbourhood where the issuer resides. It, however, not infrequently happens that the holder of some of this paper currency finds it necessary to realize it into specie, and for that purpose has recourse to the issuer, who will not give specie for his own notes unless he receives Nine Dollars for Eight or at the rate of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent discount though he had perhaps not long before paid those very notes as Cash to the person, who makes the Application, this added to a risk of the issuer's failure is a hardship on the Settler besides a very great additional expense to Government, because the monopolizer receives the same price for flour in real cash that he allows the settler in nominal, consequently the supplies for Government are not had at the first but at the second market.

In order to procure the supplies on the best possible terms for which they can be obtained for Government and to guard as much as it is possible against partiality and monopoly, and of securing to all the Settlers the opportunity and advantages of a market for their produce, Public notice should be given that sealed tenders would be received at the different Posts on a fixed day from all persons choosing to offer, for such quantities of flour of the first quality properly packed and warranted as may be wanted.

No tender to be for less than ten Barrels, each to contain Two hundred Pounds Net, giving such directions as would ensure the Advertisements reaching the most distant settlements in time, for those persons who may choose to send or give in their tenders by the day appointed: and in order to prevent as much as it is possible, every idea of partiality, the Persons Authorized to receive the tenders at the different Posts to be made answerable that the hour and day on which they are received shall be entered on the back of each tender, and a book kept in which the name of each person who shall deliver in a tender by the appointed day with the quantity of flour offered by each, may be inserted, and should the supplies exceed the demand for Government, which there is every reason to believe will be the case at Kingston, a proper proportion may be taken from each agreeable to the quantity mentioned in his Tender, provided that proportion does not fall short of Ten Barrels.

The success or failure of the whole measure will depend entirely on the mode of payment adopted for the supplies. If it is intended that it shall be of General advantage to the settlers, all monopolies must first be totally set aside, and I can see no way of doing this effectually, unless it should be found expedient for Government to alter the mode of payment hitherto adopted and in the lieu thereof to direct that all supplies for Government in future will be paid for here in Cash, or transferable Certificates in ten or twenty days, thus introducing a certain medium of specie into circulation, those monopolizers will no longer be able to speculate and engross the supplies by means of their paper, which will be no longer taken in payment when specie is once introduced, and the agents of Government would thereby

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be enabled to make all purchases at the first and best market, at perhaps 12 or 15 per Cent less expense to Government than under the present circumstances of obtaining the supplies. From the best information I have been able to collect, I conceive that the supplies of flour may be obtained at Kingston for eight shillings and sixpence, Halifax Currency, per One hundred and twelve pounds.

Wheat can be had there for 2/6 per Bushel, two and a half bushels (if good wheat) will make 112 lbs. of flour, but allowing that it takes three Bushels to produce 1 Cwt. of flour of the first quality with the 1/ per Cwt. hitherto allowed for Cash is 8/6 leaving Carnel and Bran more than sufficient to defray every expense incurred by the manufacturer. As the settlements in the neighbourhood of Kingston will have a large surplus of flour at Market after supplying the demand for the King's Troops and Loyalists at that Post, this circumstance may be converted into a saving to Government by reducing the price of this article in the other settlements, and supplying any deficiency that may arise at the Posts of Niagara and Detroit.

At Niagara wheat cannot be purchased for less than 3/9 in specie and not under 4/, 4½, and 4/8¼ per Bushel in paper, 5/ payable in goods; allowing three Bushels to one hundred and twelve pounds of flour purchased with specie at 3/9 per Bushel with 1/ per Cwt. for Cash, can be obtained for 12/3 per Cwt. Halifax Currency; but these settlements not having a quantity of this article at market equal to the demand for the supply of this Post, whatever is deficient can be procured on better terms at Kingston, and transported in the King's Vessels across Lake Ontario without any additional expense to Government.

Detroit, those settlements not being fully equal to furnishing the whole of the supplies wanted for this Post, suppose the same price 12/3 is allowed, what it might be obtained for at Niagara, for what they can supply, the deficiency may be obtained on better terms at Kingston, and transported in the King's Vessels across Lakes Ontario and Erie without any additional expense to Government besides the transport from the landing at Queenstown to Fort Erie.

From the Plentiful crops of wheat raised in the different settlements last season, there is every reason to believe the resources of this Province in the article of flour after reserving sufficient for the use of the inhabitants, will greatly exceed the supplies wanted for the King's Troops and Loyalists.

In this case the saving to Government on a general outline by withdrawing the bounty hitherto allowed as an encouragement to the settlers, and receiving flour at the market price, would for the different Posts be as follows.

	lb.	Cwt.	Qr.	Lb.		
Kingston--	200,000	1785.	2.	24.	at 3/	267.17.1½.
Niagara.	560,000	5000	—	—	at 5/3	1312.10.
Detroit.—	400,000.	3571.	1.	20.	at 7/9	1383.18.6¾
						<hr/>
						£ 2964.5.8¼.

This sum seems large and would lessen the expence to Government greatly in the article of flour, could it consistently with the general good of the service of the Posts be withdrawn; but till such time as there is a sufficient number of mills erected within the Province for manufacturing wheat into flour, so as to discourage every kind of combination against Government, and till magazines are established at all or some particular Post, it may be dangerous to attempt the experiment.

However should the Bounty hitherto allowed be withdrawn and the supplies

of flour be purchased at the preceding prices the expense to Government, allowing the whole to be supplied by the settlements in the vicinity of each Post, for

	lb.	Cwt.	Qr.	Lb.		
Kingston.—	200,000.	1785.	2.	24.	at 3/-	267.17.11½.
Niagara.—	560,000.	5000.	—	—	at 12/3.	3062.10.
Detroit.—	400,000.	3571.	1.	20.	at 12/3.	2187.10.
						<hr/>
						£ 6008.18.7.

It has hitherto been a practice amongst the settlers to put flour in old Barrels which not only contain too large a quantity to keep good for any length of time; but subjects the flour to damage when transported from Post to Post.

I have the honor to be Sir, &c.,

Your Excellency's, &c.,

JOHN MCGILL.,

Commissary Stores & Provisions.

Upper Canada.

His Excellency, Lieut. Governor Simcoe, &c., &c., &c.

FROM D. W. SMITH TO JOHN ASKIN.

NIAGARA, 17 Jany., 1793.

My dear Sir,

I received with pleasure your Letters of the 25 Novr & 28 decr. last—I do assure you I never shewed any of your letters—they are quite to myself—I have no Cronys—I beg you don't apologize to me on the score of my interference relative to your affairs & wishes—when I tell you I have not been lukewarm in your interest, you may religiously believe me—I have said more on the subject than I thought I should have dared—it is not from not having a very high opinion of you that things cannot be done to your wishes—but from impressions made at Quebec that has rendered it so impossible to overset anything that has taken place—I I regret as much as you can the situation of the circumstances, particularly as I fear everything which has come from me has been construed into resentment more than a wish to serve you—I care not how many Enemies I make when I am conscious I am endeavouring to serve a friend, without Injury to any Individual, & in attempting to promote thereby the public good.

The Newspapers which are forwarded for Colonel England & Colonel McKee, will give you all the news we have going, which indeed is not a great deal exclusive of the French Business.

A very great pressure of business at this time will, I am sure, apologize to you for me not writing you a longer Letter.

.....
D. W. SMITH.

John Askin, Esquire, Detroit.

FROM ALURED CLARKE TO J. G. SIMCOE.

QUÉBEC, 21st January, 1793.

Sir,

On the 12th Ultimo I received Your Excellency's letter of November the 25th stating the reasons that induced you to ask my instructions "Whether you shall or shall not consider the equipping a Naval Armament by the United States at Presqu' Isle or any other port of the Lakes as hostility," and the opinions which led you at this juncture to request more precise orders in addition to the general one now existing at all the Posts and in your possession "*that Force must be repelled by Force,*" and having given the whole subject the serious attention that the importance of the subject and the judicious manner in which you treat it merits, I am to observe that knowing as we do the earnest desire of His Majesty and His Ministers to avoid war, and the consequence it is of to the ease and prosperity of the Canadas to cultivate peace and good understanding with our Neighbours, we should be particularly cautious not to furnish the grounds of quarrel, that you seem to think and I agree Mr. Knox in his instructions to General Wayne had in view, as the most popular of any they could devise. I am therefore of opinion that any other orders or instructions than those which already have been given by Lord Dorchester and confirmed by His Majesty's approbation expressed in a letter from the Secretary of State are at present inexpedient and might be improper, and particularly as you seem to understand them in the full extent that I conceive they were meant to operate. It is however with great pleasure I observe your active and discerning mind so watchful of every measure, its scope and progress, and so attentive to the consequences that may result to us from the continuation of hostilities between the Indians and the United States, and which I am persuaded will in great degree obviate the difficulties that might arise tending to disturb the public tranquility, and I trust that you will not only consider a decided Superiority of naval Force upon the Lakes as a Material point towards the accomplishment of that desirable end, but that you will likewise take such steps for preserving it, if our Neighbours should begin to build, as may be most effectual and in which you may depend on my concurrence, being confident that every measure you may think fit to adopt will be directed by judgment and executed with discretion.

As your letter contains much useful information and as it must be satisfactory to us both to know the sentiments of His Majesty's Ministers on the questions relative to the Navigation of the Lakes by the Subjects of the United States, &c., I shall transmit Copies thereof and of my reply by the first Mail via Halifax, and which I expect will be there in time to be forwarded by the March packet; and in the interim I shall derive great satisfaction from the reflection that the superintendence of the King's Affairs in Upper Canada is in the hands of a person I esteem so much and whose known abilities, zeal, and experience promise the most favorable issue, let the occasions that call for their exertion be what they may.

I am with great regard, &c.

ALURED CLARKE.

His Excellency Colonel Simcoe.

Endorsed:—(2) In General Clarke's to Mr. Dundas. No. 64.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO GEORGE HAMMOND.

NAVY HALL, NIAGARA, Jan'y 21st, 1793.

Sir,

I am honored this Moment with Your Excellency's dispatches of the 4th of January by Captain Littlehales.

Your opinions on the general conduct to be held by this Government at the expected Negotiation between the Indian Americans and the United States perfectly coincide with my Ideas, and I cannot but feel myself relieved from a very great Embarrassment by the Methods which your Excellency has taken to pre-dispose the Ministers of the States to expect the presence of Colonels McKee and Butler at the Meeting.

I am essentially satisfied that Your Excellency has also prepared Mr. Jefferson to expect that my Answer to the Solemn request of the Indian Nations will be couched in such terms as shall be sufficiently explicit of the good wishes of this Government.

But upon mature deliberation and consultation separately with Colonel Butler and Joseph Brant I must decline the giving permission to the Agents of the States, to purchase Provisions in this Colony for the supply of the Indian Meeting. In consequence of the request of the Indians for our Assistance particularly for Provisions, which your Excellency will see in the proceedings of the General Council, I have already taken such steps as are usual to obtain the adequate supplies, the Expence is a matter of consideration and regret, but Colonel Butler having assured me that it would be indispensably necessary for him and Colonel McKee at all events to have a certain quantity of Provisions to entertain the Indians with during the frequent applications which may be expected to be made to them for advice, and Captain Brant giving it as his opinion that the Indians would feel themselves less Independent, if they were Victualed by the United States during the Negotiation, I could not hesitate on the ground of expediency to incur the expence which I conceive will not much exceed the annual Supplies.

But, Sir, I beg to offer to your recollection that every transaction relative to Indian Affairs flows in the Military Channel, and tho' doubtless for any purpose of obvious Utility I should venture to break through the general Course of what has been Systematically adopted by the Commanders in Chief, and make use of my own discretion, yet I by no means think myself justified to do so in the present instance.—I inclose for Your Excellency's perusal an Extract from Sir William Johnson's Letter to the Board of Trade, on which our System of Management of the Indians seems to me to have been expressly founded, and which states that as the Successors of the French, it is necessary, that we should supply the Wants of the Indians, as an acknowledgment to them, that we hold the Posts by their permission, from hence has arisen the constant Necessity that the Government of Canada has been under of supplying the Wants of any Assemblage of the Savages for any purpose whatsoever; and consequently the Standing Orders of these Posts have always been to this Effect, and tho' of late years they have been so modified that all our presents, whether to the Indians within our Territories or on the Frontiers, are sent to some distance from our Posts, this has been done Principally with a view to rescue the Savage from being a Victim of his own debauchery, and the rapacity of our Traders.—Such is the Ancient and general System of our Management of the Indians which only requires to be known, to convince the Subjects of the States, of the Interest Great Britain has, that Indians should not be Assembled

together, as it is so burthensome and expensive to her; and that the Support which they receive from her by no means arises from new or temporary considerations, but is the result of long Established custom.

It is therefore, Sir, peculiarly a Subject of regret to me that I feel myself called upon not to admit such an Innovation as has been requested of Your Excellency, and particularly as I have reason to believe that, had I admitted of it, the Agent of the States would have found it very difficult to have obtained sufficient Supplies, without I had extended the permission beyond what I could have convinced myself Warranted to have done, and allowed him to have taken Provisions from His Majesty's Magazines.

The Indians, having been informed that their request for Provisions will be attended to, I am certain that they will never suffer the United States to forward a Supply thro' their Country of which they have hitherto been extremely jealous, and which as it appears to me has been Inserted in the Speech delivered to Captain Brant, a Copy of which I forward to Your Excellency, without due deliberation, or is by no means Calculated to promote any pacific Intentions.

I have the honor to be, &c., &c., &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

His Excellency George Hammond, Esqr. &c., &c., &c.

Endorsed:—No. 2. In Genl. Clarke's to Mr. Dundas. (No. 67)

J. G. SIMCOE TO COLONEL McKEE.

Extract of a Letter from His Excellency, Colonel Simcoe, to Colonel McKee, dated Navy Hall, January 23rd, 1793.

"You will see by the Speech that is now transmitted by Captain Brant, that the States have agreed to meet the Indians at Miami Rapids, by which I understand *Sandusky*, and I presume whether this alteration be thro' design or by accident, that the Indian Confederacy will adhere to the place of meeting being at *Sandusky*.

It appears also by this Speech, that the *States* will endeavour to furnish by the Lakes provisions during the Treaty, and also, least, there should be a deficiency, it is intimated they expect that they shall be permitted to furnish what provisions may be wanting, from the nearest Posts to the Indian Country; it is evident therefore, that they mean to Establish Provisions & Magazines, under that pretext upon the Line, by which they are advancing their Posts between Fort Washington and that Fortress which the Letters intercepted at St. Clair's defeat mention they mean to erect at the Miami Rapids; I cannot but fear from these circumstances, that some collusion is intended. Application has been made *to me* for permission to furnish the supplies at the expence of the United States, from this Quarter, and to transport them across the Lakes in the King's Vessels: this request I have declined the compliance with, as at all events the Indian Confederacy may be *assured* that their *prior* request for Provisions shall be complied with to its usual and Necessary Extent; of which I beg of You without delay to give me the best probable information in your power, together with the account of what Your Settlement can afford and what may be the price of every necessary Species of Provisions—and the best

mode of conveyance. I have this day forwarded to Mr. Hammond my refusal of this request of the States and attributing it among other reasons to its being our invariable System as Possessors of the Ports to assist the Indians, from whatever Cause they may be assembled with Provisions."

Endorsed:—No. 4. In Genl Clarke's to Mr. Dundas. (No. 67)

FROM JOSEPH CHEW TO ALEXANDER McKEE.

MONTREAL, 24th January, 1793.

My Dear Sir,

You cannot think of the very great disappointment it has been to me that I have not heard from you since the Council ended at the Glaize, and more so as I have not been able to give our friend Sir John Johnson any account of what was resolved on there, all I know is from a copy of a journal of Mr. Johnson, interpreter at Niagara, sent to me by Col. Butler, which is different in many parts, and wants explanation in others. Yesterday I received a letter from Mr. Coffin¹ dated at Quebec the 17th Instant of which the following is an Extract.

"Col. Simcoe transmitted to the General some time ago, a copy of the proceedings of the General Indian Council held at the Glaize, His Excellency does not recollect that you have mentioned receiving them to be deposited as a record in the Office of the Superintendent General, if therefore it has not been done, the General requests you will give Colo. McKee a hint on this head.—"

In answer to the above I have wrote to Mr. Coffin, that from your former punctual manner of transmitting all matters of this kind, I was apprehensive your letters had been detained by the way, and should write to you of it, I was in hopes that I should have heard by the return of Gautier, Mr. Clarke's² conductor, that you had received the Stationary, Wampum, & other articles he had the charge of to be delivered to you, and he has not returned me a receipt of the delivery.

Several other matters I expected to have been informed of, Particularly whether you had got the General order of the 20th of September, had received the stove, &c. from Mr. Clarke, but above all things I wished to have had it in my power to have acquainted Sir John of the temper and disposition of the Indians, myself and both my sons, are now closely employed in examining the Indian Records and papers from the year 1676, Copying and entering into two Books, whatever, I think will be of use to our Indian friends, in case they meet the Americans at a Treaty this next summer, and I dont know but I may be ordered up with those Books to Governor Simcoe but this is between ourselves.

I have now the very sincere satisfaction and pleasure to tell you I have just received a letter from Sir John dated the 10th of October, at which time, Lady Johnson and family were very well, and at a House in Golden Square London, they had a fine passage, Sir John had paid a visit to Lord Dorchester in the Country,

¹Thomas Aston Coffin, Civil Secretary.

²Probably Isaac Winslow Clarke of the Commissariat.

he writes in good spirits, I wish I could tell you, Affairs of the Department in Lower Canada were in a more agreeable way, be assured they are not, it is very fortunate that the Commander in Chief will have the orders of the 20th September complied with.

I shall write you by every opportunity and am with my most sincere wishes for your health and happiness in which my family join me,

My dear Sir,
Yours faithfully.

JOSEPH CHEW.

No pocket Almanacks are yet come out }
I send you a sheet no. 8, Quebec News }
Papers & 7 English, in two parcels }

Endorsed:—24th January, 1793, Joseph Chew, Esq. Received 11th March, & Answered.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

NAVY HALL, January 27th, 1793.

Sir,

Having had a very satisfactory Intercourse with Mr. Hammond by Major of Brigade Littlehales, who return'd from Philadelphia on the 20th, I think it necessary to communicate without loss of time some late Transactions to Your Excellency, reserving for a safer opportunity the Copies of *all* the Letters that have passed between that Gentleman & myself.

You will have seen by the Speech sent to me, by the Western Indians as well as by that of the Six Nations, that They have proposed the Meeting with the States to be held at *Lower Sandusky*; and so it was understood by Mr. Chapin, the Superintendent of the United States, at the Council with the latter People; & as he was the only Channel of Communication between them & that Government, It must in that form have been delivered to Mr. Knox, but, You will find, Sir, by Mr. Knox's answer that the Place is changed to the *Rapids* of the *Miami River*; with what View, I have expressed my Ideas in the enclosed Extract from a Letter which I have written to Colonel McKee, for I can scarcely conceive that after the Place of Meeting was left to the Indians themselves, in the Message sent by the Six Nations to the Confederacy (& as Captain Brant has assured me) That Mr. Knox has changed it, in order to colour any Intent that he may have formed, to render all Views of Peace ineffectual in the very outset, I cannot but remark to you, that in two separate Conversations which Capt. Littlehales held with Mr. Hamilton,¹ that Gentleman insisted upon it, in contradiction to him, that *Lower Sandusky*, & the River au Glaize, were one & the same place.

I do not apprehend that Mr. Hammond has seen Mr. Knox's Message & the alteration it contains of the place of Meeting, as it was brought here very lately by Joseph Brant. I inclose to Your Excellency a Copy of Mr. Hamilton's request to Mr. Hammond partly to supply the Indian Nations, during their expected Meeting, with Provisions, at the Expence of the United States from this Government.

¹Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury for the United States.

The Reasons which induced Mr. Hammond to intimate, that It was his Opinion that such a proposal would meet with my Concurrence, were certainly in themselves of sufficient Magnitude to lead him to that belief. I had expressed my disinclination to the proposed Meeting at Sandusky on account of the Expence, *unless it should be productive of Peace*, an Expence that I thought inevitable. It is also apparent that such Aid & Encouragement to the proposals of Mr. Hamilton would obviously give weight to our Assertions, that we sincerely wish for the Establishment of Peace, but Sir these Considerations appear of no Moment, when upon such a Permission the Opinion & Affections of the Indian Nations might be hazarded, & His Majesty's influence totally annihilated.

Upon this view of Mr. Hamilton's Requisition, having consulted with those who could give me the best Information, I have informed Mr. Hammond that I could not by any means comply with the Measure that had been proposed to him—there are many other Points that I stated in this request as inadmissible, which neither of themselves require Illustration, nor does the present opportunity afford me proper means to convey to Your Excellency.

You will see by my Speech to the Western Indians as well as the Answer I returned to the Six Nations, that the Agents, Colonels McKee & Butler, are to be present at the ensuing Council, & that had the United States concurred in the Invitation, I probably, (in fact Mr. Hammond) would have been permitted by the King to have attended the Council. Mr. Jefferson has been informed that I could not pass over in Silence the solemn Application of the Indian Nations & that their Agents, would naturally as they have requested, attend at the Meeting; This Gentleman's answer to this *informal* conversation of Mr. Hammond's was, that he conceived "such a desire in the Indians to be extremely proper, & that the propositions of the Americans would be so equitable, as to make him regardless of the Channels through which they are conveyed." Notwithstanding this Language I cannot but give it as my opinion that the States will not offer anything like Equitable conditions, & tho' the Indians should give up all the Country to the Westward of the Ohio that is *under settlement*, still the Avarice of Mr. Washington will insist upon the full Execution of Treaties which the Indians reject as fraudulent & inadmissible.

I have thus Sir, endeavoured to furnish you with such a Summary of Affairs in this Country, as I think necessary for your immediate Information but it may be necessary to add that in my Communications with Mr. Hammond I have endeavoured to impress upon him by Extracts from Sir William Johnson's Opinions, that our giving Provisions & Necessaries to Indians, as Possessors of the Posts, is the result of ancient & undeviating System, not directed by temporary Motives, & that the Military Orders of these Posts, are to give them on whatsoever Account they Assemble, such Supplies as may be required.

I shall take the earliest opportunity when the Lakes open, to transmit to you by the most eligible mode of intercourse all my Communications, & which will be more perfect if it shall be possible for me to get to *Detroit* this Winter, which I mean to attempt over land in a few days.

As I have at present no opportunity of Communicating to His Majesty's Ministers my not concurring with Mr. Hamilton's request, of which request, Mr. Hammond has informed Lord Grenville, I shall be much obliged to Your Excellency

to take such notice of my declining the proposal, in your earliest dispatch as You shall think proper.

I have the honor to be with the utmost respect & esteem,
Your Excellency's Most faithful & obedt servant.

J. G. SIMCOE.

His Excellency Lt. Governor Clarke.

Endorsed:—No. 1. In Genl. Clarke's to Mr. Dundas, No 67.

FROM ALEXANDER McKEE TO J. G. SIMCOE.

DETROIT, January 30th, 1793.

Sir,

Having communicated to Your Excellency all the information which had come to my knowledge respecting Indian Affairs, prior to Captain Caldwell's departure from hence, I have only to observe at present that the Indians have in general remained quiet, having been stopp'd by their Chiefs from going to War, being in daily hopes of hearing the Answer to the Messages they sent to America by the Senecas, last fall.

A Messenger from some of the Posts on the Ohio or Post Vincent found means by the way of the Wabash to get to the Miamis and delivered a Message on the Subject of Peace; by the inclosed Extract of a Letter received from the Glaize Your Excellency will observe the very proper Answer the Indians returned.

Some Indians, who have come in from hunting, report, and from the Credit generally due to their Characters, it is generally believed that the Senecas killed two Delawares near Fort Washington, and one or two of the same Nation were also killed on one of the Branches of the Muskingum, which the Senecas are also blamed for, particularly as a painted Tomahawk was left sticking in the Breast of one of the dead Men. These circumstances ill agree with the friendly disposition which seemed to exist when that Nation took their leave of the Nations here last October: it is however possible that these untoward matters may have happened through inconsiderate rashness or the intemperance of some of the Young Men without having had any countenance or authority from their Chiefs for so doing.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's Faithful & very obedient humble servant,

A. McKEE.

His Excellency Governor Simcoe.

Endorsed:—No. 2. In General Clarke's to Mr. Dundas, No. 70.

Extract of a Letter from the Glaize dated 5th of January, 1793.

"The Council about to be held when You left this place is now over. The Answer given the Young Man is this—"They will enter into no terms of accomodation with the People of the Posts, Kentucke, or the Commanders of these posts, they have already (to the Mingoes) declared their intentions of Meeting the American Commissioners at Sandusky next Spring, where their Father is also to be invited. They do not think the Commanders of the Posts nor the people of

Kentucke authorized by Congress to conclude a peace with them, and of consequence they decline their offers and refer every thing to the proposed treaty at Sandusky."

"The Young Man I am told, (altho' I have not seen him), had and delivered in Council, some Letters addressed to Pipe and Talebaxuche, which from what I can learn are from one John Hamilton; but what their import may be I do not yet know; but anything that comes to my knowledge on that head shall be immediately transmitted to Colonel McKee, and You will be good enough to communicate to the Colonel the Answer the Indians made to his request. The Young Man endeavoured to prevail upon some of the Chiefs to accompany him to Fort Jefferson but they declined it for the reasons above mentioned."

Endorsed:—No. 3. In Genl Clarke's to Mr. Dundas No 70.

FROM THE WESTERN INDIANS TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

To His Excellency General Washington President of the Congress of the United States of America.

Brother

Last summer you sent us at different times different speeches, the bearers whereof, our foolish young Men killed on their way,¹ we have however seen the Speeches, which seem to be spoken with a double tongue; you hold good in one hand and evil in the other.—After these we heard from you by some of our own Color, the Mohikens, but imagining still you meant to deceive us we did not hearken to them.

Some time after our brothers the five Nations arrived here with Speeches from you, wherein you make mention of several things which make us think you spoke from the heart, but even then you did not tell us all we expected, however we took hold of these Speeches.

You told us if we had any grievances to redress, you would remove them, & that as you placed these Forts there, you could also destroy them, but, Brother, you have spoke to us again and have taken no notice of these things, nor of any thing which the Confederate Nations, assembled here last fall, told you.

You desire us to call in our young men, we desire you also to call in yours, as you first proposed terms of accomodation. Our young men cannot be restrained till they see you taking steps to give up your encroachments on our Lands; they are obliged to watch you in their own defence: the hostilities committed are not owing to us, but to yourselves; notwithstanding in the mean time we shall call in all our war parties and endeavour as much as is in our power to prevent any further hostilities, because we sincerely wish for peace if upon Just and solid terms and we ask for nothing but what the Great Spirit gave us.

General Washington

Last fall while we had our faces turned towards you & listening with attention, the Ouiatanons came upon our backs with other speeches from you (The Belt of

¹Colonel John Hardin and Captain Alexander Truman of the United States forces, bearing a speech from General Knox to the Western Indians, inviting their chiefs to come to Philadelphia, dated April 4, 1792, had been killed by a war party in May, and their papers sent to Captain Mathew Elliott.

White Wampum) you told us not to hearken to individuals, why then do you listen to them our younger Brothers, they are foolish, and know nothing.

General Washington

We are fully resolved to meet you at no place, but at that place where the Council fire is appointed to be by all the Nations; you left it to us to appoint the place, but you overleap that and appoint another, but we tell you again what we have already told you, that the Council fire is to be lighted at the Foot of the Rapids at Lower Sandusky, and there all the Red people will attend. You may appoint any place you please, but we will still return you the same answer.

Four Strings of White Wampum.

A true copy

P. SELBY.

FROM ALURED CLARKE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

No. 64.

QUEBEC, 2nd February, 1793.

Sir,

I have the honor to enclose you a Copy of a Letter dated the 25th November last from His Excellency Colonel Simcoe requesting precise orders respecting the steps to be taken in case of the Equipment of a Naval Armament by the United States at Presqu' Isle or any other port of the Lakes, and whether a measure of that sort should be considered as an Act of Hostility and as such be repelled by force. Copy of my reply to Colonel Simcoe is inclosed.

Having in your Letter of the 16th September to My Lord Dorchester signified His Majesty's approbation of the Instructions given to the Officers under his orders respecting the line of conduct to be observed by them, as being perfectly consonant to His Majesty's sentiments, and enjoined the strictest System of Neutrality, I did not think it expedient to extend or alter them.

Altho' I agree with Colonel Simcoe that under the present orders of repelling "Force by force" I should not think myself justifiable in giving interruption to the Armaments that did not molest the territory or Possessions of His Majesty, I am convinced of the expediency of keeping up a decided superiority of Naval Force upon the Lakes, as necessary for the Public Security, and upon these grounds have assured him of my concurrence and support in any measures he may think necessary for preserving that superiority in case the United States should begin to build, and which I trust will be approved.

The questions raised by Colonel Simcoe relative to the Navigation of the Lakes &c. by the Subjects of the United States, are of importance, and it would be very satisfactory to both of us to know the sentiments of His Majesty's Ministers thereon; with this view they are now transmitted and I hope to be honored with such Orders and Instructions as it may be thought proper to give on this head as early as possible.

I have the honor to be with great respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and most faithful humble servant

ALURED CLARKE.

The Right Honble Henry Dundas

Endorsed:—Quebec, 2d Feby., 1793. Lt. Govr. Clarke No. 64. Two inclosures.

FROM ALEXANDER GRANT TO J. G. SIMCOE.

DETROIT, 2nd February, 1793.

Sir:—

Your Excellency having expressed a wish of my writing you when I had the honor of taking leave at Navy Hall, now emboldens me to seize this opportunity.

Tranquility seems at present to reign throughout this country and its environs. The uncommon mildness of the Winter makes the weather equal to our former Springs, but it is not a general benefit to the country either to the farmer or the trader.

I have the honor of informing Your Excellency that the King's vessels are laid up in their usual berths except the sloop "Felicity," which is laid up in safety at the pinery¹, whither she went late last Fall with the Winter provision and stores for a party of Seamen.

For the building and repairs of vessels at this place for three years past have left the shipyard quite destitute of all kinds of timber. Last Winter I cut and hauled to the River side an oak frame for a vessel of two hundred and forty tons burden and I sent last Fall twenty-eight Seamen and Carpenters to the Pinery, (about seventy miles from hence), to cut two sets of masts and spars for the navigating of vessels and about five or six hundred logs from forty to ten feet long for the use of the King's vessels &c., &c., at this Post.

The people of this settlement having mostly all their houses and buildings built of pine; one reason is from that timber being easier brought than oak which is close by them: second reason where the pine is near the Indians Hunting Grounds, where provision is procured at an easy rate, makes them flock to that country particularly in the Winter time and float the timber down in large rafts in Summer. They have already almost cut down all the good pine trees contiguous to the water side in any part of this country. Individuals have now four or five saw mills upon different waters at the Pinery sawing pine. I send the returns and muster rolls as usual to the Deputy Quarter Master General. Finding the schooner Ottawa from the length and weight of the main boom and rather sharp build in the bows makes her pitch much in a head sea, to ease that defect, I intend rigging her this Spring snow fashion. I have to observe to your Excellency that the pinery is upon the south side of the Straits. Permit me to offer my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Simcoe and I am very anxious to hear the re-establishment of Your Excellency's health.

I have the honor to be with all possible respect, Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

ALEXANDER GRANT.

His Excellency Governor Simcoe.

¹The distance of seventy miles from Detroit, as given in the next paragraph, would indicate a position near Point aux Pins.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO GEORGE HAMMOND.

NAVY HALL, NIAGARA, Feby 3rd 1793.

Dr Sir,

General Hull¹ has just delivered to me Your Excellency's Credentials. Having in my Letters of the 23rd of January fully expressed to you my Ideas; and that I conceived it to be improper for me to admit the request of the United States to furnish the Indians with Provisions, I can only add that I have endeavoured to press upon the General that my declining the request is consequent to the Military Orders subsisting at this post, and in particular as upon a similar construction to that which I now place upon those orders, Colonel Gordon, my predecessor, refused the request of Colonel Proctor² in 1791 to proceed with some Indian Chiefs in one of the King's Vessels to Sandusky for the purpose of Negociation,—which proceeding of Colonel Gordon's met with the full approbation of Lord Dorchester.

Colonel Proctor's request was "to be permitted to charter a freight in one of our vessels for such Number of Indians as may accompany me to Sandusky."—on Colonel Gordon's refusal the Answer of Lord Dorchester is, June 2nd 1791 "the Application of Mr. Proctor for the hire of one of the King's Vessels on Lake Erie, has to me an appearance of insult, 'tis impossible He could expect success—I take it for granted You have taken effectual means also to prevent his procuring any Vessel or Conveyance from any of the King's Subjects which Mr. Butler³ mentions to have been his intention." I read the substance of this transaction to General Hull to evince to him that I did not *Personally* throw any obstacles in the way of his Mission, but that I follow'd Instructions which I could not misinterpret as they had already been acted upon.

At the General's request I have given him a Copy of the Message of the Western Indians to me, and that of the Six Nations with my Answers. He intimated to me in Conversation, that He had understood the Message must have been misinterpreted to the President as far as related to the place of meeting, which the President understood to be at the *Glaize*, and General Chapin the Superintendent whom he met with on the road, had informed him was at Sandusky—Upon our recurrence to the above-mentioned Speeches He was confirmed that General Chapin was right in his assertion.

I declined of course placing my refusal of the request upon any other Basis than my Obedience to the Military Orders of the Post, and whenever in Conversation, any observations called for animadversion, I took care constantly to observe, that what I then said was matter of discourse, and that my Subordinate Situation prevented me from entering into any discussion of what was not committed to my discretion. I also mentioned to him in strong terms the Obligation which had been imposed upon our Posts of always Supplying the Indians; that this had originated from Sir William Johnson's recommendation, on the Principle that we held those Fortresses by their Permission, and that I conceived as this principle had been universally followed ever since, it would have a strange appearance, should we now deny the assistance so solemnly required for the Indians, at the very moment they had agreed to assemble for the purposes of Pacification. I also added, that prior to Your Excellency's intimation of the request of the United States, I had by Message promised to comply with their Requisition for provisions.

¹General William Hull, afterwards Governor of Michigan.

²A Commissioner from the United States to the Indians.

³Lt. Colonel John Butler.

The General seems struck with that part of my Speech where I intimate that I have no doubt had the United States concurred with the Indians in the request of my presence the King would have permitted my Compliance; and asked me whether in that case I had *such Authority*, I told him that I did not doubt but that You & General Clarke might take upon you such Authority, that not I but you would have been in this Case the proper Person to have attended. Tho' I mentioned my having, prior to the Intimation of Mr. Hamilton's request to Your Excellency, promised Provisions to the Western Indians, I assured Mr. Hull, that that circumstance was of little weight, as had It been otherwise I could not have admitted the request.

As I am at this moment on my departure to Visit the interior part of the Country and propose if possible to reach Detroit that I may not be obliged to do so in the Spring, I have desired General Hull to give to Your Excellency the Copies of my Speeches to the Western Indians & Six Nations.

I have the honor to be with great regard,

Dear Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

J. GRAVES SIMCOE.

His Excellency George Hammond &c., &c., &c.

Endorsed:—No. 1. In General Clarke's to Mr. Dundas No. 70.

FROM ALEXANDER DAVISON TO J. G. SIMCOE.

HARPER STREET, 4th February, 1793.

Dear Sir:—

I am much disappointed in not having had the pleasure of hearing from you since your departure from Quebec. I wish some of your letters may not have miscarried to me. As occasions have offered I have not failed writing to you, and am at present happy an opportunity of a private conveyance offers to Canada of transmitting you a continuation of the Chronicle and Diary together with the Senator up to this day, from which you will learn the extraordinary occurrences and events which have lately happened in France as well as the measures in consequence adopted by this country.

A war with that kingdom now appears inevitable, in which we cannot fail being very successful, although it would have been better could it possibly have been prevented. We are far advanced in preparations and will by the beginning of May have a sufficient force both at land and sea to protect us against every attempt that may be premeditated by that cursed country, and I hope equally sufficient in a short time so to destroy their Fleet as will require a century to reinstate it. I am glad to tell you our friend Nepean is in perfect health, and instead of the extraordinary load of business he has had upon his shoulders affecting him, it has had a contrary effect.

Your clothier at Buckingham called on me last week to tell me he had not heard from the Regiment anything respecting their clothing, and desired to have my sentiments and advice what he was to do. I recommended to him by all means to provide the necessary supplies, in order that it might be sent out in one of the earliest ships to Montreal in April, to which he acceded and shall thereupon ship it in the Indian Trader, Captain Edwards, which I hope will meet your approbation.

Mr. Box seemed exceedingly anxious how to act for the best, and I should be sorry should he from any advice I may have given him, have acted contrary to what you wished. Not a word is yet said of Lord Dorchester's motions. I think it extremely uncertain his returning to Canada. A little time however must determine it.

I have *lately* heard that Sir John Johnson means to embark in one of the first ships, not meeting with that encouragement and attention in this country he expected. I wished much to have heard from you respecting the Medals. I hope the next packet will bring me letters. The business which the Government has given me fully occupies my time, but no situation I can be placed in will prevent my paying every attention to the success of your settlement, or promoting to the utmost of my power every wish of yours.

Referring to the News-Papers, &c., herewith,
I am dear Sir,
Yours very sincerely
ALEXANDER DAVISON.

This goes by Mr. Andrew Tod, who embarks for New York to-morrow.
(Unaddressed.)

JOURNAL FROM NIAGARA TO DETROIT.

(Written by Major E. B. Littlehales.)

1793.

February 4th. On Monday His Excellency Lieut. Governor Simcoe, accompanied by Capn. Fitzgerald and Lieut. Smith of the 5th Regiment, Lieuts. Talbot, Grey, Givens, and Major Littlehales, left Navy Hall in *Sleighs*, and proceeded through the Concessions parallel with Lake Ontario to the 12 Mile Creek. The roads being very indifferent and wet, owing to the unusual mildness of the season, we were obliged to stop there a short time, and reached the 20 Mile Creek in the evening, and slept at one of Colonel Butler's houses.

5th. Upon arriving at the 40 Mile Creek¹, an Express arrived from Kingston, brought by two Missassaga Indians; this circumstance detained the Governor till the next day, 6th, when with some difficulty, we reached Nellis's² at the Grand River (or Ouse) being obliged to cross the Mountain, which bore sad relics of devastation caused by a hurricane the preceding autumn.

7th. About 12 o'clock we arrived at Capt. Brant's at the Mohawk Indian Village, going along the ice on the Grand River with great rapidity for a considerable way. The Country between this place and Niagara, a distance computed about 70 miles, previous to ascending the Mountain, considered as a branch of the Alleghany. The Settlement is in a tolerable state of improvement. The Mountain is well timbered, and richly dressed with pine, oak, beech and maple; torrents, caused by rain, issued from its summit, and form the several creeks

¹The Forty Mile Creek is familiar at the present day as Grimsby.

²Since known as York, in Seneca Township, Haldimand Co.

which run into Lake Ontario, break the ground, making deep ravines, and therefore much diversify the scene. The Mountain runs parallel with Lake Ontario.

On our arrival at the Mohawk Village, the Indians hoisted their flags and trophies of war, and fired a feu de joie in compliment of His Excellency, the representative of the King, their Father.

This place is particularly striking when seen from the high land above it, extensive meadows, the Grand River next it, with a termination of Forests. Here is a well built wooden church with a steeple, a school house, and an excellent house of Captain Brant's. The source of the river is not accurately ascertained but supposed to adjoin the waters of Lake Huron. It empties itself into Lake Erie, and for 50 to 60 miles it is as broad as the Thames at Richmond in England. Some Villages of the Onondagas, Delawares and Cayugas are dispersed on its banks. While we were at the Mohawk Village, we heard Divine Service performed by an Indian. The devout behaviour of the women (Squaws), the melody of their voices, and the excellent time they kept in singing Hymns is worthy of observation.

10th. We did not leave the Mohawk Village till noon when we set out with J. Brant, and about 12 Indians, came to an encampment of the Missassagas and slept at the Trader's house.

11th. Passed over some fine open plains¹, said to be frequented by immense herds of Deer, but as very little snow had fallen this winter, we did not see them.

We crossed two or three rivulets, thro' a thick wood, and one a salt lick, and stopped at 4 o'clock to give the Indians time to make a wigwam. The dexterity and alacrity of these people, habituated to the hardships incidental to the woods, is remarkable. Small parties will, with the utmost facility, cut down large trees with their tomahawks, bark them, and in a few minutes construct most comfortable huts, capable of resisting any inclemency of the weather, covering it with the Bark of the Elm. During this day, we saw the remains of several Beaver Dams.

12th. We went through an irregular woody country, passed an encampment said to have been Lord E. Fitzgerald's when on his march² to Detroit, Michilimackinac and the Mississippi. We passed a few cedar Groves, and about 1 o'clock crossed on the trunk of a tree a small branch of the La Tranche (Thames) and soon afterwards crossed the main branch of that river in the same manner.

We met a man almost starved, who was overjoyed to obtain a temporary relief of biscuit and pork. He was going to Niagara. From the conductor of the annual winter express from Detroit, whom we afterwards met, we learnt that this man had been guilty of theft.

We halted in an open part of the wood, and tented as the last night. We were much fatigued and refreshed ourselves with soup and dried venison.

13th. Early this morning the express from Detroit, with Mr. Clark, a Wyandott and a Chippewa Indian, parted from us on their way to Niagara. We went

¹In Burford Township.

²The reference is to the expedition of 1789.

between an irregular fence of stakes made by the Indians to intimidate and impede the deer and facilitate their hunting. After crossing a branch of the Thames, we halted to observe a beautiful situation forming a bend of the river, a Grove of Hemlock & Pine, and a large creek. We passed some deep ravines and made our wigwam by a stream on the brow of a hill, near a spot where Indians were interred; the burying ground of earth raised neatly, covered with leaves and wickered over, adjoining it a large pole with painted hieroglyphics on it, denoting the Nation, Tribe and achievements of the deceased, either as Chiefs, Warriors or Hunters.

This day a raccoon was discovered in a very large Elm tree. The Indians gave a most tremendous shout, and all set to work with their tomahawks and axes; in 10 or 15 minutes the tree was cut down. The way of entrapping the animal was curious; judging correctly of the space the tree would occupy in falling, they surrounded it and closed in so suddenly that the raccoon could not escape and was killed. The Indians amused themselves with allowing a Newfoundland dog to attack it, but it defended itself so well, that I think it would have escaped from the dog but for the interposition of the Indians.

Several more raccoons were traced in the snow, and two of them taken by the same mode, the 3rd roasted made us an excellent supper. Some parts were rather rancid, but in general, the flesh was exceedingly tender and good.

14th. This day brought us within a few miles of the Delaware Indian Village, where we encamped. The Indians shot some black and other squirrels. We observed many trees blazed, and various figures of Indians returning from battle with scalps, and animals drawn upon them descriptive of the Nations, Tribe and numbers that had passed—many of them well drawn, especially a bison. This day we walked over very uneven ground, and passed two Lakes about four miles in circumference, between which were many fine Birch trees.

An Indian who carried a heavier load than the rest was behind, and on overtaking us said that a white man was coming with despatches to the Governor. This person proved to be a Wheeler who, as we afterwards heard, made use of the plea to get supplied with provisions and horses to the Grand River, and from thence with an Indian guide to Detroit. He quitted us under the plausible pretence of looking for land to establish a settlement.

15th. We breakfasted at the Delaware Indian Village, having walked on the ice of the La Tranche for 5 or 6 miles. Here we were cordially received by the Chief of the Nation and regaled with eggs and venison. Being invited by Captain Brant to a Council of the Six Nations, we stayed the whole day.

The Delaware Castle is pleasantly situated on the high banks of the Thames. The meadows at the bottom are cleared to some extent, and in summer planted with Indian Corn. After walking 12 or 14 miles this day, part of the way through plains of white Oaks and Ash, and passing several Chippewa Indians on their hunting parties and in their encampments, we arrived at a Canadian Trader's, and a little beyond, in proceeding down the river, the Indians discovered a spring of an oily nature, which upon examination proved to be a kind of petroleum. We passed another wigwam of the Chippewas making maple sugar—the mildness of the winter compelled them in a great measure to abandon their annual hunting. We soon arrived at an old hut, where we passed the night.

17th. We passed the Moravian Village this day¹—this infantile settlement is under the superintendence of 4 Missionaries—Messrs. Zeisberger, Senseman,² Edwards,³ and Yonges,⁴ and principally inhabited by Delaware Indians—who came to be under the control, and in many particulars, under the command of these persons. They are in a progressive state of civilization, being instructed in different branches of agriculture, and having already corn fields. At this place every respect was paid the Governor, and we were provided with a seasonable refreshment of eggs, milk and butter. Pursuing our journey 8 or 9 miles, we stopped for the night at the extremity of a new road, cut by these Indians, and close to a creek.

Mr. Grey missed his watch, and being certain that he left it at our last encampment, two of the Indians, observing his anxiety about it, proposed and insisted on returning for it; they accordingly set out and returned with it the next morning. The distance there and back must have been 26 miles.

18th. Crossing the Thames and passing a new house belonging to a sailor, named Carpenter, we passed a thick swampy wood of black walnut, where His Excellency's servant was lost for 3 or 4 hours. We came to a branch of the La Tranche, and were agreeably surprised to meet 12 or 14 Carioles coming to meet and conduct the Governor, who with his suite got into them, and about 4 o'clock arrived at Dalson's, but previously reconnoitred a fork of the river and examined

¹Extracts from the Diary of David Zeisberger.

Friday, February 15, 1793. A white man arrived, who brought us news that the Governor was coming over land from Niagara, and had passed the night not far from here.

Saturday, 16. He arrived in the forenoon with some eight Mohawks and six English captains, but stayed only a couple of hours, and then continued his journey to Detroit. He looked at everything, went into our meeting-house and the school-house, where we had fires in two chimneys; we entertained them at breakfast as well as we could, and it tasted right good to them. He had nothing to remark against our settling here, but said that our town stood on Chippewa land, for on the north side of the river the land has not been bought farther than eight or ten miles from here; on the other hand, upon the south side, the river is the boundary up above the Monsey town, and thus towards Niagara; the Chippewas would not drive us away; it had been arranged with them that they should let us live here, and upon the south side we could have as much land from the government as we should consider needful. He said, however, that no one could be or act in the land as a minister without taking the oath of allegiance to the King. We showed him the Brother's Act of Parliament, and replied that none of us missionaries had either renounced our allegiance to the king or sworn it to the States, whereupon indeed he said that, this being so, the Act of Parliament was still in force with us, but he wished that our principal correspondence should be with England, and that we should get from them our instructions, directions, and books, for they wished to have as little to do with the States as possible. We replied that this, our mission, was begun under direction of the church and its bishops in Bethlehem, and had now been conducted more than fifty years, whence we every year received our books, as he expressed it, and writings, and if anything was sent us from Europe, it first went to our bishops in Bethlehem, and through them to us; therefore it would be hard for us if the correspondence with our mother should be broken off. He said his meaning was not that we should not correspond at all with Bethlehem, but that our chief correspondence should go directly to England.—Translation by Eugene F. Bliss, II, pp. 299-300.

²Gottlob Sensemann, 1745-1800, the son of a missionary among the Indians; accompanied Zeisberger to Coshocton in 1768, to Muskingum in 1780, and to Sandusky and Huron River, 1781-5. He returned to Bethlehem in May, 1785, but rejoined the mission at New Salem, Nov. 9, 1790. He came with Zeisberger to Canada where he lived until his death at Fairfield, 4 January, 1800.

³William Edwards, 1734-1801, born in England; joined Zeisberger at Lichtenau in November, 1776. In 1798, he returned to the Muskingum with a part of the Fairfield congregation and remained there until his death.

⁴Michael Jung, 1743-1826, remained with the mission at Fairfield until the village was destroyed by the forces of the United States in October, 1813, when he retired to Lititz.

a mill of curious construction erecting upon it. The settlement where Dalson resides is very promising. The land is adapted for farms, and there are some respectable inhabitants on both sides of the River. Behind it, to the South, is a range of spacious meadows. Elk are continually seen upon them, and the pools and ponds are full of fish. From Dalson's we went to the mouth of the Thames in carioles, and, about 12 miles on, we saw the remains of a considerable town (Chippewas) where it is reported that a desperate battle was fought between them and the Senecas, and that the latter were totally vanquished and abandoned their dominions to the conquerors. Certain it is, that human bones are scattered in abundance in the vicinity of the Ground, and the Indians have a variety of traditions relative to this transaction. Going along the border of the Lake St. Clair, we came to the North West Shore of the Detroit River. The Canadian Militia fired a feu de joie, soon after we crossed the river in boats, but were much impeded by the floating ice. We entered the garrison of Detroit, which was under arms to receive His Excellency, Lieut. Governor Simcoe, and upon his landing, fired a Royal Salute.

Governor Simcoe reviewed the 24th Regiment, and the Garrison, examined Fort Lernoult and the rest of the works, and then went in a Caleche to the River Rouge, where there was a complete well built vessel ready to be launched. The merchant vessels were all laid up in order during the winter months, in the same manner as His Majesty's ships, which are placed under the protection of the guns of the fort. Saw the bridge where Pontiac, the Indian Chief, after his treacherous attempt to surprise Detroit, made a stand. So great was the slaughter of British Troops, that it is called the Bloody Bridge.

23rd. We left Detroit early on Saturday morning under a salute. In the evening we stopped at Dalson's about four [forty] miles off.

24th. Lieut. Smith read prayers to the Governor, his suite, and those of the neighbourhood. At Dalson's, the whole day.

25th. Left Dalson's in Carioles; we went as far as where the Carioles met us, accompanied by Col. McKee, Mr. Baby and others. Here we separated, each taking his pack on his back, we walked that night to the Moravian Village.

26th. Heard Divine Service performed at the Moravian Village, one speaking extempore from the Bible, the other expressing himself in the Indian language.

27th. Reached the Delaware Village. Received congratulations from the Chiefs, with presents of Venison, and in the evening witnessed their dance, a ceremony they never dispense with when any of the King's Officers of rank visit their villages.

28th. At 6 o'clock we stopped at the South side of the Thames, and refreshed ourselves on salt pork and Venison, cooked by Lieut. Smith, who admirably superintended that Department. As usual we sang God Save the King, and went to rest.

March 1st. This day we steered Northward. Snow having fallen, saw tracks of Deer, Wolves, Bears, Otters, and other animals. Walked 15 or 16 miles, crossed the river twice on the ice, close to a Chippewa hunting ground, and opposite to a fine spring, encamped near a Bay. The Governor and most of the party wore moccasins, having no snow shoes.

2nd. Struck the Thames at one end of a low flat island. The rapidity of the current was so great as to have formed a channel thro' the main land, being

a peninsula, and formed this island. We walked over a rich meadow and at its extremity reached the forks of the river. The Governor wished to examine this situation and its environs, and we therefore stopped here a day. He judged it to be a capital situation, eminently calculated for the metropolis of all Canada. Among many other essentials, it possesses the following advantages: Command of Territory—internal situation—central position—facility of water communication up and down the Thames—superior navigation for boats to near its source, and for small crafts, probably to the Moravian settlement—to the Southward by a small portage to the water flowing into Lake Huron, by a carrying place into Lake Ontario and the River St. Lawrence—the soil is luxuriously fertile and the land capable of being easily cleared and soon put into a state of agriculture. A Pinery upon an adjacent high knoll, other timber on the height, well calculated for the erection of the public buildings, climate not inferior to any part of Canada.

To these natural advantages, an object of great consequence to be added, the enormous expence of the Indian Department would be greatly diminished, if not abolished. The Indians in all probability would be induced to become the carriers of their own peltries, and they would find a ready, contiguous, commodious, and equitable mart, honorably advantageous to Government and the community in general, without their becoming a prey to the monopolizing and unprincipled trader.

Lieut. Givens killed a Porcupine, which we eat roasted; it tasted like a young pig. The Newfoundland dog bit the animal and his mouth became filled with quills, which the Indians easily extracted, and applied a root which speedily healed the wound.

Various figures were delineated on the trees with charcoal and vermilion. The most remarkable were men with Deer's heads.

3rd. Left our wigwam in which we slept on Hemlock. Rained all night. Ascended the height at least 120 feet into a continuation of the Pinery already mentioned. At noon arrived at an encampment we left on the 14th of February, and were agreeably surprised to meet Capt. Brant and a numerous retinue. Two of the party killed a buck and a doe, which the Indians hung on a sapling swinging in the air to prevent any depredation from Wolves.

4th. Travelled on through the rain, nothing extraordinary happening.

5th. Met Mr. Clark and the winter express returning from Niagara, and Mr. Jones, the Deputy Surveyor. Halted in a Cedar swamp, and were much amused by seeing Brant chase a Mink, which he did not kill. Several Porcupines were killed.

6th. Arrived at the Mohawk Village. In the evening the Indians danced the customary dances, and we, and most of His Excellency's suite, being equipped and dressed in imitation of Indians, were adopted as Chiefs.

7th. In the afternoon, we came to Wilson's Mills¹ on the Mountain.

8th. On the account of a severe snow storm we proceeded no farther than Beasley's at Burlington Bay.

9th. Arrived late at Green's at the Forty Mile Creek.

10th. Sunday, the Governor arrived at Navy Hall.

¹Wilson's Mills were at Ancaster Village of the present day.

FROM THE MORAVIAN MISSIONARIES TO J. G. SIMCOE.

MORAVIAN TOWN, 26th Feby, 1793.

To his Excellency, John Graves Simcoe, Esqr. Lieutenant Governor and Colonel commanding His Majesty's Troops in Upper Canada.

In behalf of the congregation of Moravian Indians, settled under his Majesty's Protection in the Province of Upper Canada, we the Ministers presume to represent to your Excellency the great distress this new Settlement labours under from the failure of our crops of corn—and humbly beg leave to solicit your Excellency's Interference towards our general Relief, by allowing us to be furnished with two hundred Bushels of Indian Corn from the King's Stores, which we hereby promise to return within the space of two years from the date hereof.

DAVID ZEISBERGER.¹GOTTLOB SENSEMAN.²

¹David Zeisberger was born at Zauchtenthal in Moravia in 1721, and was educated at Herrnhut and at Utrecht in Holland. He came to America in 1736 and joined a class for the study of Indian languages at Bethlehem, Pa. in 1744. Ordained in 1749, he was sent as a missionary to Shamokin and afterwards to a Delaware village on the Susquehanna, removing in 1767 to Coshocton, and from thence to the Muskingum, Sandusky, the Huron river, and finally to Fairfield on the Thames in 1792. In August, 1798, he returned with thirty-three companions to the Tuscarawas Valley, where he founded the village of Goshen and remained until his death.

²Extracts from the Diary of David Zeisberger.

Monday, February 18, 1793. Towards evening we heard cannon fired at Detroit, from which we could infer that the Governor was arrived there. A sledge-party from the settlement went out to meet them as far up the river as they could, which had hastened the time of their journey.

Saturday, 23. In the morning after nine o'clock we heard cannon discharged in Detroit, from which we could conclude that the Governor was setting out on his way back. Yet it is reckoned forty miles to the lake from here over land, and by water much more, fifty at least, and then thirty miles over Lake St. Clair to Detroit which we have lying west-south-west from us. . . .

Monday, 25. In the afternoon came back his excellency the Governor from Detroit with his suite, and passed the night with us. He examined very carefully the bank of the river and the country, which pleased him. After they had dined we gave him an address in the name of the settlement, which he well and graciously received. We took this opportunity to speak farther with him, since before his time was too short.

1st. About our correspondence, that it would be hard and long for us if we could not send our reports directly to Bethlehem, but to England, whence they must first write to Bethlehem and get an answer before giving us a resolution about a thing. He perceived this, and replied that it was not positively forbidden to write to the States, but an Act of Parliament had been passed that from His Britannic Majesty's lands no intercourse on the part of the aristocracy and the clergy, especially of the bishops, should be held with the States which we could report home, and they could themselves ask farther about this in London. When we heard this we were concerned, for we had a letter last autumn, and have had none since, that perchance they are lost.

2d. About the land whereon we live, he had informed himself more carefully, and found that it was included in the purchase, that the government was well disposed towards us, and would give us land in consideration of our having suffered great losses, but he thought that a township fronting on the river took away from them too much land, since they intended to settle it thickly, and we could not make use of so much land. We told him that on the Muskingum we had three towns, but during the war had much decreased in number, for a third part had been murdered, another third scattered among the savages, and a third now remained (which indeed was not unknown to him, as he gave us to understand), but that we hope, especially if there should be peace, to grow again. The conclusion was that if the land should be surveyed and laid out, and it should be found necessary, one of us should be called to Niagara and there we should be well considered and advised. We asked farther if a deed for the land would be given, and when

FROM HENRY KNOX TO THE WESTERN INDIANS.

To the Sachems, Chiefs and Warriors of the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottiwatimas, Shawanese and Miamies—and the Head men of all the other Tribes in alliance with them to the Southward of the Lakes and north of the Ohio, and East of the Mississippi.

BROTHERS.

When the President of the United States consented to meet you next Spring at the rapids of the Miami, it was under the full conviction that you had appointed that place, as the one most agreeable to you, at which the Council fire should be kindled;—but it has since been found that the Interpreter mistook the place you intended.

We now find that it is your desire that lower Sandusky should be the place at which the Conference should be held.

BROTHERS, the United States will meet you by their Commissioners on the first of June next, of which we beg you to notify all the Chiefs and Tribes whom it may concern.—And it is sincerely to be desired by all good men, that the Great Spirit might infuse into the hearts of all concerned, a sincere desire for peace and friendship, so necessary to the happiness of human nature.

Given by the Order of the President of the
United States in the City of Philadelphia,
this Twenty-eighth day of February, 1793.

H. KNOX
Secy of War and having
the direction of Indian Affairs.

he said yes, we said at once we should like to have it made out in the name of the Society's trustees in England, which he not only approved, having nothing to say against it, but was pleased with.

3d. We said to him that our Indians did not go to war, that we taught them according to the Scripture to live at peace with all men, as far as possible, for experience had shown us that if they went to war our mission was ruined and our labor vain. This he agreed to and confirmed, but said that on this very account the Indians were not well disposed to our Indians, as also some of the whites in Detroit, which is well known to us, and we know the persons too, who do not approve our principles.

Tuesday, 26. In the morning we spoke farther with him, setting before him the want of our Indians in the necessities of life, that this had not come from laziness, as is usually the case with Indians, but that failure of the crops and early frosts in the autumn were the causes of it, and we asked him, if it were possible, to come to their aid. Last year in the spring we had bought them at our own cost a hundred bushels of corn, and thus put them in condition to clear their land and to plant, but from failure of the crops they were now in the same circumstances. When he found difficulty, and could not of himself do this, and we had proposed to him that if we could have advanced to us two hundred bushels of corn, we would return it as soon as we could, he was disposed for this, and said, yes, this he would and could do, and at once ordered his commissary to draw an order upon the commandant at Detroit to deliver us so much from the king's store so soon as we could take it away. His excellency asked to attend our worship and early service. It so happened that most of the brethren were at home, and he came with his officers, took good notice of everything, especially of the brethren's singing, which pleased him well. Afterwards he bade us, when the Indians came together again, to express to them his satisfaction at their devout worship, and to say to them that he had been much edified to see Indians worshipping God so devoutly and humbly; they should continue therein, to grow and increase in God's glory and as an example to other Indians. Then he went to the Zeisbergers' house, where he was alone, wrote an answer to our address, and gave it to us with these words, that he hoped to have occasion to show his favor and inclination to us more by deeds than by what was therein expressed. He took leave of us in a friendly and polite way, and continued his journey toward Niagara.—Translation by Eugene F. Bliss, II, pp. 301-3.

REQUISITION FOR SUPPLIES.

DETROIT, 21st Feby., 1793.

I do recommend for the good of his Majesty's service that the following Provisions be sent to Sandusky in the ensuing spring for the Support of the Indians to be assembled there for the purpose of holding a treaty with the United States.

Indian Corn.	Bushels	1500.
Pork.	Barrels	100.
Flour.	Tierces	100.
Rice.	do.	2.
Pease.	Barrels	10.
Bullocks.		20.

A. McKEE, D.A.I.A.

Approved

J. G. SIMCOE.

FROM JOHN ASKIN TO J. G. SIMCOE.

Extract from a Letter of Mr. Askin¹ of Detroit to his Excellency Lieut. Governor Simcoe, dated 22d Feby., 1793.

"With the utmost deference & submission to your Excellency's better Judgment, I beg leave to suggest a mode of Carrying on the Indian Trade to the Westward by means that would in the first instance in a great measure secure the lives & property of the Traders; in the second procure a greater consumption of goods and larger remittances in Furs; & in the third furnish the Indians with what commodities they might want on the Frontiers & by that means prevent their retiring from the best hunting Grounds & leaving that part of the Country free & open to the Encroachments of their Enemies.

That the Fidelity & good character of each person desirous to trade with the Indians beyond the Foot of the Rapids be ascertained to the satisfaction of the Commanding Officer of this Post; Col. A. McKee, & such others as they might think worthy of trust, such person to be admitted as a joint Partner in all the Indian Trade, carried on beyond the aforesaid place, he conforming to the Regulations made for that purpose, which regulations, before carried into Execution to be transmitted to you by the Commanding Officer of this Post for Your Excellency's approbation. That all the trade to that Country would be carried on by a Company to consist of persons of the foregoing Character.

That no traffic should be carried on with the Indians but in stockaded Trading Forts, nor less than twenty-four men exclusive of the Trader & his Interpreters in each Fort, which men should take the Oath of Allegiance & by their Agreements be obliged to mount guard & do duty as Soldiers so far as necessary for the Preservation of the lives & Property of the People in it—That these men should be commanded by a Person of Fidelity and Prudence approved by the Commanding Officer."

¹John Askin, Sr.

CABINET OPINION ON INDIAN WAR.

Feb. 25, 1793.

The President having required the attendance of the heads of the three departments, and of the attorney general at his house, on Monday the 25th of February, 1793, the following questions were proposed, and answers given.

1. The Governor of Canada having refused to let us obtain provisions from that province, or to pass them along the water communication to the place of treaty with the Indians; and the Indians having refused to let them pass peaceably along what they call the bloody path, the Governor of Canada at the same time proposing to furnish the whole provisions necessary, ought the treaty to proceed?

Answer unanimously, it ought to proceed.

2. Have the Executive, or the Executive & Senate together, authority to relinquish to the Indians the right of soil of any part of the land north of the Ohio, which has been validly obtained by former treaties?

The Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary at War, & attorney general, are of opinion that the Executive & Senate have such authority, provided that no grants to individuals, nor reservations to states, be thereby infringed. The secretary of state is of opinion they have no such authority to relinquish.

3. Will it be expedient to make any such relinquishment to the Indians if essential to peace?

The Secretaries of the Treasury & War, & the Attorney General are of opinion it will be expedient to make such relinquishment if essential to peace, provided it do not include any lands sold or reserved for special purposes (the reservations for trading places excepted). The Secretary of state is of opinion that the Executive and Senate have authority to stipulate with the Indians, and that if essential to peace, it will be expedient to stipulate that we will not settle any lands between those already sold or reserved for special purposes, and the line heretofore validly established with the Indians.

4. Whether the Senate shall be previously consulted on this point.

The opinion unanimously is that it will be better not to consult them previously.

(The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Edited by P. L. Ford, Vol. VI, p. 191.)

FROM ALURED CLARKE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

No. 67.

QUEBEC, 2nd March, 1793.

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit Copy of a Letter and sundry Inclosures received the 23rd Instant from Colonel Simcoe, and in compliance with his desire take the earliest opportunity to acquaint you of his having refused to comply with the Request of the Government of the United States to be permitted to send an Agent into Upper Canada for the purpose of collecting and furnishing provisions by the way of the Lakes during the proposed Treaty with the United States.

I agree with Colonel Simcoe in the impolicy of suffering a measure of the kind proposed to take place, and am fully of opinion with him that it would risque the good opinion of the Indians if not entirely annihilate the King's influence among them. At the same time I am not by any means free from suspicion that it was

not in contemplation with the States that this should be the Channel of obtaining supplies for their Military Establishments in that Country; nor will it I trust be construed a want of charity to suppose that the change of the place of Meeting has not arisen from Mistake but premeditated design.

Mr. Hammond in giving encouragement to Mr. Hamilton that arrangements might be made for procuring a supply of provisions in that quarter, was actuated by the best motives, the saving the public money; but on the receipt of Colonel Simcoe's letter, I doubt not he will be convinced of the propriety of rejecting Mr. Hamilton's proposals, and which I trust will meet with your approbation.

I have the honor to be with great respect,

Sir,

Your Most obedient and most faithful servant

ALURED CLARKE.

The Right Honble Henry Dundas.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 2d March, 1793. Lt. Govr. Clarke, No. 67. R. 4 June 1793. Seven inclosures.

FROM HENRY DUNDAS TO J. G. SIMCOE.

WHITEHALL, 7 March, 1793.

Sir,

The account contained in the enclosed copy of a letter to Colonel Beckwith from Philadelphia, appears improbable. As from what has been represented to me, there is no good reason to doubt the good intentions of the writer, I think it worth while to send you a copy of it, in order that you may compare it with such information as you may receive from Mr. Hammond, or from other quarters.

I am, Sir, &c.

HENRY DUNDAS.

Lt. Govr. Simcoe.

FROM LIEUT. COL. BECKWITH TO LORD DORCHESTER.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan'y 14, 1793.

Very dear Sir,

Having resided near the seat of Government for several years, and having been a silent spectator of the measures going on, I have penned a few remarks for your own inspection. Your long services and military comprehension must render the following pages the most interesting of anything I have at present to offer, as the interests of our country must be materially affected in the operations which are on the eve of commencing. Nothing is more clear than that a war has been regularly progressing? for these four years past, the means for which is now become very well matured, and the spring will open with a scene which perhaps you do not expect, but with as much energy as a campaign of its numbers, you have for a long time been a spectator of. This country is now in the field, and will complete by April, five thousand regular troops, most of which have been in service, and for eighteen months have done no other duty but attend their exercise. This number of regular troops, which consists in Artillery, Horse and Infantry, together with 1500 chosen Militia, from the back of North Carolina, under the command

of General Sevier, who have now been some time in service, make to a certainty an army of six thousand five hundred men; in addition to which, the President is empowered to call out as many Militia as in his judgment the service may require: what that addition may be cannot be ascertained, but an opinion may be offered that the whole army will not consist of less than ten thousand men, as appropriations of money are made for that number, and fifty thousand dollars to employ Indians, in addition to the above.

My reasons that the campaign will be vigorous are conclusive with myself. A Uniform perseverance; the President's speech to both Houses of Congress, and Mr. Steele's motion to reduce the Military Establishment to 2120 men, in order to abandon the plan for prosecuting an offensive war: to garrison the Posts only, and to distress the neighboring Tribes of Indians only by incursions of the Militia altogether; but after advocating his plan with some ability, he found himself not well supported, and, indeed, by those only who have been uniform in their opposition to the war; yielded to a large majority and joined in the appropriation for the current year. Those who were for prosecuting the business blamed themselves for improper economy, shew in a high degree other causes for their late failure, and if their present force is insufficient, they will enlarge their numbers.

They implicate the British as being the only aggressors, by holding a country which ought long ago to have been given up by Treaty: by supplying the Indians with the necessities for war, and in that manner holding the country. The progressive measures are obvious and the arrangements for the ensuing year will explain the business. They cannot mask 10,000 men, and the friendly Indians, which 50,000 dollars will procure, nor are 8,000 stand of arms, which are conveyed to Fort Pitt, to be lodged in idleness, but speak a something not mentioned, above. In a Government scarcely formed, as in the case with this, and its origin built on opinion, it was found impossible to draw the strength of the country into action at once, nor would it be practicable only in an instance of the most absolute necessity. Popular opinion must be the principal stimulus; therefore, the most artful measures have been pursued in order to create a pretext, and thereby lead the people into the business, while, in fact, they endeavor to blind the party who are the real object of their resentment.

A peace is now made with the Wabash Indians and Elk River Tribes.¹ Fifteen of their Chiefs are now in this city, and there is no doubt but their warriors will join the army; and should a general peace be effected with the confederated Tribes, their assistance will be most earnestly sought after. Two dollars in addition are added to the bounty of a soldier, and one dollar a month to the pay as a stimulus and encouragement to the recruiting service. If there is not a check given to these operations, I have no doubt but the intention is to drive the English to the Northeast end of the continent.

I remain &c.

Lieut. Col. Beckwith, Aide de Camp to
the Rt. Hon. Lord Dorchester.

¹A treaty had been concluded by General Rufus Putnam and John Heckewelder, the Moravian missionary, on 26 September, 1792, at Vincennes, with the Pottawatomies and other tribes in that neighbourhood, by which those Indians placed themselves under the protection of the United States.

The President had organized the troops of the United States into a Legion, divided into four sub-legions, each consisting of one troop of dragoons, one company of artillery, two battalions of infantry and one battalion of riflemen, in all amounting to 1280 non-commissioned officers and privates.

FROM FRANCIS LE MAISTRE TO J. G. SIMCOE.

QUEBEC, 14th March, 1793.

Sir,—

The Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury having signified to Major General Clarke that the contract with Messrs. Turnbull, Macaulay and T. Gregory for supplying provisions to His Majesty's Troops in this country is to cease on the 17th Inst., and that in future the supplies are to be furnished under the agency of Mr. Alexander Davison who is to purchase and ship the Salt provisions from Ireland, and under whose direction the flour and pease are to be procured in this country, His Excellency commands me to acquaint you that he has directed the Commissary General to write you on the subject of the procuring the flour and pease necessary for the Troops in Upper Canada and whose letter is enclosed.

I am with respect, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant.

FRAN. LE MAISTRE, M.S.

His Excellency Colonel Simcoe.

FROM JOHN GRAY TO J. G. SIMCOE.

MONTREAL, 17th March, 1793.

Sir:—

I some time ago did myself the honor of acquainting you through Major Littlehales of Mr. Davison's having been appointed by Government to provide the provisions wanted for British America, but at that time no arrangements had taken place for carrying the business into effect. Mr. Davison has appointed Messrs. Monro & Bell at Quebec and myself his agents, and upon the recommendation of Mr. Isaac Tod has directed us to employ Mr. Richard Cartwright at Kingston, Mr. Robert Hamilton at Niagara, and Messrs. John Askin and William Robinson at Detroit, to furnish the necessary supplies of Flour and Peas at those different Posts, which we have done by this opportunity, and we hope the whole business will be done on such a plan as to make a great saving to Government.

We have accounts from New York of the January Packet being arrived there but the mail has not reached this place. It is reported that the French have given up their design of the Scheldt, and from this we conclude that Peace will follow.

I am most respectfully, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN GRAY.

Governor Simcoe.

INDIAN NATIONS TO R. G. ENGLAND.

Speech of the Confederate Indian Nations at the Glaize to Lieut. Colonel England Commanding at Detroit.

Father.

We have laid before you our answer to the Speech of our Father the Governor at Niagara, and also our Speech to the United States in answer to their last message, as also those messages that we are now sending to our Confederates, to assemble at the foot of the Miamis Rapids in order to deliberate on what measures may be further necessary for us to procure the peace and interest of our Country.

Father

We are directed in the name of the Council of the Glaize to make you acquainted with their design of calling a general meeting at the Miamis Rapids as early as possible for this purpose; and to solicit your assistance in their name in furnishing provisions for us there, as you have always heretofore done. Our unsettled Situation does not leave it in our power to provide provision for ourselves on such occasions, for we even find it difficult to provide for our families when at home.

Father

The Supply we now ask is exclusive of what our Father the Governor promised to send us to Sandusky, and we are sorry we are under the necessity of being further troublesome on this Occasion.

A String of Wampum.

FROM R. G. ENGLAND TO J. G. SIMCOE.

DETROIT, March 17th, 1793.

Sir,——

Colonel McKee will acquaint Your Excellency that *General Snake* with another chief arrived here a few days ago from the Glaze with a message to you from the Confederate Indians and also messages from that body to the Five Nations and to the Indians in the neighborhood of Michilimackinac, all which he will forward to you by this opportunity. I yesterday by appointment saw those Chiefs when all the messages were explained to me and read and Snake delivered me a message accompanied with a speech, a copy of which I have the honor now to enclose you. I answered in general terms by explaining that those motives which ever induced their father to assist his children with a supply of provisions, when they assembled in Council, would certainly induce him to continue them on this laudable occasion, and promised them that such a supply would be granted as their Superintendent would find necessary from time to time to require. The object of this meeting will be explained to you by the messages and by Colonel McKee, and Your Excellency will perceive that it is to be previous to that proposed to be held at Sandusky, and consequently a greater supply of provisions will be wanted than you provided for by your order when here.

I felt myself authorized to make the Chiefs a promise of supply from the general custom and repeated orders on the subject, and should hope that it meets with Your approbation. In a letter from Colonel McKee in answer to one I wrote him desiring he would state the quantity that may be required, he very properly declined mentioning any particular quantity, as the meeting may be subject to

the greatest fluctuation, and he must be entirely governed by the numbers that assemble and the length of time they are together, and states that he will make the requisitions as the provisions appear to him to be necessary, and I shall on my part take care that they are provided as economical as possible if you continue in your disposition of having them principally purchased on the Frontiers. Should any opportunity offer I should be happy to have any orders on the subject that you think necessary.

It gives me much pleasure to acquaint you that after many difficulties I have at length succeeded in getting the release of the prisoner boy, Oliver Spencer. The repeated applications made by his father and friends through a variety of channels, made this a matter of much more difficulty and greater expense than it otherwise would have been, and indeed if it was not for the influence of Colonel McKee I much doubt if I should have been able to prevail on the family the boy was with, to have given him up. Money to a very considerable amount was offered to them *through other channels* and this naturally made them more anxious about him than they otherwise would have been, and increased their demands for him. His ransom and other expenses cannot I am confident be considered very extravagant when compared to the very desirable object of restoring him to his family. It all comes under sixty pounds New York Currency, which sum I will pay as I wish to keep my word strictly with those I rescued him from and beg to be informed how or to whom I am to apply for this money. The Indians state that five times that sum was offered to them for him, and they had increased his purchase to Five Hundred Pounds, which by much difficulty the correspondents of Colonel McKee and his influence removed. The boy on his way from the Glaze met with a very unlucky accident, but as it is not now likely to be attended with any bad consequence will not trouble you with a detail of it. He is at present under the surgeon's hands and daily recovering with the assistance of some warm baths, a plentiful application of soap, a supply of linen, and all kinds of clothing and necessities, he is restored to a Christian form. He is as tenderly attended to as possible by Mrs. Andrews (a lady of the Regiment) with whom he is connected, and who received from her friends letters relative to him. I propose to forward him to Niagara as soon as the communication opens by water, in the mean time it would be kind to inform his family with his situation provided any opportunity offered.¹

No effort can yet be made to get the vessels afloat. They are yet in the situation you saw them, and the waters rather lower than when you were here though Lake Sinclair and the Rivers are perfectly free from ice. We wait with impatience for some Easterly winds when it is expected the waters here will rise, and then every exertion shall be made to float the vessels and when rigged I shall immediately despatch one to Fort Erie. You mentioned a wish of having the largest gun boat sent early, but I apprehend we have so very few carpenters and so much work in the Dock Yard that I will not be able to send her with the first vessel but no time shall be lost in preparing her for service.

I have mentioned in a letter to Major of Brigade Littlehales the steps I have taken to prepare for the additions and repairs required for the defence of this Post, which he will lay before you, and as Mr. McNiff² will probably be employed all the early part of the Summer on the River Thames, and as there is no master carpenter here or overseer of works, hope you will continue in the resolution of sending Mr.

¹Many years later, Oliver Spencer wrote an account of his captivity in which he referred gratefully to the attention he received in the garrison of Detroit. It was printed and a portion of his narrative is quoted in Silas Farmer's "History of Detroit," p. 262.

²A deputy Surveyor.

Pilkington¹ by the first vessel from Fort Erie. It will be absolutely necessary for him to bring a master carpenter with him as this Post cannot furnish one, and there are but two carpenters in the Regiment.

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's very obedient and very humble servant,

R. G. ENGLAND.

His Excellency Lieutenant Governor Simcoe, &c. &c., &c.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

NAVY HALL, March 20, 1793.

My dear Sir,

I beg to offer you my best thanks for your very friendly communication by the Winter's Express, and to assure you that no persons can be more sensible than Mrs. Simcoe and I are, of your kind attentions towards us, and that we shall ever feel most deeply interested in every circumstance that can add to your happiness and welfare.

I was most truly concerned to hear of the mutinous transactions of the Fusiliers, particularly as it may be the means of rendering His Royal Highness unpopular amongst the lower class of men, and that the affair might be exaggerated by disaffected people, so as to occasion other Corps who may be stationed at more exposed posts hereafter to follow their example. However, I trust that the ringleaders may be corrected and punished in as exemplary manner as they merit.

I have long augered from the violence of the English merchants on the one hand, and the ignorance of the French on the other, the disputes which appear to exist among the Legislative body of the Lower Province.

My greatest embarrassment at present is with Joseph Brant, respecting a Deed which he and the 6 Nations Indians have applied to me for, empowering them to lease out part of the lands granted to them on the Grand River Ouse, formerly the Grand River. I shall by the first opportunity transmit you a particular detail of my proceedings on this point, and this day Captain John and the Mohawks from the Bay of Quinte have arrived, as I suppose, to make similar claims.

On my return from Detroit, I found to my surprise Genl. Hull at this place. He has just now taken his leave of me to return to Philadelphia. He has left with me a speech from Genl. Knox to the Western Indians, acknowledging the Miami Rapids to have been misinterpreted to General Washington as the place of meeting and substituting Sandusky in its room. General Hull, I apprehend, expects to be one of the Commissioners. The reason he gives for staying at Stedman's at Fort Schlosser was the inclemency of the weather and to wait for his despatches. Having offered every accomodation to the Commissioners in the power of this Government as General Knox has requested them, In consequence I have written by General Hull to Mr. Hammond to give his passports to those gentlemen, their suites and effects, addressed to the Commanding Officer at Oswego, from whence they mean to come on to this place in their own boats, and I have promised to forward them in a King's vessel to Sandusky.

I hereby forward you a requisition for £250 sterling in specie, for the use of the Province.

I have the honor to be, &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

Major Genl. Clarke.

¹The officer of Engineers.

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF UPPER CANADA.

At the Council Chamber, Navy Hall, in the County of Lincoln, Wednesday, March 21st, 1793.

Present.

His Excellency John Graves Simcoe, Esqr., Lt. Governor, &c., &c.
The Hon'ble William Osgoode, Chief Justice.
The Hon'ble Peter Russell.

Peter Martin a negro (in the service of Colonel Butler) attended the Board for the purpose of informing them of a violent outrage committed by one Fromond, an Inhabitant of this Province, residing near Queenston (or the west landing) on the person of Chloe Cooley, a negro girl in his service by binding her and violently and forcibly transporting her across the river, and delivering her against her will to certain persons unknown, to prove the truth of his allegation he produced William Grisley (or Crisley).

William Grisley an Inhabitant near Messissague point in this province says: that on Wednesday evening last he was at work at William Fromonds near Queens-ton, who in conversation with him told him he was going to sell his negro wench to some persons in the States, that in the evening he saw the said negro girl tied with a rope that afterwards a boat was brought and the said Fromond with his brother, and one *Venevry* forced the said negro girl into it, that he was desired to come into the boat which he did, but did not assist, or was otherwise concerned in carrying off the said negro girl, but that all the others were, and carried the boat across the river, that the said negro girl was then taken and delivered to a man upon the bank of the river by Fromond that she screamed violently, and made resistance, but was tied in the same manner, as when the said William Grisley first saw her, and in that situation delivered to the man;

William Grisley further says that he saw a negro at a distance, he believes tied in the same manner, and has heard that many other persons mean to do the same by their Negroes.

RESOLVED that it is necessary to take immediate steps to prevent the continuance of such violent breaches of the public peace, and that for that purpose that His Majesty's Attorney General be forthwith directed to prosecute the said Fromond.

Adjourned.

FROM PRESIDENT WASHINGTON TO THE SECRETARIES OF STATE,
OF THE TREASURY, OF WAR AND THE ATTORNEY
GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES.

(Circular.)

UNITED STATES, 21st March, 1793.

Gentlemen,

The treaty which is agreed to be held on or about the 1st of June next at the Lower Sandusky of Lake Erie, being of great moment to the interests and peace of this country, and likely to be attended with difficulties arising from circumstances (not unknown to you), of a peculiar and embarrassing nature, it is indispensably necessary that our rights under the treaties, which have been entered into with the Six Nations—the several tribes now in hostility with us,—and the claims of others,

should be carefully investigated and well ascertained, that the commissioners who are appointed to hold it, may be well informed and clearly instructed on all the points that are likely to be discussed, thereby knowing what they are to insist upon, with or without compensation, and the amount of the compensation if any, and what for the sake of peace they may yield.

You are not to learn from me the different views, which our citizens entertain of the war we are engaged in with the Indians, and how much these different opinions add to the delicacy and embarrassments alluded to above, and the criticisms, which more than probable will be made on the subject, if the proposed treaty should be unsuccessful.

Induced by these motives, and desirous that time may be allowed for a full and deliberate consideration of the subject before the departure of the commissioners, it is my desire that you will on the 25th of this month meet together at the war office (or at such other time and place as you may agree upon) where the principal documents are, with whatever papers you may be possessed of on the subject and such others as I shall cause to be laid before you, and then and there decide on all the points, which you shall conceive necessary for the information and instruction of the commissioners, and having drawn them into form to revise the same, and have them ready in a finished state for my perusal and consideration when I return, together with a digest of such references as shall be adjudged necessary for the commissioners to take with them.

As it has been suggested to me, that the Society of Quakers are desirous of sending a deputation from their body to be present at the aforesaid treaty, which, if done with pure motives, and a disposition accordant with the sentiments entertained by government respecting boundary, may be a mean of facilitating the good work of peace, you will consider how far, if they are approved characters, they ought to be recognized in the instructions to the commissioners, and how proper it may be for them to participate therein, or be made acquainted therewith.

Ford, 12, pp. 273-4.

FROM GEORGE WASHINGTON TO HENRY KNOX.

(Extract.)

5 April, 1793.

In addition to the several matters contained in my circular letter to you before I left Philadelphia, which you were desired to take into consideration, I now submit to you (and to the other gentlemen to whom the above mentioned letter was directed, and whom you will now also consult) a request of the Society of Quakers to be permitted to make presents to the Indians at the proposed treaty at Sandusky.

You will determine among yourselves as to the propriety of granting this request at all, and to what amount, and what kind of articles they may present to the Indians. The result of your united deliberations, as I am satisfied it will meet my approbation, you may communicate to the Society; as they may want to make some arrangements, in case their request should be granted, before the commissioners depart for Sandusky.

Ford, 12, pp. 274-5, note.

FROM E. B. LITTLEHALES TO ALEXANDER McKEE.

NAVY HALL, March 22, 1793.

Sir,

Agreeable to H. E. Colonel Simcoe's direction, I am to inform you that he found General Hull at Niagara upon his return from Detroit, from whom he received the enclosed written message of the United States to the Western Indians, wherein the place of meeting is altered by them to Lower Sandusky. His Excellency desires this message may be forwarded without delay. It is probable General Hull may be one of the Commissioners. He returns immediately to Philadelphia. Colonel Simcoe hopes there will be no obstacles whatsoever to the proposed meeting, and sincerely wishes it may have the desired effect. His Excellency has consented to convey the proposed Commissioners and their suite of twelve persons in one of the King's Vessels to Lower Sandusky: he desires you to consult with Colonel England on the subject that the most proper arrangement may be made and the vessel stationed at Fort Erie for that purpose. I transmit to you a plan of the purchase of lands His Excellency thinks proper to be made. He wishes you to bargain for them, but by no means to complete the purchase till you hear further from him. In the newspapers of the States, which His Excellency has received, the South American Indians are at war with that part of the United States adjoining them, and that Bowles and McGillivray¹ are suspected to be actively employed by the Spaniards.

His Excellency would have wrote to you himself, but has got the gout in his right hand, and refers you to Col. England for a more circumstantial detail of political affairs in Europe, where it appears that Great Britain and all Europe are confederating against the French.

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

A. McKee, Esq. Detroit.

FROM ALURED CLARKE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

No. 70.

QUEBEC, 30th March, 1793.

Sir,

In mine (No. 67) of the 2nd Instant I had the honor to transmit Communications received from Colonel Simcoe respecting the request made by the United States to be permitted to collect and furnish Provisions by way of the Lakes during the proposed Treaty with the Indians.

The inclosed (No. 1) Copy of a Letter of the 3rd February from Colonel Simcoe to Mr. Hammond, and which I have just received will inform You that there has since arrived at Niagara a General Hull in the Service of the United States, charged with the Commission for procuring the Supplies before mentioned; The manner in which Colonel Simcoe has treated the Subject of this Mission appears to be highly proper.

The Inclosures (No. 2 & 3) contain the latest Communications received relative to Indian Affairs.

I have the honor to be with great respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and most faithful humble servant

ALURED CLARKE.

The Right Honble Henry Dundas.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 30th March, 1793. Lt. Govr. Clarke. R. 4th June (Three inclosures) No. 70.

¹Leaders of the Creek Indians, previously mentioned.

FROM JOHN BUTLER TO J. G. SIMCOE.

NEWARK, 30th March, 1793.

Sir,

At the request of Captain John, Isaac & Aron three Mohawk Chiefs I take the Liberty of troubling Your Excellency with this Letter.

They beg leave to State to Your Excellency that they are the Only three Principal Chiefs remaining of the Mohawk Nation, That in the time of the late Sir William Johnson they were in all Councils Consulted by him—That at the Commencement of the late War, they immediately Joined the British Standard and Greatly Assisted Sir John Johnson in escaping from the Mohawk river to Canada. They trust that their Services Since that Period and uniform Attachment to the King their Father are not Wholly unknown to your Excellency. That during the late War they Acted as Captains in the Indian Department by having Command of Parties of Indians in Service, altho they had not Commissions.

They therefore beg your Excellency will be Pleased to take their Case into Consideration and Grant them the Quantity of land usually given to Captains who have served during the War or such other Gratuity in Lands as to your Excellency Shall Seem meet.

They also request me to State that at their Settlement at the Bay of Quinty they have a Church and Bell but no Steeple, they therefore beg your Excellency will be pleased to Order them Assistance in getting one erected. They have nothing farther to add but that they await your Excellency's Commands to Depart to their Homes.

I beg leave to inform your Excellency that what these Indians have now Stated are Matters of fact, and am therefore of Opinion that their Petition is reasonable, as others in nearly Similar Situations have Obtained Lands for their Services.

I have the Honor to be, &c.

JOHN BUTLER.

His Excy Goverpor Simcoe, &c., &c., &c.

REQUISITION FROM J. G. SIMCOE.

Extract of a Letter from Lieut. Governor Simcoe, dated Navy Hall, 1st April, 1793.

"I wish you would send me out as Indian Presents a few Flags with the Arms of Upper Canada—It is the request of the Mohawk Village that I would entreat of Government to give them some Communion Plate. I should suppose Two Silver Cups and a Salver would be sufficient, this request they have often made to Sir John Johnson. I must own I was so much struck with their deportment at Church that I promised without hesitation to lay their request before Government which I desire you will be so good as to do. I am persuaded the Compliance with it would be proper & have a very good effect at the present moment. Remember also the 200 Silver Medals with the Arms of Upper Canada, which I requested last year to be sent out to be given as Presents to the Chiefs."

J. G. SIMCOE.

Endorsed:—Lt. Govr. Simcoe. requisition of Comn Service for Indians with 200 Medals & Colours. R. June 29, 1793.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

NIAGARA, Apl. 1, 1793.

Dear General,

The critical situation of affairs in Europe of which I received information from Mr. Hammond a few days ago, have determined me to direct the vessel here to sail with the utmost despatch to Kingston, that in case you shall receive any commands for me, I may receive them as early as possible. I enclose to you a copy of Mr. Hammond's letter to me, in consequence of which Mr. Talbot¹ set off this day for Philadelphia, and Grey accompanies him.² Mr. Talbot carries with him copies of the last speeches I have received from the Indians, and is furnished, to deliver verbally, with all my opinions on the present state of affairs, as they relate to that people. I have already informed your Excellency that I have agreed to forward the Commissioners to be sent by the United States to the place of meeting. You will see by the speeches of the Western Indians that they seem tenacious of their original claim of the Ohio for a Boundary, and that by their speech to Colonel England they desire provisions for a previous meeting, which they propose shall be held at the Miamis, of all the Nations to consult on their general interests. The Six Nations have also determined upon a previous meeting to be held at Niagara, about the 15th of this month. I apprehend O'Beal, the Cornplanter,³ will be there. In his Speech to Captain Brant, he assures him that he will not falter from the general interests, and having consulted that Chief upon a late message from Mr. Washington to invite the 6 Nations to Philadelphia, as I understand, he has not gone there, but agreed with him in opinion, that it was unnecessary. The Farmer's Brother⁴ is gone to Philadelphia, but Colonel Butler assures me that he is firm to the Indian interest. I am persuaded that the request of the Western Indians that the Seven Nations of Canada should perform their promise, will meet with your Excellency's approbation, and that the Superintendents will be ordered to communicate the speeches to them without delay. I hope speedily to receive from the Supt. General's office every deed and document that shall be necessary to establish the Indian Rights, and I cannot but entertain a strong belief that the Indians will universally persist in those rights; that they will declare them to be unalienable without common consent, and that in consequence of their resolutions, Great Britain will nearly obtain that intermediate boundary which His Majesty's Ministers have in their contemplation. This is the object I aim at, and in the present critical situation of affairs, I am persuaded in every point of view, it is most necessary to maintain His Majesty's interest with all the Indian Nations.

I should hope the previous meeting at the Miamis would so far shorten the general one at Sandusky, as to make little addition to the expence. I am not without suspicion that both this previous meeting and that of the 6 Nations is of Brant's suggestion. The independence of the Indians is his primary object; his

¹Lieut. Thomas Talbot.

²Lieut. Thomas Grey, of the 26th Regt., a younger son of General Sir Charles Grey of Falloden, afterwards first Lord Grey; he had been appointed aide-de-camp to his father, and went to New York to obtain a passage to the West Indies, to join the expedition for the conquest of Martinique; he was selected to carry despatches to England announcing its success; promoted to be Lt. colonel of the 12th Regt.; died unmarried at the Cape of Good Hope in January, 1797.

³Henry O'Bail or the Cornplanter, a half-breed chief of the Senecas, 1732-1836. He had participated in General Braddock's defeat, 9 July, 1755.

⁴A noted chief and orator of the Senecas.

views are extensive, and he speaks most contemptuously of the Superintendent General and his Deputies, and, indeed, of every body, but I conceive his attachment next to the Indians, is decisively to the British Nation. It is difficult to deal with him but I shall leave no method untried to conciliate his regard which is not only due to his many good qualities, his former services, and the real influence he has, but in a more especial manner to the very high opinion that the people of the United States most certainly entertain of him. I have desired Mr. Hammond, in case he has anything of importance to communicate to Your Excellency, to employ Lieut. Grey on that service. The passing through the Genessee country is not altogether without danger; a drunken Indian attempted to kill Lieut. Givings, when he returned from Philadelphia, to avenge some harsh treatment he had met with formerly at Oswego. I understand from Brant that Sir John Johnson has a private store. Colonel Butler has received my directions to pay the Indians who accompanied me to Detroit in the manner suitable and usual in such services; but I do not know how to reward Brant in a proper manner, if it could be done I should wish to do it by presents of a better quality, but in this case, I should wish that the acknowledgment went through myself, and indeed in all presents to particular Chiefs, as delegated by the Commander in Chief, and not through any Superintendent.

I have the honor to be,
with true respect and esteem,
Dear Sir, your most faithful,

J. G. SIMCOE.

To His Excey., General Clarke Quebec.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO GEORGE HAMMOND.

April 1st, 1793.

Sir:—

As I think it proper that His Majesty's Ministers should have the earliest intelligence of the state of Indian affairs in this Country, and as I have no means of conveyance equally expeditious or as safe, as through Your Excellency, I must request that you will have the goodness to communicate such statement of them as you shall deem proper, and as shall result from the papers I have communicated to you, and from the conversations you may have with Lieutenant Talbot who is fully acquainted with my opinions on this important subject.

J. G. SIMCOE.

To His Excellency George Hammond,
by Lieut. Thomas Talbot.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

NAVY HALL, April 5, 1793.

Dear Sir,

Mr. Hammond's letter of the 27 Novr., 1792, enclosing his despatch of the 6th Novr., to Lord Grenville, were brought to me by Lieut. Givings, to which my letter of the 16 of January was an answer and Mr. Hammond's letter of the 4 Jany., enclosing his despatch to Lord Grenville of the 1 of that month, brought by

Capt. E. B. Littlehales, fill up the whole of that correspondence, which for want of an eligible conveyance, I have hitherto confined myself summarily to relate to Your Excellency.

I also enclose to you a letter from Colonel McKee with three enclosures dated 17 March, 1793, and an answer by that gentleman to the statement made by General Knox of the Indian Affairs. This exposition I have conveyed to Mr. Hammond, leaving him to make such use of it as he may deem proper, and as the authenticity of the facts may render expedient, at least it conveys much information.

Your Excellency will see that Mr. Hammond hints at Mr. Jefferson's supposed resignation. I apprehend, in confidence from Littlehales, that Mr. Hammond meant publicly to expose this Minister and to arraign him of wilful falsehood in some statement that had officially passed between them.

Mr. Jefferson is an anti-federalist, of which party fifty-two were elected into the Lower House, and who are decidedly in opposition to the present Government. I rather suspect that the revolution in France and the ill success of the allies has strengthened his party, and that possibly Mr. Hamilton, and not Mr. Jefferson may be forced to resign, but of this event, Your Excy. is probably already informed; in me it is only conjecture.

No circumstance has happened since my arrival in Canada, to occasion in the least a change of my sentiments relative to the Government of the United States. Mr. Hammond, Your Excy will observe, in strict confidence intimates that for some reason or other Mr. Washington is not adverse to Great Britain. I conceive that this man is actuated by his own interest, and that a fixed Government must be his natural language while he presides at the head of it: but I do conceive that the wild and phrenetic democracy which is ideal in the United States, if called into action and reality by Mr. Jefferson would much sooner bring about that revolution of opinion, which in some shape or other will hereafter rivet the affections of the people of British descent to their Mother country. In this case, should Great Britain be unfortunately involved in a war with France, where she can gain nothing in the contest but self-preservation, I cannot but say, that as I fully expect the United States under the democratic faction will be engaged in the conflict, so I by no means deprecate an event that may sooner or later restore to Great Britain the power, honor, and dominion, which it has been so fatally deprived of by error and domestic treason. In this event of war with France, I cannot but think that Your Excy's Government will be an object of attack: for the democracies of that Republic cannot stand still: their declarations of a revolutionary power is as politic as it is profligate. Should the sceptre of the United States fall from the feeble grasp of Washington, I doubt not but that Republic would enter into a treaty with France, and divide the Canadas between them, and he (Washington) would consent to it, rather than lose his Power.

I believe an army of natives of America might be collected to attack these Posts, so strong I understand the predisposition to be that they are most unjustifiably withheld by us. General Hull, who was an Aid-de-Camp of Washington's, said to me in conversation, when I declined allowing the Commissioners to purchase provisions, "suppose we were to drive cattle from New England to Presqu' Isle, there salt them down, and build boats to carry them to the Indians, would not that be a good New England trick?"

I have seen a strong recommendation of the Philadelphia Society for Arts and Sciences, to occupy this Post, published of late in their papers, and I under-

stand Morris,¹ the speculator, is anxious for this event, that he may raise his price upon some English Traitors,² who are about to purchase lands of which he is the proprietor in that neighborhood.

I have thus written to Your Excellency my ideas in confidence, not merely as speculating, but to add whatever force they bear with them, and which they derive from the unsettled spirit of the times, to the many reasons which induce us to give our best attention to the Indians, and to endeavor that the ensuing meeting may be as numerous, and in appearance as formidable as possible, I have directed Colonel England to buy whatever live stock may be necessary from our frontier. It is visible that the British Government has no right to depend upon the French Settlers in the vicinity of Detroit. That post is not tenable against a vigorous Coup de main or a siege.

Many American Officers give it as their opinion that Niagara should be attacked, and that Detroit must fall of course. I hope by this autumn to be able to shew the fallacy of this reasoning by opening a safe and expeditious communication by the La Tranche, but on this subject I reserve myself till I have visited Toronto, when I propose to make to Your Excellency a systematical report on the military resources and defences of the Country. I have studiously foreborne saying anything to Your Excellency on the relief of the Posts, but as it is surmised that such an event is not likely to take place, I cannot but say, should this report be true, it would be satisfactory to me, as I am anxious to remove the Scipio's cargo from Kingston.

I have the honor to be, &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

To Major Genl. Clarke. Quebec.

FROM GEORGE HAMILTON TO J. G. SIMCOE.

CAMBRIDGE, WASHINGTON COUNTY, 10 Apl., 1793.

Sir,

I hope this will find you and family in a better state than I left you at Niagara last fall. I have sent you a package of States Newspapers: they contain little matter of moment further than the death of the French King, and that General Wayne has been defeated by the Indians to the Westward and lost 700 of his men, in consequence of which he has resigned his command.

I shall be at Niagara, if my health continues, by the 1 of July next, in order to have my Township run out into lots for the accomodation of my associates, who are very anxious to move on. I have collected a sufficient number of associates, with those already at the office, as will fill my Township to a single lot. As I have no view of aggrandizing myself by land jobbing, further than to secure my own right, and in some measure to have His Majesty's Province strengthened with Loyal

¹Robert Morris of Philadelphia, who had purchased about four million acres of land west of the Genesee river in the State of New York from the State of Massachusetts. In 1795, he was largely interested in a similar purchase of a tract of three million acres in the present State of Ohio, near Cleveland.

²Sir William Pulteney and his associates.

and industrious inhabitants, I would therefore request that Your Excellency would be pleased, when you order my warrant of survey to be issued, to have a tract of land on the River Rideau included in my Township, called the Tongue, though I understand a Mr. P. Eason has made application for the same. I believe my memorial has been preferred before his, for the River, as will appear by the Docket.

I have trumpeted your Proclamations all over New England since my return, and expect a numerous application from that quarter will be made to you for lands this spring and summer, and would beg leave to recommend to you to be a little more circumspect with them than usual, as many of them have no other view than to extort money from their associates and impose on you and other Officers of the Crown.

I am told that some who have obtained Townships in Upper Canada are offering them for sale, and others have already sold their Townships, However, I shall collect you all the news and information I can by the time I reach Niagara.

I am, &c.

GEORGE HAMILTON.

Lt. Govr. Simcoe.

FROM R. G. ENGLAND TO PRIDEAUX SELBY.

DETROIT, April 13th, 1793.

Sir:

I herewith return the letters you had the Goodness to send me yesterday. As you mention your Intention of taking copies of them for the Information of the Commander in Chief I can at leisure take such Extracts from your copies as may be requisite but in general they appear to me uninteresting.

I request you will be pleased to present my best Compliments to Colonel McKee, with my very sincere congratulations on his prospect of a speedy Recovery. Assure him from me, that in the situation he was represented to me, I did not (previous to my being favored with your Letters of the 8th inst) intend to deprive him of Mr. Durham's assistance, Tho' he was certainly under Orders to relieve surgeon Wright at Fort Miamis, whose patience I fear is totally exhausted. Mr. Durham now thinks that he may be dispensed with about Friday or Saturday next, at which Time if Colonel McKee approves of it, I propose to send him in a Gun Boat prepared for that Purpose but most positively not a day sooner than Colonel McKee thinks he can spare him.

I am, Sir,

Your very obedt. and very humble Servt.

R. G. ENGLAND.

Lieut. Selby, &c. &c.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO FRANCIS LE MAISTRE.

NAVY HALL, April 14th, 1793,

Sir,—

I have received your letter of the 14th of March by direction of the Commander in Chief, acquainting me of Mr. A. Davison being appointed to supply the troops in Canada with provisions.

I have engaged on the application of the tenant of the King's Mill at Kingston

to receive from him sufficient flour to pay for his rent, amounting to £64, Quebec Currency, provided it be equal in quality and not superior in price to what is purchased there for the troops, and this engagement I think highly beneficial to the Crown, and possibly to the public, should it be extended to whatever mills may be erected by Government in the vicinity of the Posts which may hereafter be occupied.

I had also desired Mr. Beasley¹ who has a mill at the head of the lake (now Burlington Bay) to reserve a quantity of flour, as it may be possible I shall establish a Post in its neighbourhood. I conceive this desire will not make any difference with the Agents.

I am,

J. G. SIMCOE.

(Unaddressed but evidently in reply to a letter from the Military Secretary, which see.)

FROM ALURED CLARKE TO J. G. SIMCOE.

QUEBEC, 15 April, 1793.

Sir,

The enclosed is a copy of a letter from Mr. Lorimier,² Interpreter in the Indian Department, occasioned by a belt having been circulated, with a view of assembling the Indians of Lower Canada to meet the Six Nations in Council previous to the Grand Conference to be held at Sandusky, in order to agree among themselves on a conduct to be observed upon that occasion, the result of which he feared might not be so favorable to the interest of this Government as of the United States, as the measure, Mr. Lorimier is of opinion, originated with Louison,³ a Negro of St. Regis, and whom he looks upon as being altogether on the American side of the question. The two Indians entrusted with the message being pressed for time, left the same at Launier's,⁴ the Interpreter's house at Nouvelle Beauce, desiring him to forward it to the Tribes below, which, however, was not done. Though it does not appear to be of serious import, I have, however, thought it best to communicate the matter to Your Excellency, more especially as I take the Negro Louison to be the same as mentioned by you not long since, and whom you thought a small pension would be the means of detaching from the other interest. Measures have been taken to prevent any evil impression being made on the minds of the Indians of this quarter,

I remain with sincere respect,

ALURED CLARKE.

H. E. Lt. Govr. Simcoe.

¹ Richard Beasley, for many years a trader, merchant, and miller residing in the township of Flamboro'; member of the Assembly for Durham, York and 1st Lincoln, 1796-1800, and for West York, 1st Lincoln and Haldimand, 1800-4; Speaker, 1803-4; colonel, 2nd York Regt. of militia, 1809-16; chairman of permanent board for militia pensions, for the Gore District, 1816.

²Guillaume, Chevalier de Lorimier, 1744-1824, for many years resident agent for the Indian Department at Caughnawaga.

³Joseph Louis, a half-breed negro-Indian, residing at St. Regis who was an American spy in the Revolutionary war and was granted the rank of colonel by Congress.

⁴Joseph Launier, Deputy Agent and Interpreter at Nouvelle Beauce, an active leader in the Revolutionary war.

FROM R. G. ENGLAND TO E. B. LITTLEHALES.

DETROIT, April 16th, 1793.

Sir,—

Colonel McKee communicated to me His Excellency Lieutenant Governor Simcoe's directions to me to have a proper vessel at Fort Erie on the First day of June to receive on board some American Commissioners, and to convey them to Sandusky. Care shall be taken on my part to have a proper vessel at that time prepared for that service, but as you state the number to be twelve, beg to know whether they are all to be considered as Cabin Passengers, or whether His Excellency would wish to have a second vessel to accomodate them properly.

I propose the Chippaway for that service, she is now under repair, and will be ready in ten days to sail from hence. The Ottaway will also be ready to accompany her from Fort Erie if required to accomodate the Commissioners—but it would interfere much with the transport and other duties of this Post to detain them both, particularly as Colonel McKee is apprehensive that the Indians will not be prepared for a considerable time *after June*, to meet the Commissioners in Council. He writes fully on that subject by this opportunity to His Excellency, who no doubt will make his arrangement according to the Colonel's information.

I request that you will be pleased to inform His Excellency that there are only half the number of carpenters here allowed by the establishment of the Marine Department, and that they have since their return from the Pinery, been so constantly employed in caulking the batteaux required for the use of the Post, and fitting His Majesty's vessels for service, that I have not been able to fit out either of the Gun Boats. As soon as the vessels are fitted out I propose the artificers should commence with the Gun Boats, and I shall use every exertion to have one of them prepared for service with all expedition, and sent down to Fort Erie.

The *Wheeler* mentioned by you in a former letter, is at work as I am informed, at the new settlement on Lake Erie, and I believe conducts himself quietly. His principal business here was to apprehend *Doctor Freeman*, whose character and conduct His Excellency is acquainted with, and who I hear, sets the *Wheeler* at Defiance. I have delayed in consequence of the peaceable disposition of the latter, to apprehend him, and beg you to inform me if I am still to consider the Governor's orders relative to him in force.

I send down a prisoner on board the *Felicity* a deserter from the Armies of the United States. He is to be forwarded to Major Smith, who will acquaint His Excellency with the charges against him. I also send young Spencer, who I purchased from the Indians, and you may privately mention to the Governor, that as I don't consider him by any means an amiable boy to keep in his family, the sooner he gets rid of him the better.

I am Sir, with great regard,

Your very obedient and very humble servant.

R. G. ENGLAND,

Lieut. Col., Commg.

P.S. I yesterday received an express from Michilimackinac, dated the 14th of March, when everything there was quiet.

R. E.

To Major of Brigade Littlehales, &c., &c.

FROM R. G. ENGLAND TO E. B. LITTLEHALES.

DETROIT, April 16th, 1793.

Sir,—

I have the honor herewith to enclose you Mr. McNiff's report of a survey he has lately made on the South Shore of Lake St. Clair. By it you will perceive that after his former fruitless attempts he has been able to get some lots of such land as I hope will encourage good settlers to cultivate as soon as their certificates can be granted them.

I have given notice all through this settlement and as low down as the River Raisin that the Land Board will on the 16th of May proceed to grant the land mentioned in this report to those whose services, loyalty, and conduct will entitle them to the bounty of Government, and though much pressed to grant certificates immediately I fixed on the 16th of May for that purpose, with hopes that I may previous to it hear from you that there is no objection on the part of His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor to grant the land in the irregular manner in which it is surveyed, and to know the Board may have His Excellency's permission to dispense with the Reserve of two sevenths in these little settlements.

The lots are surveyed six acres¹ in front, which in some places may be divided into two lots if there are claimants in proportion, which I apprehend will be the case, but all the lots will not admit of being so divided, as there is not everywhere a sufficiency of good land in the rear to admit of only three acres in front of the number usually granted.

Mr. McNiff has fixed on the 20th Inst. to proceed on the directed survey on the River Thames, and has made a requisition for provisions for himself and party for fifty days, with ten pounds of gunpowder and fifty weight of shot. From the time he proposes to be out I am apprehensive His Excellency will not receive his Report as early as he wishes. I have directed him to engage nine inhabitants to attend him instead of soldiers, as the garrison will be subject to many Detachments at that time, which will weaken them considerably. The season then will be probably unhealthy and the Regiment may not be here on his return. The principal difficulty seemed to be his not having it in his power to pay them ready money, which I undertook to remove by promising to advance the payment if here when the certificates properly authenticated and vouched according to your form are brought to me. He shall have directions to complete the third Township in front on the River, and to remove all disputes that may be among the settlers relative to their side lines, which from reports are numerous.

I enclose you a Memorial from the Missionaries of the *Unitas Fratrum*,² referred by the Land Board to His Excellency and Council. One of them (Senser-man) has been with me for the two hundred bushels of corn promised by His Excellency to be lent them for two years, which I have arranged to his satisfaction and agreeable to the directions contained in your letter. This Post has many demands at this time for Indian Corn, which exclusive of the desirable object of communication and information is the principal cause of my sending the *Felicity* so early to Fort Erie, and hope she may be able to bring back some that may be collected there. As we are naturally impatient to know our destination for this year I trust

¹The term 'acre', here used for a measure of length, as in nearly all other Canadian French settlements, is equivalent to the 'acre's breadth' i. e., the length of the side of a square containing an acre, or a trifle over 208 feet.

²The United Brethren or Moravians.

that you will direct that she is not unnecessarily detained at Fort Erie, but dispatched back as soon as possible. Part of the cargo that I mentioned in my last letter I intended sending down I have detained till a larger vessel goes, which I hope will be shortly.

The Chippawa is preparing for service as fast as the few Artificers we have here can work at her. There are but five carpenters altogether and they have been employed in caulking the batteaux and small craft here since their return from the Pinery. The establishment as you know is six carpenters for the yard and four on board the different vessels, and having only half that number the work goes on slowly, which is the best reason I can assign for the Gun Boats not being yet prepared for service. Every exertion of mine shall be used to have all the vessels ready as expeditiously as possible. The Felicity on her return is to have a new keel, which will deprive us of her use for some time.

I have imperceptibly introduced the subject of vessels into this letter which I intended to have confined to your Surveying Department, and which I trust you will excuse, particularly as it will prevent my troubling you with a second letter.

I have the honor to be Sir,

Your very obedient and Very humble servant.

R. G. ENGLAND.

Lieut. Col. Commanding.

P.S. There are one hundred fifty bags now sent for corn.

R. E.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

No. 14.

NAVY HALL, NIAGARA, UPPER CANADA April 21st, 1793.

Sir,

On the 14th of this month I had the honor of receiving your Letters of the 6th and 12th of last December.

Upon intimation from Mr. Hammond which I received on the 10th of April that it was probable there would be a rupture between Great Britain and the Supreme Authority in France, (and agreeably to his advice) I directed Lieutenant Talbot of the 24th Regiment to proceed to Philadelphia in order to wait for any European intelligence that Mr. Hammond might think it proper to communicate for my instruction.

Prior to the information I had received from Mr. Hammond, Lord Grenville's Speech in Answer to the Marquis of Lansdowne on the 21st of December has been communicated to me from the United States, and it bore with it such marks of Authenticity as left upon my mind no doubt but Great Britain would be immediately engaged in the War; and from this Speech I anticipated the atrocious Murder of the French King, which the Newspapers I have this day received from the United States, assert to have taken place.

I beg leave to observe Sir, that should you have any matters of importance

which you wish to acquaint me with for my Government with the greatest dispatch, they may in general be transmitted by Mr. Hammond, much sooner than from Quebec.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Respect, &c.

Your most Obt and most faithful Servt.

J. G. SIMCOE.

The Rt. Honble Henry Dundas.

Secretary of State &c., &c., &c.

Endorsed:—Niagara, 21st April, 1793. Lt. Govr. Simcoe. No. 1. R. 15th July.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

NIAGARA, April 21, 1793.

Sir,

I do myself the honor of enclosing to Your Excellency the proceedings of the Six Nations at a Council which was held yesterday at this place. It was understood that the Council was to be held as a private one of the Six Nations, prior to their proceeding to the Miamis or Sandusky. O'Beal or the Cornplanter was to have been present, but by the drunkenness of the messengers, the answer of the Buffalo Creek Indians to his message appointing the time and place of the meeting was not forwarded to that Chieftain. It is understood he is at present at Pittsburgh, but it seems rather to be believed, that to use his own expression, he will not falter from his promise of abiding by the result of the determination of the approaching meeting.

I yesterday, by the desire of the Chiefs, attended their Council. They repeated their request for provisions, and informed me that Captain Brant was immediately to proceed to the Indian Council previously to be held at the Miamis, and that they would wait for the arrival of the Seven Nations of Canada, and accompany them to the general meeting at Lower Sandusky. I beg therefore to press upon your Excellency the urgent necessity there is, that those Nations should be forwarded as soon as possible, and in as great numbers as may give weight to their appearance. I observed with regret the expensive dress that the Farmer's Brother had received at Philadelphia, as it adds to that expense, which it is inevitable and proper that we should be at during the present negotiation, to support our credit with the Indians, and which I trust your Excellency will see the necessity of, in the same light as I view it, considering the affections of the Indians, whether I view present or remote contingencies,—of the utmost importance. I am not without hopes that the proceedings of the Confederacy will be so managed as to assure to the Indians the greatest part of that Territory which His Majesty's Ministers seem desirous should intervene between Canada and the United States. Brant considers it absolutely necessary for the Indian security. It appears probable that the Commissioners, who, by a newspaper, I understand, are to be General

Lincoln,¹ Colonel Pickering,² and Mr. Randolph,³ may offer to re-purchase such lands as are in controversy. The Indians will refuse this and will adhere to the line of boundary which was given to your Excellency when the Deputation was at Quebec, adding such places beyond the Ohio as are actually settled, and on this footing, I think it possible that peace may take place. It will then become the object of the Indian Nations to preclude themselves from any further sales, unless by consent of the general Confederacy.

I have the honor to be, &c.

J. GRAVES SIMCOE.

Major Genl. Clarke. Quebec.

FROM E. B. LITTLEHALES TO THE SECRETARY OF THE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY.

NAVY HALL, Apl. 25, 1793.

Sir,

His Excellency Colonel Simcoe directs me to acquaint you, that as Patron of the Agricultural Society, during his continuation as Governor of the Province, he means to subscribe ten Guineas annually to be disposed of in a premium for the benefit of agriculture, in whatever manner the members think proper.

He desires the Society's acceptance of a set of books entitled "Yonge on Agriculture."⁴

I am, Sir,

Your most obt. servt.

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

To the Secretary of the Agricultural Society of Upper Canada.

¹Benjamin Lincoln, 1733-1810, member of provincial Congress of Massachusetts, 1775; major-general of militia, 1776; appointed to command southern department, 1778; surrendered Charleston, S.C. and garrison to Sir Henry Clinton, 1780; Secretary of War, 1781-4; Lieut. Governor of Massachusetts, 1787.

²Timothy Pickering, 1745-1829, graduate of Harvard, 1763; admitted to the bar, 1768; Judge of Court of Common Pleas, Essex County, Mass., 1775; commanded a regiment in Continental Army, 1776-82; present at battles of Brandywine and Germantown; Postmaster General of the United States, 1791; Secretary of War, 1794; Member of Congress, 1814-7.

³Beverly Randolph, 1754-97, member of the Assembly of Virginia, and President of the Executive Council, 1787-8; Governor of Virginia, 1788-91.

Charles Carroll of Carrolton and Charles Thomson, formerly Clerk of the Continental Congress, had been requested to act but had declined.

⁴This was probably "The Annals of Agriculture" by the well-known agriculturist and traveller, Arthur Young (1741-1820). It was a periodical publication, which eventually extended to forty-five volumes. King George III. was an occasional contributor.

FROM CHARLES STEVENSON TO J. G. SIMCOE.

By Mr. Ellice.

ORCHARD STREET, April 27th, 93.

Dear Sir,—

Mr. Ellice's¹ sudden departure for Canada gives me an opportunity to say a few words more on the subject of our affairs in that Province. Mr. Dundas has desired the Speaker to tell me that he would have seen me before this but thought the time he could allot for our interview would have been too short to have entered into an investigation of our situation, and to have given to our demands that attention which they merit, has therefore told me that when the Indian² business, now before the House, has gone through he will be at liberty and will send to me the first opportunity. The crisis of Indian and American affairs are too favorable to be neglected, as the repetition of the Indian request for our good offices will, I hope, engage the attention of His Majesty's Ministers as the most unexceptionable mode of settling the question of the Posts.

A new line of demarkation must be drawn and whether agreeable to the Indian proposition of 91 or on the subsequent lines as proposed by the Merchants in their Memorial of 92 to Mr. Hammond, a copy of which Ministers have, will effectually answer all your Excellency's wishes, as it may serve for a compromise to the Indians for ceding the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, which we never can suppose the Americans will adhere to. The giving us a respectable defence to place us above insult will be the plea I shall use to procure an established and permanent force during the existence of the dispute of the Americans with the Indians, our allies. A Commercial Treaty with Spain will be of the utmost advantage to both countries, and I have no doubt on that basis we may really have the navigation of the Mississippi.

The Report of the Committee on the Newfoundland settlers is just ready for the House of Commons, and Mr. Bastard has promised me a sight of it that I may converse with Mr. Dundas on the advantages which would accrue to us from the introduction of such a body of men at this period, both as a Military and a Civil acquisition. I could wish we had not so many emigrants from the States as I much fear the turbulent seeds of fanaticism and rebellion are not sufficiently eradicated from their breasts. I conceive a few of the aristocratic emigrants from France would be very useful in the neighbourhood of Detroit to oppose any Republican ideas that might break forth. I shall mention to the Ministry the situation of the French at Detroit who have their Representatives and Legislative Councillors in our Houses of Parliament, (though by Treaty they are in the American Line) and beg to know their sentiments on the subject, as by such a measure they are the voluntary and acknowledged subjects of Great Britain.

The Duke of Gloucester has sent to me to say that at any time when I wish to have any conversation with him that I must call between 12 and 1 and that he will be at home to me. 'Tis through His Royal Highness I expect that His Majesty will receive an impartial account of our situation and of the great importance Canada will be to England at a future day, and that not a distant one. The mutiny at Quebec has at last got into the papers, which with the Duke of York's *reported* duel with the young Prince of Orange, (and which I do not believe) and

¹Alexander Ellice, of the Montreal house of Inglis, Ellice, & Co., and managing director of the Hudson's Bay Company.

²East Indian.

Prince Ernest's marriage with Lady Augusta Murray engages more of the public attention than the defection of Dumourier and the disappointment of the hopes of the allies.

Lord Auckland's Memorial to the States General is universally reprobated and Mr. Sheridan has taken it up in the House of Commons. I send the paper of the 25th, in which you will see his speech and Mr. Pitt's defence of Lord Auckland.

I am pressed for time and obliged to conclude, with my sincere wishes for your health and prosperity. Adieu and believe me

Ever your sincere and obliged friend.

CHAS. STEVENSON.

I send you Mr. Bastard's and Sir Henry Clinton's letters.

FROM ALEXANDER DAVISON TO J. G. SIMCOE.

Per the Indian Trader, Captain Edwards.

Duplicate per Carolina.

HARPER STREET, 29th April, 1793.

My dear Sir—

I have now to acknowledge receipt of your very acceptable letter of the 5th November, it being the last I have been favored with from you. I have given it due attention, and have communicated such parts of it as I conceived useful. I am sensible of the difficulties you have had to surmount, and I am not less sensible of the embarrassments you will have yet to encounter before you have effected a settlement consonant to your system, and without the most vigorous measures are given for your support, the inconvenience you will experience must be dreadful.

I am extremely mortified that our friend Nepean is so occupied with other important matters of State, that it is not in his power, though however much he is inclined to promote everything which concerns you, to give it his consideration. His time is so occupied that it is melancholy at times to see him. I may without exaggeration say almost the whole official business is now thrown upon his shoulders, and it is the astonishment of every person how he holds it out.

I much doubt if he will be able to write you a few lines. If you were witness to his situation you would most willingly forgive him. It is publicly said Lord Dorchester returns to Canada by this fleet, but I confess I cannot believe it possible, neither do I think he has any serious intention, and in my opinion only wishes to give the Minister an opportunity of *asking* his stay in this country. Be that as it may, I have every reason to believe his presence in Canada is neither wished for nor wanted. Sir John Johnson has given up thoughts for the present of going out. He has lately applied to Government with proposals to raise a Corps in Canada, but I understand they have been rejected. You will have no interruption from that gentleman at least for a year. Conformable to your desire I have sent out the clothing of the Queen's Rangers, and which is on board of the Indian Trader, Captain Edwards, conformable to a bill of lading which I send under cover to Mr. John Gray, with directions that on its arrival the utmost dispatch may be given

in forwarding it by safe batteaux to your Government. I directed that the different articles be put into small packages for the more safe and easy conveyance across the lakes and carrying places. I write you a separate letter under date the 10th instant to John Gray's care, enclosing you the particulars of the packages and amount of the expenses, all which I hope you will receive and approve. Agreeable to your desire I have discharged your bills to Oldham and Payne, and herewith I hand you an account of every thing I have paid for you amounting in the whole to £529.2.11, sterling, which I will be obliged to you to remit me a bill for, as money is getting rather scarce in London. It was by Mr. Walcot's desire that I paid Messrs. Carbonnel, Moody & Walker, and for which I also hope to have your approval, especially as these gentlemen rather demurred shipping you a further supply until I had discharged their former account. I send you herewith the particulars of that bill, which I take for granted is right. By the Indian Trader I send to John Gray's care a parcel of Magazines, Pamphlets and a continuation of the Diary and Chronicle to this day and to them I must refer you for all political information.

I will continue sending out the papers by way of New York, as I do not think there will be many conveyances this season direct to Canada. I had a letter the other day from the Duke of Northumberland, who is still at Lisbon, and has received much benefit from the Caldas. I am disposed to think he will remain there the summer. It was only the other day, the 24th inst., that the Treasury gave me orders to ship the articles you made a requisition for, and luckily the Lillie's being detained a few days beyond the time fixed for her departure, put it in my power to ship the stationery on board of her, the particulars of which are specified in an invoice transmitted you officially under this date, together with a bill of lading to John Gray, directing him to forward the three cases by first opportunity after the Lillie's arrival. The articles are conformable to your demand. I regret the impossibility of procuring the different articles for working the Salt Springs. They must be made on purpose, and I have my doubts whether I will get them from the country to be sent out this season. I will do what I can and shall by the very first conveyance to Canada, if the articles are made, ship them off. Mr. King, (who writes you officially), has requested me to look out for two fit men to work the Springs, which I shall do and endeavour to procure capable hands. By the Indian Trader I have shipped £2,500 value Indian presents, agreeably to a requisition transmitted home last fall by General Clarke, and it is I understand, meant to keep up a proper assortment in the public stores.

When you again make a requisition for articles, which your settlement may require, you had better transmit me as early as possible, a list of them, in order that I may take measures to prevent a disappointment to you. I shall hope to hear from you on the subject of provisions. The full supply for Canada for the ensuing year is shipped from Ireland, I mean *salt* provisions, and I hope will arrive in time, although ships sailing under convoy, constantly meeting detentions, render the supplies not so certain or regular as in peaceable times. My brother embarks in the Caroline, Captain Stuart, for Quebec. If he can be of use to you in the Lower Province during his residence there, it will afford him pleasure. He returns to England in the fall. By the Indian Trader I have sent a case which, I received from Miss Burges for Mrs. Simcoe. I saw Mr. Burges¹ the other day,

¹James Bland Burges (1753-1824), afterward Sir James Bland Burges, Bart.; M.P. for Helston, 1787-90; Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1789-95; a prolific writer of prose and verse. In 1821, he assumed the name of Lamb by royal license.

who informed me his sister¹ would send me a letter to be forwarded, but none is yet come to hand, neither have I received any letter for yourself from any quarter.

With every good wish for the prosperity of your Government I am, my dear Sir,

Your most faithful,

ALEXANDER DAVISON.

Colonel Simcoe.

FROM E. B. LITTLEHALES TO THE CHEVALIER DE LORIMIER.

à NIAGARA, le 29 avril, 1793.

Monsieur,

Son Excellence le Gouverneur Simcoe, m'a ordonné de vous écrire au sujet d'un Collier, qui a été laissé chez Mons. Launier à la Nouvelle Beauce. C'est le même dont vous avez déjà écrit à Monsr. Coffin pour en donner connoissance à son Excellence, le General Clarke.

Je vous prie d'envoyer le dit Collier aussi promptement qu'il vous sera possible aux sauvages de Sept Villages du Bas Canada, comme c'est une adresse de la Grande Assemblée des Sauvages de l'Ouest, qu'on a envoyés aux Six Nations, sur des affaires que tiennent à leurs plus grands intérêt. Il importe beaucoup que les Sept Nations montent immédiatement, pour se trouver au Conseil qui doit se tenir proche des Miamis, avant que de rendre au general grand Conseil de toutes les Nations qui va l'assembler à Sanduski au mois de juin. Son Excellence me prie de vous faire ses remerciements, et de vous temoigner combien il est content de votre zèle pour l'intérêt de sa Majesté, aussi de la Grande Bretagne et ses provinces.

Je me prie aussi de faire agreer ses compliments à Madame Lorimier.

J'ai l'honneur d'être tres sincerement, Monsieur,

Votre tres humble srt.

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

à Monsr. Lorimier &c.

près de la ville de Johnstown. Haute Canada.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALEXANDER McKEE.

NAVY HALL, April 29th, 1793.

Dear Sir,

There has been a meeting here between the Indians of the Six Nations from Buffaloe Creek & those of the Grand River.—It was in consequence of the Message sent by O'Beal & Brant's Answer—but unfortunately O'Beal did not receive the Answer owing to the Drunkenness of the Messenger to whom it was entrusted so that He was not present. The Papers enclosed for your perusal, &c. Numbered

¹Mary Anne Burges, sister of J. B. Burges (1763-1813), "a learned and accomplished lady. In addition to Latin and Greek, she acquired a familiar knowledge of French, Spanish, and Italian, and spoke the three languages with fluency and correctness. German and Swedish she read with facility. She contributed largely to the illustrations of M. de Luc's 'Geological Travels in the North of Europe and in England.' She was not less versed in botany, and left among her papers a MS account of the British lepidoptera, beautifully illustrated. She was further a musical composer, and a performer of no mean repute; nor was she less proficient in drawing, painting, etching, and needle-work." Selections from the Letters and Correspondence of Sir James Bland Burges, Edited by James Hutton, p. 289.

1, 2, & 3 were delivered by the Farmer's Brother. This meeting broke up with the utmost Harmony after resolving that Capt. Brant should immediately proceed to the Council which the Western Indians have requested to meet at the Miamies preparatory to the General one at Sandusky.

It is impossible that anything can have appeared more cordial than the general Conduct of this meeting as far as it has been reported, & Capt. Brant assures me that he has no doubt but that the Farmer's Brother has faithfully related what happened at Philadelphia—The People who made the Treaty with General Putnam¹ & who were at Philadelphia when the Farmer's Brother was in that city, had a talk with him, & intimated that the Grand River Indians were those who prevented Peace, & sent the severe Messages that had hitherto prevented the Indian Nations of whom they called themselves the Representatives, from paying Respect to the messages of the Six Nations.

You will probably be more fully informed of these particulars by Capt. Brant.

I have, you may be assured, done my utmost to promote that Harmony & union among the Indian Nations so necessary to their safety—I have urged to the Commander in Chief the necessity of forwarding the Seven nations of Canada above that the meeting will be numerously attended.

Brant's Ideas relative to the boundary seem to be in my opinion in general just, that they should adhere to the line given in to Ld. Dorchester, except in a few places, *Galiopolis* or *Marietta* for instance, actually inhabited, which may be given up but the boundary precisely marked.

If this event should take place, & the Indians insist upon this *Line*, It will follow, that as They have not altered their original determination, tho' flushed with Victory, They will have a right that no intervening treaties with other tribes shall take place, & this assertion will of course annihilate the late treaty with Putnam—supposing if this effected—I agree in Capt. Brant's opinion that for the future prevention of hostilities, & the purpose of free Communication between the Southern Indians & Western Confederacy, It should be proposed by them that no Indian Nation shall sell their Lands without the consent of the general Council, neither those who possess the Banks of the *Illinois*; nor even the Senekas who claim the lands in front of Niagara, tho in fact as a Conquered Country it belongs to the confederacy of the *Six Nations*—should this Determination take place, *We* should establish the first Article of our Boundary, (proposed at Montreal) & make the Indian Territory form a Line seperating the British & the United States—this would be a *most important* Measure—but as I stated to Brant, it must be proceeded on with great Circumspection, & not hinted at till the Commissioners shall have sailed from Sandusky.

I have thought it proper to give you this slight sketch of my Views, & to shew the leading Part that Brant is willing to take—I of course, in my Instructions to you shall dilate upon them, & together with the Treaties & Records which I expect in a fortnight from Montreal, shall transmit you every Information that I think may be of service—I expect Mr. Selby with impatience, who, as possessing your Confidence, is entitled to mine—My whole Thoughts are absorbed in The hopes of

¹Rufus Putnam, an engineer, one of four brigadier generals, recently appointed by Washington. On September 26, 1792, he had concluded a treaty at Vincennes by which some of the Potawatamies and other nations had agreed to put themselves under the protection of the United States. These Indians were promised peaceable possession of their lands. The advantage secured was the interposition of friendly tribes between the hostile Miamis and the Southern Indians.

serving my King & Country, & your services may therefore command my best assistance & that of all whom I have influence either of a public or *private* Nature, being with great esteem your true Servt.

J. G. SIMCOE.

I fear Colonel Butler will not be able to attend for his Health seems to fail very rapidly.

To Col. McKee.

I understand Genl. Lincoln, Colo. Pickering & Mr. Randolph are to be the Commissioners.

FROM R. G. ENGLAND TO D. W. SMITH.

(Private.)

DETROIT, May 1st, 1793.

My dear Sir,

In my last by the Speedwell I mentioned to you the difficulties I had in fitting out and getting Mr. McNiff to proceed on the Survey directed by you of the River Thames. Since then he has taken his departure, but not before I was obliged after repeated *promises* to make Mr. O'Brien assure him by letter that the party he took with him should be paid their hire immediately on their return, and that they should have each two shillings Halifax a day. For the due execution of this covenant I rely totally on you and the bounty of the Governor. The promise I am sensible is irregular but I have no other method of having the wishes of the Governor accomplished than by agreeing to the payment.

You are sufficiently acquainted with Mr. McNiff¹ to know that the shadow of a difficulty is sufficient to impede for years any service he is directed on, and the only means left was for me to remove all his objections by making myself the responsible person. I hope the purpose of his expedition will be fully answered but I have very strong doubts, and if I am to judge by the sketch of the survey he has made on the rivers on the South shore of Lake St. Clair and which he presented to me, I apprehend the Governor will be disappointed in the information he expects from him on his return. I will answer for it there was never such a sketch delivered by any Surveyor as a guidance for granting nearly sixty lots of land of six acres in front. If my information is correct there are as many more lots on those rivers, but for some reason I do not comprehend Mr. McNiff reports there are not more lots than he mentioned in his sketch.

The 16th Inst. is fixed for granting those lots which are much sought after, and I hope before then to hear from you about the propriety of establishing those settlements without making the usual Reserves. The sketch marks seven lots in front on each side of the rivers and four rivers, so that each river produces

¹Patrick McNiff had been employed as a deputy surveyor in Upper Canada for about ten years. He was reputed to be an agitator and instrumental in spreading discontent among the settlers. Major Mathews in 1787 reported that he formed a party to oppose and criticise government measures.

but fourteen lots, except the front is divided into two, which in some I am informed may be done.

With much exertion I have at last prevailed on the Chippawa to sail. She is as clean and as fine as paint and much attention can make her, but if she were to continue alongside of the wharf for a month longer she would require, or rather, employ the artificers all that time. The Dunmore is next on the list to sail but she will probably be detained until we hear from you, a circumstance we are all here very anxious for, and daily expect by the return of the Felicity, particularly as for these five last days we have had constant easterly winds. The return of the Chippawa will of course depend on the orders of the Governor. If I was to direct, she should not be idle if she had only a letter to carry. I don't yet know if a single vessel only is required for the American Commissioners that are to be forwarded to Sandusky, or at what time they are to leave Fort Erie, but I have a presentiment that the Council will not at any time take place, and am certain if it at all does, it will not till the beginning of August. As you well know the Indians are rather tardy in all their proceedings, and as all the Confederate Indians are invited to the Council it will take some considerable time to collect them all.

My idea of its never meeting is founded on the information of deserters, who positively declare that the armament is now in motion and will march from Fort Jefferson the 6th of June they say, with an intention of attacking this Post. This report may be propagated among the soldiers as a more popular measure than attacking the Indians, but there is no doubt of its being universally credited by them. Should they be in motion when the Council meets and make any progress in the Indian Country, I think the Commissioners's scalps may be in danger.

I am uncertain whether the communication over Lake Ontario is yet opened, or any boats arrived from Montreal, but many of your friends here are impatient to receive several articles that they have commissioned from thence by the first boats, and all trust to you to forward them as expeditiously as possible. Among the superfluous articles your acquaintance, Lieutenant Andrews, has commissioned his violoncello to be forwarded to him, and desires me to request you will have the goodness to give directions relative to its safe conveyance if you should by any accident hear of it, and as possibly the case may be broken by the rough usage it is liable to on the communication, direct such repairs for it as may be necessary. These are his own words.

In my late letters I mentioned to you our having immediate occasion for Indian Corn. Should it be considered proper to send back the Chippawa immediately she may bring any quantity that is to be sent, and as she is perfectly tight, it may be stowed in bulk. We have already sent bags by the Felicity.

Except there is some material occurrence to communicate it is probable I will not send off the Dunmore till I hear from Niagara. You may therefore nearly judge the time to expect her. Poor Ross Lewin is as well as his attendants could expect and bears his misfortune with wonderful fortitude. He gets up every day for some hours and his wound puts on as favourable an appearance, as I am informed, anything of that kind was ever known to do in so very short a time. I have not yet seen him but by every account his spirits are remarkably good.

Adieu my dear Sir, best wishes attend you, and sincere regards to the Major.

R. G. ENGLAND.

Lieutenant David Smith.

FROM HENRY DUNDAS TO J. G. SIMCOE.

WHITEHALL, 2 May, 1793.

Lt. Govr. Simcoe.
No. 1.

Sir,

I have received and laid before the King your Letters of the Numbers and
dates mentioned in the Margin, together
two of Novr 4th One of 6th with their several Inclosures.
(No. 12) of 23rd. & one of 29.

Several of the matters which you have proposed are certainly objects of public utility and I shall lose no time in taking the necessary steps for carrying into execution such of them as the present situation of the Province and the circumstances of the times point out as seasonable and expedient.

I agree with you that sending a certain number of Military Artificers to Upper Canada will be a very useful as well as an oeconomical measure, and upon which I shall certainly communicate with the Master General of the Ordnance with a view of its being carried into effect.

I have given directions for procuring proper persons and utensils to work the salt springs mentioned in your letter to Mr. Nepean. It seems also expedient that the naval department in Upper Canada, (Subject to the Orders and directions of the Commander in Chief), should be under the immediate control and inspection of the Lieutenant Governor, and the Deputy Quarter Master General of that Province; but as Lord Dorchester proposes to depart from hence for Quebec in the Course of next month, I shall signify to His Lordship His Majesty's Pleasure on this point. I wish much to receive the Plan which has been approved for the location of Townships; and I trust that in making the reserves for the Church and the Crown sufficient attention has been paid to the late Act, particularly that part which provides "that they shall be as nearly as the circumstances and the nature of the case will admit, of the like quality as the Lands in respect of which the same are so allotted and appropriated and shall be as nearly as the same can be estimated at the time of making such Grant equal in Value to the seventh part of the Lands so granted," and I am the more anxious on this score, because you add, that the Plan has been directed to be carried into execution.

His Majesty is pleased to approve of Capt'n. Shaw's being appointed to the seat at the Executive Council vacant by the resignation of Mr. Robinson,¹ and you will accordingly desire him to direct his Agent to apply to my Office for his Mandamus: at the same time I am to inform you that it is not judged adviseable to encrease for the present the number of the Executive Council, and it would be less so to convey into a different channel the Salary annexed to another Office, altho' such Office is at present dormant.

Your Instructions to Mr. McKee on the Subject of Indian Affairs appear to have been exceedingly proper, and the result of the two last Indian Councils seems to place us in such a situation, and the business itself on such grounds, as may ultimately admit of our interference: With this view I am of Opinion that your going to Sandusky may be of material advantage to His Majesty's interests provided no circumstances should be stated to you by Mr. Hammond or should otherwise occur to render, in your own Judgement such a Step improper. In case

¹William Robertson of Detroit.

of your going to Sandusky, you will, of course, as far as possible, keep in view the ideas which have already been communicated to you, and which comprize the main object of any interference on the part of this Country.

Should, however, the proposed meeting at Sandusky not take place, and Hostilities recommence between the United States and the Indians, it may not be improper that you should detail to Mr. Hammond, and enforce, in such terms, and by such arguments as may admit of being officially stated, the great evils and distress which His Majesty's Province suffers by the Continuation of Hostilities, and that their prolongation must materially injure His Majesty's interests, and finally perhaps create such jealousies in the Minds of the Indians, as to lead them into open attacks upon the Provinces, and upon His Majesty's Subjects in Canada.

In answer to your letter of the 6th November, I take this opportunity of observing to you that the appointment of a Bishop's See in Canada is now in contemplation, and the attainment of many of the objects you have stated will naturally be the result of such an establishment should it take place.

I have no doubt but the different branches of the Legislature will soon act in concert. It is not an easy thing to point out subjects of taxation in so new a Province as that of Upper Canada; and this indeed is itself a proof that little should be required.—Judging, however, at this distance I can see no objection to a very moderate tax or County rate on Land, especially if such rate is not extended to uncultivated Land, or is not to commence until such Land has been a certain number of years in cultivation.

His Majesty approves of the appointment of Mr. Baby to the Legislative and Executive Councils, and you will desire him also to direct his Agent to take out his Mandamus.

I am inclined to comply with Mr. Holland's proposal of exploring the interior parts of the North West quarter of America; with respect to the time for undertaking the expedition you, upon consultation with Mr. Holland, will be best enabled to decide; and upon my being informed of your determination the necessary apparatus will be forwarded to you without delay.

I am, &c.

HENRY DUNDAS.

Endorsed:—Drat. To Lt. Govr. Simcoe. May, 1793. (No. 1)

EXTRACT FROM A PITTSBURGH NEWSPAPER DATED MAY 4, 1793.

An Act for laying out a Town at Presqu'isle.¹

"Whereas establishing a Town at Presqu'isle would promote the Settlement of the neighbouring country, and thereby place the frontiers of Pennsylvania in a safer situation—Therefore—

"Section 1st. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the Authority of the same, That the Governor be and is hereby empowered to cause to be surveyed the tract reserved at and near Presqu'isle by the act entitled An Act for the sale of the vacant lands within this commonwealth passed the third day of April one thousand seven hundred and ninety two, and at the most eligible place within the said tract he shall cause to be laid out and surveyed sixteen hundred acres of land in town lots, not more than one third of an

¹Now Erie, Pa.

acre each, and also three thousand four hundred Acres adjoining the same in out lots not less than five Acres, nor more than ten Acres each.

"Provided always—That the Governor shall reserve out of the lots of the said town, so much land as he shall deem necessary for public uses, also, so much land within or out of the said town, as may in his opinion be wanted by the United States for the purposes of *erecting Forts, Magazines, arsenals* and dock yards."

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JAMES MONROE.

Dear Sir.—

PHILADELPHIA, May 5, 1793.

.....
 The war between France & England seems to be producing an effect not contemplated. All the old spirit of 1776, is rekindling. The newspapers from Boston to Charleston prove this; & even the Monocrat papers are obliged to publish the most furious Philippics against England. A French frigate took a British prize off the capes of Delaware the other day, & sent her up here. Upon her coming into sight thousands & thousands of the *yeomanry* of the city crowded & covered the wharves. Never before was such a crowd seen there, and when the British colours were seen *reversed* & the French flying above them they burst into peals of exultation. I wish we may be able to repress the spirit of the people within the limits of fair neutrality.—In the meantime H.[amilton] is panic-struck if we refuse our breach to every kick which Gr. Brit. may chuse to give it. He is for proclaiming at once the most abject principles, such as would invite & merit habitual insults. And indeed every inch of ground must be fought in our councils to desperation to hold up the face of even a sneaking neutrality, for our votes are generally 2½ against 1½. Some propositions have come from him which would astonish Mr. Pitt himself with their boldness. If we preserve even a sneaking neutrality, we shall be indebted for it to the President, & not to his counsellors.

.....
 Great Br. has as yet not condescended to notice us in any way. No wish expressed of our neutrality, no answer of any kind to a single complaint for the daily violations committed on our sailors & ships. Indeed we promise beforehand so fast that she has not time to ask anything.

(The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Edited by P. L. Ford, Vol. VI, pp. 238-40.)

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

PHILADELPHIA, May 6, 1793.

.....
 A French frigate has brought 2 prizes up to Philadelphia. The *yeomanry* of the City (not the fashionable people nor paper men) showed prodigious joy when, flocking to the wharves, they saw the British colors reversed & the French flying above them.—I very much fear that France will experience a famine this summer. The effects will admit of no calculation.—Grain is the thing for us now to cultivate. The demand will be immense, & the price high. I think cases were shown us that to sell it before spring is an immense sacrifice. I fear we shall experience a want of vessels to carry our produce to Europe.

(Ibid, Vol, VI. p. 241.)

FROM GEORGE WASHINGTON TO HENRY LEE,
GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

(Private.)

(Extract.)

PHILADELPHIA, 6 May, 1793.

.....
 "It gives me inexpressible pain to receive such frequent and distressing accounts from the western frontiers of this Union, occasioned by Indian hostilities; more especially as our hands are tied to defensive measures, and little if any thing more to be expected from the proposed negotiation of peace with the hostile tribes, to be assembled at Sandusky, (though perhaps it is best for me to be silent on this head,) than in case of failure to let the good people of these States see, that the executive has left nothing unessayed to accomplish this desirable end; to remove those suspicions, which have been unjustly entertained, that peace is not its object; and to evince to them, that the difficulties which it has to encounter, (from causes which at present can only be guessed), has been greater than was apprehended; and lastly, if the sword is to decide, that the arm of government may be enabled to strike home."

Ford, 12, p. 287.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE, Esquire, Lieutenant
 Governor and Colonel Commanding His Majesty's Forces in Upper Canada,
 &c., &c., &c.,

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas I have received Official Information from one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, that the persons exercising the Supreme Authority in France, did DECLARE WAR against His Majesty on the first day of February last, and have also received the King's Commands to cause the same to be made as public as possible in this Province.

PUBLIC NOTICE is hereby given thereof to all His Majesty's faithful Subjects to the end that they may take care, on the one hand, to prevent any mischief which otherwise they might suffer from the French, and on the other may do their utmost in their several stations to distress and annoy them, by making capture of their ships and by destroying their commerce; for which purpose his Majesty has been pleased to order Letters of Marque or Commissions of Privateers to be granted in the usual manner; and has also graciously signified his intention of giving up to the owner of all armed ships and vessels, his share of all French ships and property, of which they may make prize.

Given under my hand and Seal at Arms, at Navy Hall this fourteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord One Thousand seven hundred and Ninety-three, and in the Thirty-third of His Majesty's Reign.

J. GRAVES SIMCOE.

By His Excellency's Command.

WM. JARVIS, Secretary.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

DEPOSITION OF A DESERTER.

16 May, 93.

Deposition of John Smith, Soldier in the 2d Regiment of U. States, who deserted from Fort St. Clare the 4th April, 1793.

That a certain William May a private Soldier in Capt. Armstrong's Company in the 1st U. States Regiment was sent to Detroit as a Spy and that he returned to Fort Washington about the latter end of October last and received a reward of Thirty pounds from General Wilkinson Commanding the Troops of the U. States on the Ohio.—That the said May was on his return immediately preferred to a Sergency in a Troop of light Horse and told a number of his comrades in the hearing of the Deponent that he had been employed as a Spy—That his fellow Deserter of the name of James West is much better acquainted with the said May than himself and believes can give a fuller account of him.

That a number of iron ordonance were proved at Fort Washington, which Genl Wilkinson ordered to be well charged, as they were intended to be sent a great distance, and that it was needless to carry such heavy metal far, and afterwards not fit for service—By common report the said ordonance were for Detroit and that a large road was cut open last winter in a line with Fort Jefferson commencing on the bank of Rocky River and thence due East about Sixty miles.

That the number of Troops in the frontier Garrisons does not amount to above Eight hundred but General Wayne was expected down the Ohio with about Three thousand who is to have command of the whole exclusive of 1500 Militia in readiness in Kentucky settlement under the command of a Major Scott.

That a number of hand-bills were dispersed about Fort Washington purporting that neither the English nor the Spaniards would give any more ammunition to the Indians, and that in consequence they could be easily conquered.

That fifteen days Provisions for Five thousand men has been deposited in every Fort on the Frontiers and three months Provisions for the same number of men at Fort Jefferson.

That the Cannon at the last battle ground had been found and a party was to be sent to bring them to Fort St. Clare so soon as the road got a little dry. That all the Troops on the frontiers had Rifles and hunting shirts except one Company.

That on the 6th of June next the Army was to rendivous at Fort St. Clare and the same read in general orders. That large Store-houses were building at the different Forts in order to lodge a large quantity of Provisions.

Endorsed:—Deposition of a deserter, 16 May, 1793.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

NAVY HALL, May 17, 1793.

Sir,

I do myself the honor of informing Your Excellency that Mr. Randolph and Mr. Pickering, two of the Commissioners from the United States for treating with the American Indians arrived here last night. I enclose Mr. Hammond's Letter and shall order the first small Vessel that shall arrive to Oswego. I transmit

Lieut. Colonel England's Letter, with the enclosure from a Mr. Ironside¹ on Indian Matters. Lieut. Pilkington cannot be spared from this Post but Lieut. Adye² of the Artillery will attend to such trifling repairs as are necessary in that Department during the absence of Mr. McNiff, who is not competent or proper for either business, that of Surveyor or Assistant Engineer, being of a very impracticable disposition. I subjoin a report of Mr. Montigny, whom I desired to visit the Settlers on the Rivière au Raisin, with a view to know their sentiments in case of the approach of the Army of the United States, and to offer them Asylum on the British side of the Treaty Line.

I have the honor to be, &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

General Clarke.

FROM ALURED CLARKE TO J. G. SIMCOE.

QUEBEC, May 19, 1793.

Dear Sir,

I am to acknowledge Your Excellency's letters of the 4th and 5th of April, with the accompanying communications, and am much obliged for the information they contain, as well as for the opinions and satisfactory, able reasoning on which they are founded. I have not received any late despatches from Mr. Hammond, but I hope and believe the subjects of the United States know their interest too well, to suffer Mr. Jefferson and his party to lead them into the wild and violent projects of the French Republic. Mr. Washington has issued a Proclamation enjoining a strict Neutrality in the present contest, and I think it probable that the late outrages in France and the check received by Mons. DuMourier³ will tend much to lessen the influence of Mr. Jefferson's Party and to strengthen Mr. Hamilton's.

The forwarding the Commissioners of the United States in the King's Vessels appears perfectly proper, and the final determination of the Conference, will, I trust, be such as will meet all our wishes. The present tenacity of the Indians to their old Claim of the Ohio for a Boundary augers well, and I hope they will not be induced to change their sentiments thereon. The previous meeting of the Western Nations at the Miamis, and of the Six Nations at Niagara, appear to be measures calculated to produce good effects. I am, however, afraid that the attendance of Seven Nations will be very late, though everything has been done to hasten them, but unfortunately they are out upon their Beaver Hunt, from which they do not generally return before the Fête de Dieu, which this year happens on the 30th Instant, so that Colonel Campbell is apprehensive it will be the 15th June before they can be set afloat. Batteaux, provisions, and every aid has been directed to be given them, and nothing will be neglected that can possibly facilitate or hasten their departure from hence. I agree with you fully, that in the present situation of affairs, we should suffer no part of our influence to be diminished, but on the contrary think that we should increase it, if possible. I

¹George Ironside, clerk and storekeeper in the Indian Department at Detroit.

²James Adye, afterwards captain and major in the Royal Artillery, died 1831.

³General Dumouriez had been decisively defeated by an Austrian army commanded by the Duke of Cobourg on March 18, at Neerwinden in Belgium.

trust you will in good time receive from the Superintendent General's Office every document necessary to give weight to, and establish the Claims of the Indians. The payment of the tract, Colonel England has been directed to purchase, will be sanctioned in due course, when the accounts are transmitted: and the issue of provisions from the King's Store I look upon as a matter of course. Your wishes for properly rewarding Captain Brant, I most readily accede to, and conceive that if the Store affords any presents that are of a better quality than others, his Services and Situation, as well as his Attention to you upon the occasion referred to, entitle him to that distinction. I do not, however, exactly understand what is alluded to in the mention of Sir John's *Private Store*.

Your opinion of the Canadian Settlers at Detroit, is, I am afraid, too well founded: and I sincerely hope your wishes and expectations respecting a Communication by the River La Tranche, may be fully accomplished. The Answer to Mr. Knox's publication in justification of the Indian War is infinitely beyond what I could have considered the Author capable of. It is admirably calculated to open the eyes of the people, aid the Indian Claims, and shew in what manner those in Power have sported with the Blood and Treasure of the United States. It gives me much pleasure to find that the Arrangements I made relative to the relief of the Posts, correspond with your wishes, which I thought would be the case. Our Assembly, after near five months sitting, and doing very little, was prorogued on the 9th Inst. The envious distinctions, which appeared on their first meeting, I have the pleasure to inform you, had in a great measure died away. The quorum of thirty-four, which I formerly mentioned as an inconvenience, was reduced to twenty-six, and the members, both old and new subjects, that remained in town till the last day of the Session, dined together, and parted in the greatest good-humor with each other. When writing to you a few days since, on the Subject of the Money Bill that has been passed here, I should have added that it was the wish and intention of the House of Assembly to have introduced a Clause for establishing the drawback upon all wines passing through this to your Government, but on consideration they found that in the present Situation of your Custom House and its Officers, the Expence it would have created and the smuggling it might have opened the door to, would have run away with the greatest part of the Revenue, which is only calculated at 1500£—they therefore adopted the Plan which has been made known to you. Pray give my respectful compliments to Mrs. Simcoe, and be assured that I am with great truth and regard,

My dear Sir,

Your sincere friend and faithful svt.

ALURED CLARKE.

His Excellency, Colonel Simcoe.

FROM ROBERT HAMILTON TO J. G. SIMCOE.

QUEENSTON, May 20th, 1793.

Sir,—

I have now the honor of laying before your Excellency the result of my own observations and of very particular enquiries made with respect to a Tract Road for dragging boats with horses from the Welland Creek to Fort Erie. I had formerly adopted it as a decided opinion that this was a matter perfectly practicable and my present observations confirm that in very few situations I have ever met with are the banks better calculated for such an undertaking.

A circumstance at that time either not known or not attended to has shown difficulties which I did not then foresee and which will render this work if not totally impracticable much more troublesome. The water at the time my former observations were made was at least four feet perpendicular higher than at present. The oldest settlers here have observed very singular variations in the height of this great River without being able to ascertain either their regularity or their cause.

The fact is that the boats which formerly went along the Bank are now at many points thrown so far out by the Shoals as to render towing them almost impracticable. Whether the water may yet continue to fall is uncertain and this uncertainty will render such an undertaking exceedingly difficult and precarious.

At the Rapids below Fort Erie a Canal with a Lock would be a most capital improvement in this navigation. The height of the Fall is not more than may be overcome by one lock, and the experience obtained last Summer in digging a mill race on this very ground evinces that forming the canal would by no means be difficult. With the aid of such a canal boats of at least double the present burthen of those now in use might be navigated by the same number of hands and as in these Rapids alone they touch the ground the Boats would last double the time they now do.

To your Excellency's superior judgment I leave the means of carrying this improvement into execution, with this observation that I am convinced that the people in trade in the Upper Country would with pleasure pay a reasonable toll on all the merchandise thus more expeditiously and more safely transported.

With the utmost respect, I have the honour to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant.

R. HAMILTON.

FROM R. G. ENGLAND TO J. G. SIMCOE.

DETROIT, May 22nd, 1793.

Sir:—

Colonel McKee yesterday forwarded to me John Smith a deserter from the Armies of the United States, who was supposed to bring to the Glaze the information contained in Mr. Ironside's letter to me, a copy of which I had the honor to enclose to your Excellency the 23 ult., and I now send the deserter to Fort Erie with orders immediately to wait on you, by what he says the information before forwarded was much exaggerated.

In the Colonel's letter which accompanied this deserter, he makes a requisition of twenty barrels of pork and twenty barrels of flour with salt, rice and peas, being a similar quantity of provision that I undertook to furnish him with when he last went out, and which I had the honor of reporting to you, having had your sanction for that supply, I feel awkward in authorizing this additional requisition, and yet feel it may be improper to refuse, and that the Colonel by a refusal may be much embarrassed. I have considered that it will not be in my power to hear from you before the provisions are required, and have this day ventured to answer his letter by saying that the provisions shall be sent him, and am to request that your Excellency will be pleased to send me such a sanction for those supplies as may by you be considered proper, or if you do not approve of them that you may give such orders to me as will be a rule for my proceedings in future.

I am very anxious to know your Excellency's future pleasure relative to the repairs directed by you in the defence of this Post. I have nearly collected all the materials required, and have begun to set up pickets to replace those that were rotten. The timber in the blockhouses is so perfectly rotten that no part of it will answer for the proposed platform, and those platforms in Fort Lernoult that were not removed last year were so perfectly rotten that I found it absolutely necessary to direct that the angle platforms should be repaired which is now doing. They were made of pine which you are sensible could not last long, however trifling the expense may be that attends those repairs as well as those directed by your Excellency when here it may be proper that I have your orders authorizing them which I beg your Excellency will be pleased to send to me.

I send the schooner Dunmore with the members of your Council and House of Assembly and the snow Chippawa also sails on this day for Fort Erie to wait your Excellency's commands, and probably to convey the American Commissioners to Sandusky. If it does not interfere with your arrangements I should wish the Dunmore should be sent back immediately with her loading, particularly as I am very anxious to learn the fate of the sloop Felicity's boat, that the commander of the vessel very imprudently and improperly left *at or near* the Grand River with a Corporal and two of the marines intrusted to his command and as many seamen. He returned here without any Indian corn, without his boat, and without that part of his crew just mentioned. Captain Grant being at his house in the Country has as yet prevented an enquiry to be made into the conduct of the Commander, so as to have the circumstances properly and officially reported to your Excellency. I don't know how far you may think proper to dispense with my furnishing the King's vessels with marines, but that duty is a great drain to this Garrison which is only composed of a part of a weak Regiment, and I am now called on to send a strong party to Montreal for the annual supply of the Regimental stores sent from England. If this duty could be eased by sending at times detachments from the troops in your neighbourhood, it would be of much advantage to this Garrison provided you think proper to have the custom at all continued.

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant.

R. G. ENGLAND.

His Excellency

Lieut. Governor Simcoe, &c., &c., &c.

FROM ALURED CLARKE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

No. 72.

QUEBEC, 25th May, 1793.

Sir,

.....

His Majesty's Ministers must be too well acquainted with the ruinous and deplorable State of the Works (if they can be so called) and Public Buildings in this Country, to require from me any comment thereupon. The Posts occupied by the Troops are in number Eighteen and in extent not less than Fifteen hundred Miles, the Barracks in general are scarcely habitable, and the Storehouses for the deposit of the public Effects in a most wretched state, the preservation of the Soldiers health and the security of the King's Stores make constant patching and repairs

necessary, and without the utmost attention thereto they could not be kept tenantable; and in doing which the annual expence cannot be less than Two thousand pounds as already stated in my letter of the 2nd February, and this exclusive of Emergencies at present unforeseen; and I have submitted to the Consideration of the Lords of the Treasury the expediency and propriety of authorizing the Commander in Chief of the Forces to incur expence to that extent, for necessary and unavoidable repairs that in the present state and condition of the Posts must take place.

For the conveniency of Military Command Upper and Lower Canada are considered as divided into four Districts; the first, Quebec, extends to Three Rivers; the second is the District of Montreal including William Henry and Chambly, and extending up the St. Lawrence as far as Coteau du Lac; the third, Kingston and its dependencies (Carleton Island and Oswegatchie), and the fourth commonly distinguished by the Upper Posts and which comprehend those of Oswego on Lake Ontario, Niagara, Detroit & Michilimackinac, and except at Quebec, the Officer eldest in rank who happens to be in either, in his tour of duty, has hitherto been the Commandant of the respective districts, in which the Corps to which he belongs happened to be quartered, and he is considered immediately responsible for the proper execution of all Military arrangements therein, to whom all Returns and Reports are made and thro' him communicated to Head Quarters; and here I would wish to draw Your attention to the distinction between Colonel Simcoe's situation as Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada and Commanding Officer of the Upper Districts; for though as Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada he possibly might be considered as having nothing to do with the Forts and Posts not within the limits of the Territories described in the Governor's Commission, Yet as eldest *Military Officer* acting under the Orders of the Commander in Chief of the Forces, there could be no doubt of his Authority extending over the Garrisons they contain and in that point of view I considered him and his Orders to the Engineer stationed in that District to execute the Services in question and which as Major General Commanding all His Majesty's Forces in North America in the absence of My Lord Dorchester afterwards received my sanction.

I have now to submit such facts as I trust will induce His Majesty's Ministers to consider the Emergency sufficient to justify the immediate execution of the several Services stated.

I shall begin with the building eight Huts for covering the Queen's Rangers; this Regiment arrived at Quebec in the Summer without my receiving any intimation concerning it other than information the year before that it was in contemplation to raise such a Corps, of course no previous measures could be taken for their accomodation. Immediately on their arrival they were disembarked and conveyed with their Baggage, Stores, &c. to the Upper Province, leaving it to Colonel Simcoe's discretion to Quarter them where he thought would best answer the purposes for which they were raised; upon their arrival at Niagara in August the Camp Equipage afforded that Shelter which the unsettled State of a new Country had not the means of furnishing, but this was but a temporary expedient and it became necessary to take measures for effecting a more substantial protection from the inclemency of the approaching Season. The circumstances of the case would admit of no delay and the Plan adopted of Hutting certainly was most advisable, not only as being most expeditious but considered in an æconomical view, less expensive and at the same time more durable than Barracks to be constructed of Materials made from Timber then standing.

The building an Oven for their accomodation was equally necessary, that

being the only means in the infant State of the Settlement by which they could have been furnished with bread.

Another part of the Service necessary to be carried into execution without waiting for a previous Approbation was, making the Repair and Alterations to Navy Hall which Colonel Simcoe found necessary for the immediate accomodation of himself and family as well as several Officers of his Government. This building is on the West side of Niagara River and was erected in the course of last War by order of the Commander in Chief of the Forces for the use of the Officers of the Naval Department serving upon Lake Ontario; that Establishment being since considerably reduced, and the house not being much wanted during Peace, did not from time to time receive the repairs it stood in need of, and in its best state could be considered but a paltry residence for the King's Representative; however, such as it was, it was the only one that offered, or that could be produced as a Shelter until a better or more commodious one could be provided, but in the then state and condition thereof it could not have been inhabited in the Winter, and so far was the Season advanced that it was not possible to transmit any Plan or proposals to England for previous consideration or directions, under these circumstances and considering the building as being under the immediate orders of the Military Commander in Chief I was induced to approve and authorize the payment of the Alterations and repairs necessary for the reception of Colonel Simcoe's family, &c. just arrived in a new Country, and who without this assistance must have suffered the greatest inconvenience, and which from his public character he certainly should not have been exposed to.

The accomodation of the Officers of the Staff of Upper Canada, who were also unprovided for, was equally indispensable, Col. Simcoe's public situation required their assistance as well as Offices for the transaction of public business, these Services appeared necessary and could only be performed by the Aid of the Engineer, and were such as would not admit of delay, and such likewise received my sanction.

I have the honor to be with great respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient and most faithful humble servant,

ALURED CLARKE.

The Right Honble Henry Dundas.

Endorsed:—Quebec, 25 May, 1793. Lt. Govr. Clarke, No. 72. R. 15 July.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

No. 14.

NAVY HALL, NIAGARA, May 27th, 1793.

Sir,

I do myself the honor of acquainting you that on the 4th of May, I received your Dispatch of the 9th of February last signifying the King's Commands to publish the declaration of War made by the Persons who exercise Authority in France against his Majesty.¹

I am also to acknowledge the receipt of His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament.

The Commissioners from the United States for restoring Peace with the

¹On February 1, 1793, the French Convention unanimously decreed war against England and Holland.

Indian Americans are now at this place; I have stated to them the Opinion of Colonel McKee that it is impracticable for the Indians to assemble by the first of June, as the President of the United States, in his Speech had appointed, and I presume that in compliance with that Gentleman's intimation they will not as yet proceed to lower Sandusky—the Legislative Council and House of Assembly of the Province meet to-morrow.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Respect Sir,
Your most Obedient and most humble Servant

J. G. SIMCOE.

The Rt Honble Henry Dundas,
One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Endorsed:—Niagara, 27th May, 1793. Lt. Govr. Simcoe. No. 14. R. 15 July.

FROM ALEXANDER CLARKE TO ALEXANDER McKEE.

THE GLAIZE, May 27th, 1793.

Sir,

On my Arrival at this Place I found the Indians Duely Sober which it Seems they have not been for Some time past the Tawa man that Took up the Message before Carried with him six or seven Keggs of Rum which was the Reason they did not Come Down. I Deliverd the Message to Capt. Johnny as I was Directed who immediately Acquainted the Rest of the Chiefs, there is not any Partys Going out as was Reported to you by the Delaware man.

The Young man that Capt. Brant Sent up here has Reported that there is an Army of four Thousand Americans to come to Sandusky by the way of Goyahago. I dont know by what Authority he says so. I meane to Leave this tomorrow or Next Day.

I am, &c.
ALEXR. CLARK.

Colo. McKee.

LA GLAIZE, May 27, 1793.

Father

We Received the Message Yesterday and now we are preparing to set off tomorrow morning, we are very happy to heare our Father will give us Provisions to Support us in our Present Business we Believe our father is not tired of us as we Look to him to help us as he has Done heretofore as far as in his Power, as we intend the three Different Nations at this Place to Assemble ourselves at the head of the Rapids in two or three Days we Begg our father will Send us Somthing to eat at that Place as we are very Scarce of Provisions to take with us.

We take Care to keep proper People out to watch our Safety on our frontiers.

We the Different
Chiefs at the Glaize.

Lt. Colonel McKee.
Foot Rapids.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

NAVY HALL, 31st May, 1793.

Sir,

I have received the honor of your Letter from Captain Le Maistre of the 25th of April, informing me of the Declaration of War made by the Persons exercising the Supreme Power in France against His Majesty.

I beg leave to return your Excellency my most respectful thanks for the Confidence you are pleased to repose in my Zeal & Abilities to adopt every measure that may be conducive to the safety of the King's Posts in Upper Canada, and that may be necessary to secure them from Insult.

It is with satisfaction that I am enabled at this critical period to submit to your Excellency those Opinions upon the actual Situation of the Country & its principal Fortresses which I have now formed from personal Observation. During the course of the Winter I walked from the Grand River by the route of La Tranche (or Thames) to Detroit; and I fully substantiated the great Consequence of this internal communication between the countries which border on the Lakes Ontario & St. Clair. And for every purpose of Civilization, command of the Indians, & general Defence, I am decidedly of Opinion, that on the Confluence of the main Branches of the Thames the Capital of Upper Canada, as soon as possible, ought to be Situated. But, as under the existing circumstances of this Country I must follow those Events to which I cannot give direction, and reconcile to myself the Want of sufficient power by the best Application of that which I possess; it is not my Intention at present to establish myself upon the Forks of the River Thames. And, making all my Views of the Civil administration of the Province secondary to its military preservation I shall content myself with rendering the Road between Burlington Bay and the River Thames, (where it first becomes navigable for Batteaux), sufficiently commodious as a military Communication, if such shall be the necessity, between Detroit and Niagara, I hesitate not a moment in stating to your Excellency, that circumstanced as Detroit is, with all the Assistance which possibly can be procured from the Inhabitants of the Vicinity, it is not tenable against Assault if attacked by 3000 Men with a due proportion of Field Pieces.

I have in a former letter expressed to your Excellency my Ideas relative to the Government of the United States equipping a Naval Force at Presqu'Isle¹, and I have obtained from your Excellency such Instructions as I presumed you will think proper to give me upon this head, But under the present State of Affairs, both in respect to Europe and America, I must beg your Excellency's precise Orders should the following Events unhappily take place. I request Instructions what must be the Conduct of the Commanders of the King's Garrisons of Niagara, Oswego or Detroit, in case any of the Vessels of the United States shall attempt to pass up the River by & within reach of the cannon of these Forts. The inclosed Extracts² from the Newspapers will inform your Excellency that Presqu'Isle is immediately to be settled by the State of Pennsylvania and Provision is made for its becoming an Arsenal, Dockyard, and Fortification whenever such shall be required by the United States.

The Commissioners now at this place, Colonel Pickering and Mr. Randolph, intimated in conversation their expectation of having a fleet upon that Lake.

¹Now Erie, Pa.

²See page 327.

The Language in which General Wayne is addressed avowedly states a disbelief of Peace being permanently effected between the United States & the American Indians, Nor does that General in his Answer appear to wish it. The Persons best informed of the Intentions of the Indians believe they will not recede from their claim of the Ohio as their Boundary, except in some trivial instances; and I cannot but suspect that the United States will recede in *no Point* in what they call their territorial Purchases,¹ but will offer Presents to the Indians as a Commutation for the Lands which they have demanded to be restored to them. Under this View of Circumstances, I am anxious to possess myself of some Post opposite to Presqu'Isle, a station that I have always thought necessary as a military arsenal for Lake Erie, should I find it possible to effect it to any good purpose with a divided force this Autumn. Niagara with such additions as may be made to it in a short period, is capable of making a tolerable defence. But at the same time the United States can center a very considerable Force for its attack; and if they obtain a temporary command of the Harbour by a Land Force on the opposite Shore, or by Vessels & Boats, it is not tenable even against Assault. It has hitherto been the Opinion of the ablest Officers of the States, that the Capture of Niagara would of course cut off all Supplies from Detroit and Michilimackinac. The proposed Communication with the River Thames will in a considerable degree invalidate this opinion. And to further this essential purpose I hold out every Encouragement in my power for the speedy Settling the interjacent Country; as on the other hand I think it proper to discourage any Settlement on the Eastern Lands of Lake Erie. But as it cannot fail to strike your Excellency both in a Civil and Military Light that the Safety of this Province should not depend upon so feeble a Barrier as (comparatively) the contemptible Fortress of Niagara, it is with great pleasure that I offer to you some Observations upon the Military Strength & naval Conveniency of Toronto (now York) which I propose immediately to occupy. I lately examined this Harbour, accompanied by such officers, naval & military, as I thought most competent to give me Assistance therein; and upon minute Investigation I found it to be without comparison the most proper Situation for an Arsenal, in every extent of that word, that can be met with in this Province. The Spit of Land² which forms its Entrance is capable of being fortified with a few heavy Guns as to prevent any Vessel from entering the Harbour or from remaining within it. From the diversity of the Land Banks any small point of Ground is sufficiently strong to be selected for the present purposes; and which as circumstances shall require may be occupied to the widest extent. At the bottom of the Harbour there is a situation admirably adapted for a naval Arsenal

¹The line of forts constructed by General Wayne in this year (1793) from Fort Washington (Cincinnati) northward, viz.,—Hamilton, St. Clair, Jefferson, Greenville, Recovery, St. Mary's and Defiance, with their adjacent surveys of land, became ultimately the western boundary of the State of Ohio. On the part of the United States, it was claimed that by a treaty at Fort Stanwix (1784) the Six Nations had extinguished their claims to the territory north and west of the Ohio River, that in January, 1785, the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas and Chippewas had done the same, and finally the Shawnees, the land extending as far west as the Great Miami River. These alleged extinctions of Indian rights had proceeded faster than the Indians themselves had comprehended, as their ideas of property in land were totally different from those of white men. The Ohio Company, too, had been organized in Boston in March, 1786; Congress had passed the Ordinances of 1784 and 1787 creating the Ohio Territory northwest of the Ohio River, all which movements for more land, with encroachments upon Indian rights, resulted naturally in the hostilities with the Indians, General Wayne's line of forts being an insistence upon the utmost limit described in the so-called treaties, viz., the Great Miami River, and even beyond it.

²At the foot of Bathurst Street, Toronto, where the old fort of York was subsequently built. The eastern gap into the harbor, which has become the chief entrance, was not then in existence.

and Dockyard; and there flows into the Harbour a River, the Banks of which are covered with excellent Timber. Upon this River I propose to construct as soon as possible a Saw Mill, principally for the benefit of the Settlement, but which I have no doubt will at the cheapest rate supply every material that may be wanted for His Majesty's Service in the various Posts on Lake Ontario. I have fixed upon a Scite for a place for a Town on the main Shore; and another where I propose to build Barracks for the King's Troops. These Barracks I have the idea of constructing so as to hold 250 Men & Officers with health & conveniency. The Ground not being as yet Surveyed, I cannot transmit to your Excellency a plan, But my general Idea is to build them of Stone & in the form of an oblong of three Sides, a single story in height, enclosing the Angles to the land with a kind of breast Work of Sod, to leave an opening towards the Harbour for a Battery en Barbette. I have heard of two Eighteen pounders that were sunk in the Lake after the late Peace. They are described as being good Guns & easy to be weighed. If I obtain them I should propose to place them and some heavy Carronades on the point of the Harbour opposite to the intended Barracks; where I should wish to build a Storehouse that might occasionally serve as a Blockhouse to secure such Batteries as it may be necessary for the Troops to erect. I must observe to your Excellency that at this Point there is an excellent Harbour for Batteaux.

It must be obvious for many reasons that the North side of the Lake will be the most eligible Communication between Kingston & Niagara. I have not as yet been able to cross from Toronto to Lake Huron. This I propose to do in the Autumn. But I have good Information that a Road is very easy to be made to communicate with those Waters which fall into Lake Huron. The distance by Land is only 24 Miles & the River that flows into Lake Huron is interrupted by very few Portages, which may be surmounted without much expence or difficulty. The Advantages that may be in future derived from this Communication are of a most extensive Nature, and in the present Situation of Affairs may possibly become of Military importance.

It remains for me to offer to Your Excellency my observations on the State of the Vessels on this Lake. They are well calculated for the purpose of Transport, &c., but certainly in any other Point of View would be of little Military Service. Having in a former Letter intimated that I would give an Opinion to your Excellency upon the State of the Gun Boats on Lake Erie, on which Lieut. Col. England made his Observations, &c., &c., I am to say that I most perfectly coincide in Opinion with that Gentleman. The Gun Boats upon Lake Ontario answer a similar description. I am perfectly aware that such Armament, if properly constructed, is absolutely necessary for the Safety and Protection of the Garrisons—in particular as the Enemy may avail themselves of a similar Force should any attack be made upon the Posts, but there are obvious Difficulties in its Construction, arising from the various Services. The Gun Boats that shall have a keel as to be safe in the Lakes or great Rivers, would draw too much water to be useful among the Shoals and Harbours of little Depth. Whatever the original Plan may have been for the construction of the present Gun Boats, they are apparently useless and impracticable to be rowed. The General Superintendence of the Naval Armament upon all the Upper Lakes, ought to be confined to a Person upon the Spot, and I must affirm that it is impossible for the Quarter Master General in Lower Canada to be of sufficient Utility in that necessary Department, unless he should Constantly and Periodically visit the Dockyards in the Country. In Justice to His Majesty's Service, I must add to Your Excellency that in the present Separation of the Government to give respectability to the Naval Establishments on the

Upper Lakes, it ought to be considered as in the Commissions of the Officers on a *Provincial Service*, subordinate of course, in its extent and operations, to the Commander in Chief in America, but only thro' the medium of the Lieutenant Governor of the Province, or Officer Commanding the Forces upon the Spot, who might be responsible by proper Persons being employed under his Authority for that Energy and Precision in the execution of the Orders of the Commander in Chief, which undoubtedly at present falls upon the Deputy Quarter Master General in Lower Canada. That Officer's avocations render it impossible that He can personally Superintend a Department, which in its Infancy most particularly requires personal Attention, to lay a solid Foundation upon just principles of the Naval Arrangements which must necessarily increase, and which are the most important to the Welfare of the Country.

In regard to the Gun Boats on Lake Ontario, I last year fitted them up for Service, and employed them for the Service of Transport, which without their Assistance could not have been properly executed. They are of great utility to me in any Surveys of the Coasts and Harbours. Little or no Expence has occurred from this, as the Establishment of Men was not increased, for some Soldiers were added to such Assistance as the larger Vessels contributed.

On visiting Detroit, I found the Gun Boats at that Post laying on Shore. I ordered Colonel England to have them fitted up as soon as possible, and sent to Fort Erie. The strange Mismanagement that has and will prevail in the whole of this Department, until some active and General Superintendent as Deputy Quarter Master General, shall inspect and control the Naval Arrangements on each of the Lakes, has hitherto prevented his being able to comply with my directions, tho' their Armed Appearance at present might be very useful.

My military & civil Duties are so intimately blended that, in submitting any Arrangements to your Excellency or His Majesty's Ministers, it is impossible & indeed unnecessary for me to separate them. I consider from the decisive manner in which His Majesty's Ministers have taken up and supported the establishment of a separate Government in Upper Canada, that (among the other great and important Considerations) they have thought it proper to embrace the same principles and to follow the same plan for the Increase of Naval & Commercial Strength of the Empire, as has been wisely carried into execution by their Predecessors in the establishment of the Maritime Colonies of North America, and in the restraint of all Encouragement to those who wished to settle in the back Countries. On the contrary the United States have formed new Colonies in that quarter and by continual Encroachments, have occasioned the War now carrying on between them & the American Indians. The same political Principles of our Government are particularly applicable to the possessing a Naval Command upon the Lakes, which in the progress of Cultivation and Settlement may ensure to Great Britain the Commerce of the circumjacent Shores. And it appears to me, Sir, that it is Wisdom in the very Infancy of such Establishments as must daily increase in Extent, and in consequence, to endeavour to secure the public from the burthen of temporary Arrangements, and to make them, (if possible), where they will become of permanent Utility; and, in a more particular manner, as this is the case in the Government of Upper Canada, where the Posts occupied by the King's Forces are held by a most precarious and invidious Tenure, and the giving them up at this moment the Subject of Negotiation, I think it, Sir, a Justice that I owe to myself and to my Country, to communicate immediately to your Excellency the outline of my mature Ideas upon this important Subject, and what I wish might be carried into immediate execution. In forming a Naval establishment it is

apparent to me that the protection of the Shipping and the union of the Artificers necessary for their building & equipment are the most Important considerations. In regard to the Harbour of Kingston, it cannot be so fortified as to protect Shipping. To this Defect all other Considerations are Subordinate. Nor do I see a reason that can justify the laying out any public money at that place. It can only be considered as a Harbour during the Season of Transport; nor in this point is it so advantageously situated as Gannanoqui. York, which is the best Harbour on the Lakes, may be readily made very strong at a slight expence, and in the progress of the Country, impregnable. Shipping suited for every purpose of the Lakes may be built there at the cheapest rates by Government, for whom sufficient Reserves will be made to furnish Materials for a long period. This Port is directly opposite and in Sight of Niagara; and Vessels from it may be at Sea in the Spring, (generally speaking), a fortnight sooner than from any other Port on Lake Ontario.

I have not yet had time to explore the Coasts of Lake Erie between Long Point and the Grand River (now the Ouze). But somewhere in that Neighbourhood, I doubt not but to find a proper place to secure the Shipping of Lake Erie during the Winter Season. In regard to Detroit, your Excellency is perfectly acquainted that there is at present no security for the Shipping at that Post from any attempt that may be made against them. And I must confess that it will not be without Anxiety that I shall consider their Situation, and what may be left at Kingston during the course of next Winter, however the present Disputes between the Indians and the United States may terminate.

In regard to Lake Huron, tho' it is not so immediate an object of Attention, yet I consider it ultimately of the most extensive and serious Magnitude. Altho' Captain Mann, in the diligent Enquiries that he submitted to Lord Dorchester relative to the Lakes inclines to consider Matchedash Bay & its Environs as universally shallow; I shall endeavour by a minute scrutiny to find out some Situation near those Shores that may be proper for a Naval Station, & from the Reports which have been made to me of late I am not without hopes of success.

In the Arrangement that I propose of those naval Arsenals Your Excellency will observe that by the Rivers which fall into the Harbour of *Toronto* or York that Arsenal will be amply supplied with all sorts of Materials. The river Ouze will supply Lake Erie. From these Ports the assistance of Seamen or Shipwrights could be called together in a few days to concenter the Naval Force of the Country in case of War, at any given period, in either of those Lakes, or that of Huron. And I must observe to your Excellency that should it be found necessary, Vessels of the largest Size that can possibly navigate the Lakes may be built forty or fifty miles up the River Ouze, and a hundred up the River Thames; which with the freshets in Spring or Autumn might be safely navigated into the Lakes. The northern Branch of the Thames, which is not perfectly known to us, is said to communicate with a River that flows into Lake Huron by a Portage of two days Indian March or 30 Miles.¹ This River abounds with Forests of Timber on the Indian and British Branches of it. About eighteen Miles from its Mouth there is an excellent place marked on the plans and reserved, called Chatham, which will become the Capital of the Lower Country. From this place nearly to Lake St. Clair the whole River is a safe and convenient Harbour, perfectly sheltered and deep enough for any Vessels that can navigate the Lakes; without Current; and secure from the breaking up of the Ice from its Southern situation, the Ice in that quarter rotting & sinking before the Freshes begin on the Upper parts of the River.

It appears to me that taking into Consideration the State of the Country, the

¹The portage by the River aux Sables.

cheapest & quickest mode of Defence, and that which might be of the most permanent Utility, would be to erect Blockhouses or Redoubts of Stone, two Stories in height; (the lower one to be made Bomb proof) and of sufficient Capacity to contain a hundred Men and Magazines; that those Redoubts should have the total Command with their Musketry or small cannon of such Outworks as might be constructed around them, and which might become necessary for Batteries, Storehouses, or other Military Defences. In the District of Detroit I should propose one of these Blockhouses to be made on the Isle Bois Blanc, another at Maissonville's Island: the former to command the Passage from Lake Erie, the latter to preserve the Communication with the River La Tranche, and each to serve as shelter to our Shipping. Should the Garrison at *Detroit* be withdrawn, it should be placed at Chatham, near which should be the Naval winter Station of the Gallies or Gunboats, & occasionally of the larger Vessels.

Some such species of Fortification may be proper at the station I have intimated that I am desirous of obtaining at Lake Erie. And I should not hesitate, were the Garrison of Niagara to be evacuated, to recommend no greater Species of Fortification opposite that Fortress, should any Works (which I doubt) be thought proper. But what I wish to have executed without a moment's delay and most earnestly recommend to your Excellency, is that some such Fortress, (comparatively inexpensive), may be instantly proceeded with upon the *Point of Toronto*. This Port will then be secure, and would afford a place, should the Province be attacked, to rally at, and where the Civil Government might safely execute their Duties. Otherwise the whole Colony might fall, should Niagara be reduced.

In stating these Arrangements so necessary in the present State of Affairs, I think proper to submit to your Excellency the Ideas I entertain of those strong Restrictions relative to the carrying on of any military Works without the previous Approbation of His Majesty's Ministers. It will certainly remain with your Excellency to decide upon any Military Works that shall be erected in the Provinces under your Command, & I feel myself totally exonerated from all Consequences, as Commanding the King's Forces, when I have made these Reports to you of what Arrangements I think necessary for the protection of the Posts, as a particular object. But, Sir, I cannot but feel a very great Anxiety when I consider that my Civil Station Subjects me without Controversy to a very serious Responsibility; & when I reflect on the State of the Country I feel it my duty to exert myself in that Capacity to place it in the best posture of defence that is possible. Considering therefore all the Garrisons & Fortifications of Detroit, Niagara & Oswego as totally inadequate for self-Defence or general Protection, and that they are especially retained as Hostages for the performance of an incomplete Treaty, rather than from any Idea of maintaining dominion over them; that they are an anxious object of Jealousy of the Government of the United States—a Government founded upon the Basis of popular Opinion and floating with its very Breath, and considering that this popular Opinion is guided by the same Men & by the same means (Newspapers) which alienated their Minds, and severed them from the parent Country, I cannot but be seriously alarmed at the approach of an armed force to subject the Indians, whom the voice of popular Opinion in the States declares only to exist as a People from the Support they receive from these Fortresses—which Virginia (powerful, revengeful, unprincipled) has already declared to be retained in the Violation of the Treaty of Peace, fulfilled on the part of the United States. Victory establishes their Arms at the Miamis and Sandusky,—or some Post (if the officer commanding their Forces be intelligent and not governed by Names) still nearer to Detroit. Defeated, Presqu'Isle within a few hour's sail of Fort Erie, will be

occupied in force. And when I am to add to the prospect of Affairs, an European War, in which the United States have declared a Neutrality, with the express Proviso of determining what *they* will admit to be contraband by *modern Usages*, in which very term (officially used) they have acceded to the Principles of the armed Neutrality, which Great Britain in her late important Struggle refused to admit, and which she has conceded to France only under Commercial Stipulations; and in consequence that every British Court of Judicature, if applied to such Individuals shall have a Mercantile Interest in the Condemnation of Prizes must decide the Causes upon Principles contrary to *Modern Usages*; and above all when it is apparent that both the Antifederal Party of the United States, who powerful in Numbers, and active from the Want of all Restraint of Morality, are the avowed Partizans of France, and those Men also who are desirous of supporting Mr. Washington and the Federal Government, *however characterized*, are necessarily united in the Apprehension of the loss of Power and democratic Command, should the innovators prove unsuccessful & the United States remain a solitary Experiment of what may prove an impracticable System. In such a situation of just Apprehension, I feel it my duty to state to your Excellency (and I hope you will communicate these Ideas to His Majesty's Ministers) that I consider it my Civil Duty immediately to occupy the Harbour of York without delay, with such Troops as are not confined to the several Garrisons; and that I consider it to be indispensable for the Protection of the Province that the Harbour should be fortified. And I request of your Excellency for this especial purpose some heavy Guns, & ten inch Howitzers; each of which should be provided with carriages that may be used both for Garrison Service and for the being placed in Gun Boats. The Wood & Stone Boats necessarily to be employed in the constructing of the Garrison, I purpose to build in such a manner as occasionally to supply this species of Armament. This Arrangement, was I not subordinate to your Excellency's Authority, and could I even carry it into effect before I had your Commands, I should immediately lay before the Council of the Province duly to authorize me therein.

Accompanying this despatch is a great plan of the Harbour of Toronto, which I found to be very exact. The land is only sketched, but may give a tolerable Idea of its Situation.

I have the honor to be, &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

To His Excellency Genl. Clarke.

FROM AN UNKNOWN CORRESPONDENT, (PRESUMABLY A
FRENCH ROYALIST,)¹ TO WILLIAM WINDHAM.

The 1 of June (1793)?

PHILADELPHIA at M. Morris,

Member of the Senate, Market Street.

(Extract.)

.....
... Both houses, that is, the Senate and Congress, have a certain majority at present in favour of a well-regulated government. It is more numerous in the Senate, it is a strong body which oppose every improper means in the present crisis to alter the neutrality. The executive power is shared between the two partis

¹Probably Comte de Noailles.

which divide the Unitate States. At the head of the first in favour of an exact neutrality is Hamilton, minister of finances, general Knox, war minister, Randolph, attorney general; Jefferson, minister of foreign affairs, is the leader of the second party, which wishes a more intimate connection with the french republic. Hamilton is a man of a great understanding, fine talents, a communicative genius, an untainted probity, an absolute disinterestedness. With the desire of reputation he is so indifferent to the possession of his office that he would leave it rather than abandon an opinion or an object useful to the country. Hamilton has created a System of finances which everybody admires on account of its advantages and its Simplicity. General Knox is a man of good judgment and intirely influenced by Hamilton. Randolph is a well informed man and possesses some ability.....

Jefferson is the chief of the jacobin party; had he the talent and capacity of Hamilton he would acknowledge with him that there is no prosperity for a great Empire without a repressive force directed against every one who wished to rise above the law and that the support of criminal principles cannot promis any advantage to a new country which can only flourish by just regard shewn to public and private virtue: but the unhappiness of representative government is that inferior talent with great ambition and little probity cannot suport the credit which obtain those of the first order and try by every mean to supplant them. As people don't admire the genius of Jefferson, his eloquence, his fine speeches, his happy repartee in public discussion, it is necessary to fixe its attention with the favourable idea of Jefferson's excessive love for liberty, of his immoderate attachment to the people's interest, of his ardent zeal in favour of democracy. It is by the consideration he pays to jacobin's principles that he is called the democratic or whig minister....

....However it is not indifferent to England that America should keep the most exact neutrality. If it would declare in favour of France, it would give the hope of success to a great number of French people attached to the republican party who desire to come to a good issue and perhaps find new friends. All the crop of America would be sent to France and some of the ships loaded with it would come in its harbours. The American privateers would do great injury to the trade of England. The war with France would certainly continue longer. During its continuance America would loose the habit of trading with England, raise a number of manufactures which France would encourage. It is then, by the motives above mentioned, the interest of England not to quarrel with America, as it is the interest of America to keep not only the most exact neutrality but a perfect harmony.

Commissaries have been sent from this country to treat with the Indians in order to make peace. People of America think that England encourages the Indian war. My opinion about the treaty now offered by the Unitate States is that it will not take place, and that, if they agree with the Indians upon the present terms, war will commence again in less than two years. I firmly believe also that, if war continues now, the Indians will be successful and that on account of the bad dispositions and foolish plan of operations admitted by the Americans. I should think it very easy for this country not only to defeat the Indians but to oblige them to retire as far as Mississipy. America never will have a long peace without it.

FROM GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILADELPHIA, 1 June, 1793.

Sir,

To call upon Mr. Hammond without further delay, for the result of the reference to his court concerning the surrender of the western posts, or to await the decision of the trial at Richmond on the subject of British debts before it be done, is a question on which my mind has balanced for some time.

If your judgment is not clear on the one or the other, it is my desire, as the heads of the departments are *now* together, that you would take their opinions thereupon and act accordingly.

Ford, 12, pp. 291-2.

"I leave it to you, and the heads of the other two departments, to say what and whether any answer should be given to the British minister's letter of the 19th. It would seem as if neither he, nor the Spanish commissioners, were to be satisfied with any thing this government can do; but, on the contrary, are resolved to drive matters to extremity."—Washington to Jefferson, 20 June, 1793.

The questions pending between Great Britain and the United States under the treaty of 1783, the attitude of the British ministry on the commercial relations between the two countries, and the many complaints of bad faith on both sides, were sufficient to cause friction in determining any matters that might arise, and excite a feeling of injury that prevented a fair examination of such matters. The little spirit of conciliation shown by both parties, whenever the discussion became anything more than general or informal, gave occasion to recriminations, and by creating false impressions, impeded the conclusion of an agreement on subjects over which it did not seem possible a material difference of opinion could have occurred. The position of the British minister was, from the first, one of great delicacy. George Hammond, the first British minister, accredited to the United States, was at this time only 28 years of age, but his experience as secretary to David Hartley, during the negotiations at Paris, had made him familiar with American questions and his diplomatic experience had already been wide. Yet almost from the first, he seems to have made a disagreeable impression upon Washington, Jefferson, and Randolph. I have carefully read the originals of his communications to the Department of State during his residence in this country, and find them exceedingly moderate in tone, well framed, and in exceeding good taste, without a mark of the petulant temper with which he has been accredited. W. C. Ford, 12, pp. 292-3, note.

FROM ALURED CLARKE TO J. G. SIMCOE.

QUEBEC, 3 June, 1793.

Sir,

The division line of Upper & Lower Canada to the Southward of the River St. Lawrence, not having been clearly described and declared, doubts have arisen in the minds of the Judges and Magistrates of this Province how far their Jurisdiction extends: the same has been referred to the consideration of the Executive Council, and the Surveyor General directed to report his opinion of the best mode of ascertaining the Boundary. A copy of his report is enclosed, in which he states

that the thing most proper to be done, would be to have the said division line run and marked by a Surveyor from this Province, in conjunction with a Surveyor to be appointed for the purpose by Your Excellency. I shall with pleasure acquiesce in Major Holland's proposal provided it meets your approbation: as soon as favored with your sentiments thereon, will take such measures as depend on me for fixing said line, which I consider as an object worthy of attention. Mr. Chew states his having sent you a map of the Indian country with a memorandum upon it, in Sir Wm. Johnson's handwriting, as follows:

"This is the map which was laid before the Indians, when the Boundary Line was agreed upon by them at Fort Stanwix, November the 4th and 5th, 1768, and then marked by me in their presence as it now is."

This I think will be found of great utility, and taking for granted that previous to returning it to the Superintendent General's Office, you will direct a copy to be taken for your own use, shall be obliged to Your Excellency at the same time, to order a duplicate to be made for me. A paper endorsed "Copy of a plan for the future management of Indian Affairs prepared for the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations in the year 1764," was among those sent for your perusal the winter you were at Quebec, and on your going away, as we could not find it, it was supposed to have got among your own papers, but it was then too late to look for it. As I am in daily expectation of Lord Dorchester's arrival, and this paper being one of those left by and entered in the Schedule from His Lordship, I am anxious it should be returned at the same time with the others, and shall be very much obliged to Your Excellency to take the trouble of looking among your papers for it, and to forward the same if it should be found.

I am with sincere regard,

ALURED CLARKE.

H. E. Lt. Governor Simcoe.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

NAVY HALL, June 4, 1793.

Sir,

I have been duly honored with Your Excellency's letter of the 2 May, enclosing two letters from the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury. The slight alterations, absolutely necessary to have been made at Detroit, so soon as Colonel England reported that he could not procure material, had been directed to be discontinued, till Your Excellency's pleasure was known, these alterations being included in extras formerly transmitted to you. The barracks in general, throughout the Province, are in the most ruinous state and generally past repairing, as Your Excellency has from time to time had reports on this head, I do not find it necessary to repeat them.

The emergency of the occasion must obviously justify the having erected temporary log huts for covering the Commanding Officer's Staff and Troops, additional to those in Garrisons, already too much crowded, for the health or comfort of the soldiers, and I assure Your Excellency that the Queen's Rangers notwithstanding every effort, I believe have suffered materially from the inclemency of the season to which they were necessarily exposed.

I beg to state to Yr Excellency, that the principles on which I have proceeded,

are such as I have thought conducive to the King's service. The temporary huts at Queenston may be turned to various uses. The Houses occupied by myself and Staff and the additions I have made to Butler's barracks for the meeting of the Legislature of the Country and public offices, are absolutely necessary in themselves, but being in a civil light only considered as temporary, yet in a military one are to all intents executed in such a manner as may be preparatory to the evacuation of Niagara. In that event will become barracks sufficient to hold such troops or people as may be employed in the garrisoning or construction of such works that shall be thought necessary to be erected on this side of the river. In wishing to provide for the erection of these buildings, at the cheapest possible rate to Government, I naturally profited from the abilities and experience of the Engineer, Mr. Pilkington, who with the greatest readiness availed himself of the opportunity of being of public service. His military duty, the nature of the buildings, temporary in a civil light, but which might hereafter be of use in a military one, the very ground on which they are placed being reserved for military purposes, all point out evidently the propriety of their having been executed under military restriction, and the strict principles of economy which pervade that department, the necessity of giving shelter to the soldiers and military officers, justify the impracticability of its being subject to any such delay as the distance between this place and Quebec must have occasioned, and the equal necessity of building some sheds for the temporary accomodation of the Legislature and Civil Officers attendant on a new establishment is justified on the same principle, but if Your Excellency should be the least disinclined to contemplate these latter buildings in the view which I have stated them, I certainly can have no objection whatsoever of replacing the sums which they may have cost and including them in my public account.

I have the honor, &c.,

J. GRAVES SIMCOE.

H. E. General Clarke, Quebec.

RETURN OF THE THREE BATTALIONS OF MILITIA, COUNTY OF LINCOLN, 4TH JUNE, 1793.

Distribution.	Lt. Col.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Sergeants.	Privates.	Staff.
Married Men from 18 to 40 yrs. age.	..	..	10	11	11	42	408	2
Unmarried Men from 18 to 45 "	..	..	8	3	8	7	233	..
Married Men from 40 to 60 "	..	2	6	2	..	2	48	..
Unmarried Men from 45 to 60 "	1	1	..	..	..	..	15	..
Invalids. " " "	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	..
Quakers.	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	..
Total.	1	3	17*	16	19	51	733	2

*Sic.

JOHN BUTLER
Lieutenant Colonel.

FROM ALURED CLARKE TO J. G. SIMCOE.

QUEBEC, June 6, 1793.

My dear Sir,

Taking it for granted that Mr. Talbot will convey all the intelligence to you that I have received from Mr. Hammond by Grey, I am only to acquaint you of his arrival here last night, and that he purposes setting off for Upper Canada as soon as he shall have rested himself a little, and has provided a few articles that he wants. We are in daily expectation of our letters by the April Packet via Halifax, and of still more recent news by Vessels immediately from England, which may reasonably be looked for every hour. If the report of Dumourier's having turned tail upon the Provisional Council should prove true,¹ I think it probable that there must soon be an end to the Republican business in France, and I trust without suffering the smallest degree of credit or consequence to remain with Lafayette or any of the traitors that set the evil on foot, or have prosecuted a System that has entailed so much misery on their Sovereign his family or Subjects, however, it may prove profitable to us and the rest of Europe, who certainly had great reason to be jealous of their power. Several letters have been received here lately which say that Lord Dorchester was to sail in April, but I think it more likely in May, and in that case, we probably shall not see him till late in the next month. My own observations, as well as Mr. Hammond's letters, satisfy me that the Americans have no thought of attacking our Posts, but their conduct towards the Indians, if the report of their forward move proves true, is as wicked as it is impolitic, and will in all probability be productive of the most fatal consequences to their Army, and the Commissioners even, who were intended to treat of peace, if they should unfortunately fall into the Savages' hands.

Pray offer my best respects to Mrs. Simcoe and compliments to Messrs Osgoode and White,² and be assured that I am, with very sincere regard

ALURED CLARKE.

His Excellency Colonel Simcoe.

FROM THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE UNITED STATES TO J. G. SIMCOE.

The Commissioners of the United States for making Peace with the Western Indians beg leave to suggest to Governor Simcoe

That the very high importance of the negociation committed to their management makes them desirous of using every proper means that may contribute to its success.

That they have observed with pleasure the disposition manifested by the Governor to afford every requisite assistance in the preparatory arrangements for holding the treaty with the hostile Indians: But all the facilities thus afforded, and all the expences incurred by the British Government on this occasion will perhaps be fruitless, unless some means are used to counteract the effect of deep-

¹General Dumouriez fled to the Austrian camp to escape arrest on April 4.

²John White, born in England, studied law at Gray's Inn; called to the bar by the Inner Temple, 1785; appointed Attorney General for Upper Canada, 1791; elected member of the Assembly for Leeds and Frontenac, 1792; killed in a duel with John Small, Clerk of the Executive Council, 3 January, 1800.

rooted prejudices and unfounded reports among the Indian Tribes, for the Arts of a few bad Men, dwelling among them, or having a familiar intercourse with them, by cherishing those prejudices, or raising and spreading those reports, may be sufficient to defeat every attempt to accomplish a peace. As an instance of such unfounded reports, the Commissioners have noticed the declaration of a Mohawk from Grand River—"That General Simcoe advised the Indians to make Peace, but not to give up any of their Lands."

The Commissioners further observe, that if any transactions at former treaties were exceptionable, the principles of the present treaty are calculated to remove the causes of complaint; for the views of government are perfectly fair, and altho' it is impossible now to retrace all the steps then taken, the United States are disposed to recede as far as shall be indispensable and the existing state of things will admit—And for the Lands retained to make ample compensation.

The views of the United States being thus fair and liberal the Commissioners wish to embrace every means of making them so appear to the Indians, against any contrary suggestions. Among these means the Commissioners consider the presence of some Gentlemen in the Army to be of consequence. For altho' the Indians naturally look up to the Superintendants as their Patrons, yet the presence of some Officers of the Army will probably induce them to negotiate with greater confidence on the terms of Peace. Independently of these considerations, the Commissioners for their own sake, request the pleasure of their company.

The Commissioners feeling the greatest solicitude to accomplish the object of their Mission will be happy to receive from the Governor every information relating to it, which the situation enables him to communicate. He must be aware that the sales and settlements of the lands over the Ohio founded on the Treaties of Fort McIntosh¹ and Fort Harmar,² render it impossible now to make that River the boundary. The expression of his opinion on this point in particular will give them great satisfaction.

Navy Hall, June 7th, 1793.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

NAVY HALL, June 7th, 1793.

Colonel Simcoe, Commanding the King's Forces in Upper Canada, has the honor to answer to the Paper delivered to him this Morning by the Commissioners of the United States for making Peace with the Western Indians to state to those Gentlemen that He is duly impressed with the serious importance of the Negotiation committed to their Charge, and shall be happy to contribute by every means

¹By the treaty of Fort McIntosh, January 31, 1785, the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas and Chippewas were said to have "relinquished all their right and title to all the lands situated south and east of a line commencing at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River, thence up said river to the portage between the Cuyahoga and the Tuscarawas, thence across said portage and down the Tuscarawas to the 'Crossing Place' above Fort Laurens, near where Bolivar now stands; thence in a westerly direction to the portage between the Great Miami and Auglaize, near where stood Loramie's store; thence down the Auglaize and Maumee to Lake Erie."—Ohio Archaeolog. & Hist. Quarterly, XIV (1905), p. 159. The Shawnees, at Fort Finney, a year later, relinquished their rights to the same territory, according to the same writer W. S. Hanna.

²At Fort Harmar (now Marietta), on January 9, 1789, Governor St. Clair of the Ohio Territory effected a treaty with chiefs of the confederate tribes, by which they confirmed the treaties made at Fort McIntosh and Fort Finney.—Ibid. p. 161.

that may tend to its success. He is much obliged to them for the polite manner in which they have expressed their sense of his readiness to afford them such facilities as may have been in his power to assist in the preparatory arrangement for the holding the Treaty. He is perfectly aware that unfounded Reports, and deep-rooted prejudices have arisen amongst the Indian Tribes; but whether from the Arts of a few bad Men living among them he cannot pretend to say; But he must observe upon the instance given by the Commissioners of one of these unfounded Reports—"that a Mohawk from Grand River should say that Governor Simcoe advised the Indians to make Peace, but not to give up their Lands," is of that nature that cannot be true, the Indians not having as yet applied for his advice on the subject:—and it being a point of all others on which they are least likely to consult a British officer commanding in Upper Canada.

Colonel Simcoe considers himself perfectly justified in admitting, on the requisition of the Commissioners, some officers to attend the Treaty and therefore in addition to Gentlemen appointed to controul the delivery of the British Provisions, &c., &c., He will desire Captain Bunbury of the 5th Regiment and Lieutenant Givens who has some knowledge of one of the Indian Languages to accompany the Commissioners.

Colonel Simcoe can give the Commissioners no further Information than what is afforded by the Speeches of the Confederate Nations, of which General Hull had authentic Copies. But as it has been ever since the Conquest of Canada, the principle of the British Government to unite the American Indians, that all petty Jealousies being extinguished, the real wishes of the several Tribes may be fully expressed, and in consequence all Treaties with them may have the most compleat ratification, and universal concurrence, so he feels it proper to state to the Commissioners that a jealousy of a contrary conduct in the Agents of the United States appear to him to have been deeply impressed upon the minds of the Confederacy.

To the Commissioners of the United States
for making peace with the Western Indians &c., &c.

Endorsed:—In Genl Clarke's to Mr. Dundas No. 88.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

NAVY HALL, June 9th, 1793.

Sir,

I take this opportunity of forwarding to Your Excellency a Paper delivered to me by the Commissioners of the United States to the Indians and my answer to it.

I must premise to Your Excellency that in all my communications with these Gentlemen, I have strictly confined myself to my Military and subordinate capacity, as Commanding the King's Troops in this Province, and that on the requisition of the Commissioners for the conference during which they delivered in the enclosed Paper, I requested the attendance of Major Smith and Captain Bunbury of the 5th Regiment, & Major of Brigade Littlehales.

I have taken occasion to mention to the Commissioners, what Your Excellency was pleased to approve of in my intercourse with General Hull, that I totally considered my opinions to be informal, (unless expressly requested), and as mere matter of general and confidential conversation; But that I was at all times ready

to give the most explicit answers that my situation admitted of to any such question that they might think necessary or do me the honor to ask my opinion upon.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant.

J. G. SIMCOE.

His Excellency Major General Clarke.

Commander in Chief, &c., &c., &c.

Endorsed:—In General Clarke's to Mr. Dundas, No. 88.

FROM R. G. ENGLAND TO ALEXANDER McKEE.

DETROIT, June 10th, 1793.

Sir,

His Excellency Lieut. Governor Simcoe forwarded to me by the Dunmore which arrived here this morning, some letters, and other papers directed for you which he left open in order that I may read them, I have sealed them, and take the earliest opportunity of sending them to you by Express.

Several Indians came by the Dunmore all which are now under the direction of Captain Elliott, I have directed him to write you all particulars relative to them, and to endeavour to prevail on them to proceed with as much expedition as possible, several Quakers, and others from the United States, also arrived here in the Dunmore, for the purpose of attending the Council, I am at a loss to decide how they are to proceed to Sandusky, as all the King's vessels are ordered to return immediately to Fort Erie.

I herewith enclose you a copy of a Memorial which His Excellency last week sent me, with directions to make every Inquiry about the Person mentioned in it, and to report to him if he can be found, and redeemed, you will therefore oblige me if you direct such Inquiries to be made for him and to let me know the particulars for His Excellency's Information.

His Excellency has not mentioned a syllable on the subject of Provisions, as I wished, and expected. In my late letters to him, I submitted the propriety of sending you from Fort Erie in the Chippewa, the amount of your requisitions for the Council, and have directed Mr. Askin to order the twenty oxen required by you to be immediately sent you, I shall be ever ready to afford you what ever Assistance is in my power, and to make Your present Situation as *little distressing* as possible. The Batteau required by you was forwarded by young Brant's party whenever he and his people are to return, could with that if possible they may avoid this Post, as they occasioned a Riot when here, that I am apprehensive may be renewed by both parties.

Choate the Hatter, who lives here, acknowledges to have received twenty dollars to return the man mentioned in the memorial, which he is ready to pay, and says he heard he was last Winter at the Glaize, from whence he went on a hunting party with some Indians.

I beg to hear from you by return of the Beaver, I send by him a few papers of the latest date, (some States Papers shall be sent by the next opportunity.)

I am Sir,

Your very obedient and very humble Servant

R. G. ENGLAND.

Don't let young Brant know that I have mentioned his name to you. R. E.

Col. McKee.

FROM MATHEW ELLIOTT TO ALEXANDER McKEE.

DETROIT, 11th June, 1793.

Dear Sir,

Yesterday the Dunmore arrived with the Indian Presents, in her came Fifty of the Six Nations with Captain John and Henrique, also Six Quakers with Mr. Wilson, John Hickenwilder¹,—Ash and a Doctor McClocky who was in the Action with General St. Clair, it appears that the Quakers are come at the Request of their Society at Philadelphia, to be present at the Treaty with the Indians, Wilson and the others are attendants of the three Commissioners, Linkton, Pickerel, and Randolph² Who arrived at Niagara a few days ago and are expected here daily. The Six Nations that arrived I hope will set out tomorrow for the Rapids. I hope You and the rest of the Gentlemen are well and I remain, &c.

M. ELLIOTT.

Colonel Alexander McKee.

FROM MATHEW ELLIOTT TO ALEXANDER McKEE.

DETROIT, 14th June, 1793.

Dear Sir,

Captain John is just setting off for the Miamis Rapids with Forty One Men I have given them a Barrel of Pork and other provisions to take them out, Colonel England did not wish they should have more, by them I send Mr. McKee a trunk a key of which is herewith enclosed. You will find in this packet the latest papers brought here which I hope you will receive safe. The presents are all stored and will be surveyed to morrow, please let me know what to be done with the keg of Spirits, if I am to take it out or not with me. Decoigne is as troublesome as usual, I hope You and the rest of the Gentlemen are well, and am Dear Sir,

Your very humble Servant.

M. ELLIOTT.

Mr. Duggan presents his compliments to You and will be glad to have the Smith's name in writing, (a Canister with Snuff for Mr. Selby is in Mr. McKee's trunk.)

(Endorsed:—From Capt. Elliott, 14th June 1793, to Colonel Alexander McKee.)

¹A noted Moravian missionary (Heckewelder), who had been employed by the commissioners of the United States to assist them to negotiate with the Indians on several previous occasions. He made several sketch maps of the Indian country showing the principal paths then in use, some of which have since been published.

²Lincoln, Pickering and Randolph.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

NAVY HALL, June 14, 1793.

Sir,

Mr. Talbot arrived here the 4th of June, with despatches from Mr. Hammond. The verbal communications by Mr. Talbot and Mr. Hammond's official letters to Lord Grenville of the 7 March and 15 April confirm me in the uniform sentiments that I have expressed relative to the Government of the United States, its views, its hostility to Great Britain, and that no dependance is to be placed upon whatever professions may be made by Mr. Hamilton, either in respect of his own integrity or his capacity of preventing such consequences as may result from the avowed or latent enmity of his colleagues in office. I am perfectly corroborated in this opinion of Mr. Hamilton by Major of Brigade Littlehales, as I have already had the honor of communicating to you, that the Rapids at the Miamis and Lower Sandusky are one and the same place: his communication to Mr. Hammond that had the news of Dumourier's being driven from Holland and the Netherlands have been confirmed, The Government of the United States would not have officially acknowledged Monsr. Genet,¹ added to there being no longer any conversation of the resignation of Mr. Jefferson, point out that Mr. Hamilton has not of late increased his ascendancy in the Cabinet. Mr. Knox is certainly growing very unpopular, and should Genl. Wayne receive the least check, the successor to Mr. Knox would probably be of Mr. Jefferson's friends.

His party must now have received a great increase of force by the decided spirit with which all those will act who think the existence of the United States to be interwoven and almost to rest on the stability of the Democratic Government in France I am to add, Sir, to all these circumstances of great and general magnitude and of European consideration, the particular aspect that the affairs of this Province are assuming in consequence of the Indian disturbances and the possibility that from their continuance, the spark of war is as likely to be lighted up, as from the British Fleets preventing provisions or the naval stores of the United States from entering the harbour of Brest or passing through the Straits of Gibraltar.

The Commissioners for making peace with the United States have remained in this House ever since the 17th of May. They are in expectation of hearing from Colonel McKee when the Indian Nations shall be assembled. All the public conversations that I have held with those Gentlemen, is detailed in the enclosed Papers, to which I am to add that upon my reading to them Lord Dorchester's Speech of the 15th August, 1791, to the Deputies of the several Nations and the boundary Line then given to Your Excellency they have desired Copies thereof, particularly as it stated those documents to be those on which I founded my answers to all speeches that had hitherto passed between me & the Indian Americans. You will perceive, Sir, from the papers which we have exchanged, that these Gentlemen have much of that low Craft which distinguishes, and is held for Wisdom by People who like the Subjects of the United States, naturally self-opinionated, have a very trifling share of Education,—and indeed by what I hear, their whole behaviour has been of this Cast, and tho' they have been repeatedly told by the

¹Edmond Charles Genet, 1763-1834, Chargé d'Affaires for the French Government at St. Petersburg, 1789; ambassador to Holland, 1791; employed on a secret mission in Switzerland to promote a revolution, in which he was successful; appointed Adjutant General, Minister Plenipotentiary, and Consul General from the French Republic to the United States, 1792; arrived at Charleston, S.C. 8 April, 1793; issued many commissions to privateers to fit out in American ports; his recall was demanded Aug. 15, 1793; he remained in the United States after his deposition and married a daughter of George Clinton, Governor of New York.

Indians themselves, that all applications to individuals or separate Tribes, is improper in itself, suspicious, & which can be of no Utility in affairs that must be transacted in a general Council: yet, I understand, they have been attempting to influence every private Person they have held communication with, but with so little success, & the result has been so totally contradictory to their hopes, that some days ago they sent their Interpreter to Philadelphia, (as I have reason to believe), to state these particulars and to require fresh Instructions: subsequently to which they desired an interview with me, and delivered in the paper to which I have alluded: but I must add, that in this Interval, O'Beal, the Corn Planter, came to this *House*; I had a long interview with him, & He expressed himself in the strongest terms Attached to His Majesty, and by no means seemed inclined to quit on the present occasion the Indian Confederacy to serve the interests of the United States. He did not even call upon the Commissioners although they had brought his son from Philadelphia with them—this seems to have given them much disturbance; as they sent after & followed him to the Chippawa. Mr. Randolph told me that if the previous Meeting now holding at the Miamis should be conclusive and binding in the General Council to be held at the Sandusky that he should think it unnecessary to proceed any farther—Since this conversation the Commissioners have been to Buffaloe Creek, holding private Councils and doing their utmost to seduce the Indians, but as it appears from the enclosed Copies of Speeches, in the opinion of Colonel Butler with but little effect.

Your Excellency will readily judge that it has been contrary to my inclination that such a tenor of conduct has been held by these Gentlemen, but I do not see how it was possible for me to prevent it; and I have reason to believe that it will produce a very contrary effect from what they wish or expect, by the whole of their proceedings, by their determination to give a compensation only, for *the whole of the Lands whether Settled or Unsettled*, and of which the Indians in the most positive terms demand a restitution; by the large sum of money, (said to be thirty thousand dollars) which they have brought with them. It appears to me that there is little probability of effecting a Peace, and I am inclined to believe that the Commissioners do not expect it; that General Wayne does not expect it; and that the Mission of the Commissioners is in general contemplated by the People of the United States as necessary to adjust the ceremonial of the destruction and pre-determined extirpation of the Indian Americans. Your Excellency will no doubt observe, from the general tenor of the conversation & conduct of the United States, that an alliance with the Six Nations and turning them against the Western Indians, and ultimately Great Britain is their favorite object. It is therefore a fortunate circumstance in my Ideas that should even the present treaty totally fail, as I suspect it will, that all the Indians have combined in the request that Great Britain should furnish them with Provisions, and that the Superintendents, Captain Brandt, The Farmer's Brother, and O'Beal the Corn Planter, have separately observed, and no doubt will dilate on the Kindness of His Majesty's Government in this respect, and on the independant footing which by these means the Indian Nations can meet the Commissioners: and I hope this incident, whatever may be the events of the Treaty, will fully support His Majesty's influence and conciliate the Affections of the Indians so necessary to the safety of this Colony.

I am sorry to inform Your Excellency that Colonel Butler has returned from Fort Erie, his ill health at present disabling him from proceeding.

I have the honor, &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

Major General Clarke
Quebec.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

NAVY HALL, June 15, 1793.

Sir,

I am this moment favored with Your Excellency's letter of the 23rd of May, enclosing the copies of letters from Mr. Dundas and one to Colonel Beckwith. I have received the same enclosures, as you supposed, from Mr. Dundas. As the vessel is about to sail, I can only add at present, how anxiously I await for the Seven nations of Canada and Mr. Chew's extracts from the Councils. Mr. Samuel Ogden of the Jerseys is on his way to this place, as he told Mr. Talbot, to settle the lands he has purchased in the neighbourhood of Oswegatchie. Upon making enquiry, Colonel Butler says he knows nothing of the Indians having sold these lands, but that in 1787, being in Quebec, Mr. Ogden¹ of Quebec told him that he had a letter from his brother saying that "He and other Loyalists had purchased those lands, and that in order to reconcile the Indians to the sale, it would be prudent for some of the inhabitants of Canada should become proprietors." Mr. Ogden of Quebec then offered Colonel Butler a share, which he afterwards declined, upon understanding that Lord Dorchester disapproved of British subjects being concerned in such a business.

Your Excellency will recollect that some time ago a Doctor Pomeroy published in the papers of the States that Sir John Johnson, Chief Justice Smith, Mr. Finlay and others were concerned in this sale and that it was dangerous to the interests of the United States.

The Indians, I apprehend, will not allow a settlement to take place in this country, and at present our inhabitants cut the timber, paying the Indians as proprietors. Of the felling of this timber, Mr. Samuel Ogden complained to Lieut. Talbot. As I conceive no settlement can be more injurious to Canada than the projected one at this moment, I shall do everything in my power to counteract its taking place.

I have the honor to be, &c.

J. GRAVES SIMCOE.

His Excy. General Clarke, Quebec.

FROM D. W. SMITH TO ALEXANDER McKEE.

Niagara, 15 June, 1793.

Sir,

His Excellency has already ordered the Felicity to Grand River to receive Corn, she is to proceed from thence to Sandusky to discharge & receive your Orders—you will probably order her back to Grand River for another Load.—

Every effort is using to forward the Corn for the Indians—his Excellency is persuaded they will not want the necessary supply of provisions on your regular Requisitions to the Officer Comg at Detroit.

I am &c.

D. W. SMITH.

A.D.Q.M. Gl.

Alexr. McKee, Esq.

D. Agent. Ind. Affrs. Sandusky.

¹Probably Isaac Ogden, a native of New Jersey and a loyalist, 1740-1824, appointed Judge of the Court of Admiralty at Quebec, 1785, resigned, 1818.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO HENRY DUNDAS.

No. 16.

NAVY HALL, NIAGARA, UPPER CANADA.

June 17th, 1793.

Sir,

I have been duly honored with your dispatch of the 7th of March, which I received yesterday enclosing a Copy of a Letter transmitted to Colonel Beckwith.

In outward appearance, Sir, any attempts to force a War in this quarter will become more or less probable, as the completion of Affairs in Europe vary in favor of Great Britain, or against her interests; Yet, I cannot hold but one uniform Opinion of the Views of Mr. Washington and the paper alluded to tho' exaggerated as to the Force actually in existence, is to me a confirmation of the popular Opinion, and the Aims of the leaders of the United States to support popular prejudices. In this case it will be extremely difficult so to manage as not to lose the affections of the Indians and yet not to give that pretext to the Government of the United States for the commencement of hostilities in this Country, which I am persuaded is in the Contemplation of their Leaders, (when circumstances shall be ripe) without any regard to European politics.

I am glad that Mr. Wayne has descended the Ohio to Fort Washington, as this Province has more to fear from the Vicinity of Fort Pitt.

I mean without delay to take post with the Queen's Rangers at Toronto, (or York) and shall take an early opportunity of expressing my sentiments to you, Sir, upon that Subject.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 8th of last December (duplicate) relative to the Proceedings of the Persons exercising the Supreme Authority in France.

I take this opportunity of enclosing the Gazette of this Province, containing my Speech to both houses of the Legislature upon opening the second session on the 31st of May, together with their several Answers, &c.

The Commissioners of the United States for making Peace with the American Indians are still at Navy Hall, but from the general tenor of their conversation, I presume they merely wait the Arrival of an Express from Philadelphia, of which they are in momentary expectation and they will then proceed to the accomplishment of their Mission to Lower Sandusky.

I have the honor to be with greatest respect, Sir,

Your most Obedient & very humble Servant.

J. GRAVES SIMCOE.

The Right Honorable Henry Dundas
One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, &c., &c.

Endorsed:—Niagara, 17th June, 1793. Lt. Govr. Simcoe. No. 15. R. 14th August. One inclosure.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

NAVY HALL, 17 June, 1793.

Sir,

On the 14th of this month I received extracts from the Indian Records by the son of Mr. Chew. I am particularly sorry not to find the Speeches or Acts of Lord Amherst with the Canadian Indians, and so careless has been the compilation, that no explanation of the Boundary, made by Sir Wm. Johnson in 1768, has accompanied the original map, which is transmitted—fortunately I have a copy that affords me the requisite explanation.

I beg to observe to Your Excellency that Captain Markham of the Royal Navy viewed the large vessel that is condemned at Kingston and assured me, that agreeably to the practice in His Majesty's Dockyards, it would be a great saving to rebuild her. I think there can be no alternative in destroying or rebuilding her.

I enclose a return of the cannon at Carleton Island. Those 18 pounders reported to be sunk are nowhere to be found. The guns are all marked as unserviceable, and the carriages are so rotten, that agreeably to Ordnance instructions, as people are stealing the iron, Captain Porter has ordered them to be burnt and the iron conveyed into the store, but as Captain Glasgow¹ is of opinion that many of these heavy cannon may be so mounted at Toronto as to be useful in that Post, and as I wish to avail myself of the experience of this valuable officer, whilst I have him in this Province, I must request Your Excellency will permit me to transfer so many of them as shall be deemed expedient to that place.

I have the honor to be, &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

His Excy. General Clarke.

FROM CHARLES STEVENSON TO J. G. SIMCOE.

LONDON, June 18th, 93.

Dear Simcoe,—

The Continental Politics for the present engage the attention of His Majesty's Ministers so much that Mr. Dundas cannot as yet give me that attention which he says my requisitions and statements deserve. He told me at Court that he would be soon at leisure and was sorry that he had not as yet been able to see me on business. I tried to get the Newfoundland settlers sent to Upper Canada, but Mr. Dundas not giving me any specific terms to hold out to the Committee it must for the present lay over.

I was in the country for my health when Mr. Bastard² wrote to me on the subject and am just returned to town, but with such dreadful rheumatic head-aches that I can scarcely see to write.

I am in great hopes the Spanish Cabinet may find it in their interest to adopt the plan suggested in my former letters to you. His Majesty's Ministers are sensible

¹George Glasgow, second lieut., Royal Artillery, 1774; lieut. colonel, 1801; major general, 1811; Administrator of the Province of Lower Canada, 14 June—25 Sept., 1813; lieut. general, 1819; died in England in 1820. His military service was almost entirely in Canada.

²Agent in England for Newfoundland. The township of Bastard in the County of Leeds was named in his honour.

of its importance, and the Marquis told me we must wait events in Flanders. Mr. Pitt's speech of yesterday says they are such as could not have been expected in so short a time, a circumstance I shall not forget to remind Mr. Dundas of when we meet on business. The augmentation of your Corps will be a desirable object, and the introduction of copper coin into Upper Canada I hope to settle with the Marquis, who has told me that when I have considered on what he proposed on that subject, he would write if I desired it to Mr. Bolton¹ at Birmingham to form the die. It will destroy that pernicious custom of issuing paper on the merchants' account and credit which must ever hurt a rising Colony from the unavoidable accidents attending its circulation and which falls on the receiver.

Mr. Washington's Proclamation recommending to the different States a peaceable deportment towards the European Powers at war, under pain of being out of his protection, is not sufficiently strong to give satisfaction or to entitle him to confidence. Sir Henry C. and Sir Charles Grey with some other of your friends tell me it will be very necessary to keep a good look out on our frontiers. Mr. Bastard I hear from Sir Henry has just received a letter from you, and he another from Russell to say all negotiations between the Indians and Americans are at an end. In the present crisis of affairs I think it very fortunate, and hope will never be permitted to recommence but under the express stipulation of our mediation, which when we are a little more at liberty will be insisted upon.

I promised you a long letter in my last but cannot enter upon business until I have stated to Mr. Dundas our situation relative and political with regard to Lower Canada and America. The Parliament is expected to be prorogued this day. I send this with the newspapers by Colonel Beckwith who goes out with Lord Dorchester. He will leave to-morrow but am not certain when he sails as Captain Coffin has reported his crew unfit for service. I have sent to Sir H. C. and Mr. Bastard to say if they have any letters for your Excellency and will send them to me, I will forward them by this opportunity. My health will not permit me to lengthen this letter. I will trouble your Excellency with my respectful compliments to Mrs. Simcoe, and to believe me as ever,

Your sincere and obliged friend,

CHARLES STEVENSON.

The Parliament breaks up on Friday for the summer.

FROM THE QUAKERS TO THE WESTERN INDIANS.

DETROIT, 6th mo. 19th, 1793.

Respected Friends.

We take the liberty to inform thee, that we whose Names are underwritten, are of the Society of the people called Quakers from Pennsylvania & New Jersey, with the approbation of our Friends at home we have left our families without any pecuniary prospect, and we trust with the most disinterested good wishes for the Peace & welfare of the Government under which we live, and also of our Indian Brethren, upon the basis of Justice and Equity. We arrived at this place about ten days ago and are anxiously waiting the opening of the Treaty proposed to be held at Sandusky; we cannot doubt but that Col. McKee and many of the Indians

¹Matthew Bolton of the firm of Bolton and Watt.

are well acquainted with the pacific Principles and uniform conduct of the People called Quakers, and we do assure you, that we, your friends, and our Society at large retain the same friendly sentiments as did our Ancestors; And altho' we have no official powers from Government we are here with the approbation of the President of the United States, and we humbly hope our influence under the Divine Blessing may have some tendency to stop the effusion of human Blood, and promote the very desirable object we have in view, Peace and harmony in the Land. We have also brought with us an Address to ye Indians from our Friends at home, which will more fully certify the motives which prevailed upon us to attempt this arduous journey, our expectation when we left home was that the Treaty would commence the first of the present Month, we are here in a state of suspense, and would take it kind of Col. McKee if he would embrace the first opportunity to inform us when the Treaty will probably take place.

We are Respectfully thy Friends.

JOHN PARRISH,
JACOB LINDLEY,
WILLIAM SAVERY,
JOSEPH MOORE,
JOHN ELLIOTT.
WM. HARTSHORNE.¹

We left the Commissioners at Niagara but are in daily expectation of their arrival.

Endorsed:—From the Quakers, 19th June 1793, and to know when the Treaty at St Dusky wou'd open.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO GEORGE HAMMOND.

PHILADELPHIA, June 19, 1793.

Sir,

I had the honour to address you a letter on the 29th of May was a twelvemonth on the articles still unexecuted of the treaty of peace between the two nations. The subject was extensive & important & therefore rendered a certain degree of delay in the reply to be expected. But it has now become such as naturally to generate disquietude. The interest we have in the Western posts, the blood and treasure which their detention costs us daily cannot but produce a corresponding anxiety on our part. Permit me therefore to ask when I may expect the honour of a reply to my letter, and to assure you of the sentiments with which I have the honour to be, &c.

(The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Edited by Paul L. Ford, Vol. VI, p. 314.)

¹Parrish, Lindley, Savery, and Elliot came from Pennsylvania; Moore and Hartshorne from New Jersey. "The Quakers were rejoiced to see some of our Indian brethren (at Detroit), and finding upon inquiry, that they were almost in a starving condition, resolved to give \$100 to their chief, which was accordingly laid out in provisions, and forwarded to them; and the Indian congregation afterwards sent their benefactors a letter of thanks, written by Mr. Zeisberger." "Life of Heckewelder," pp. 130-2, quoted by editor of Zeisberger's Diary, II, pp. 316-7.

FROM R. G. ENGLAND TO ALEXANDER MCKEE.

DETROIT, June 20th, 1793.

Sir,

I was favored with your letters of the 11th and 14th of this month and have directed your requisitions for the different articles you mentioned to be fully attended to, fortunately a large supply of Indian Corn is arrived, which enables me to send you as much as Mr. McKee¹ can take and can promise you any quantity in addition that you wish to send for. I have directed your Boat to be put in proper order, and requested Mr. McKee to point out any repairs that he considered she required. I have left him, to take out whatever articles you would wish to have by this conveyance, and those that he does not now take, shall be sent by the next opportunity. I have already sent you two Batteaux, and now send with Mr. Shean and Mr. Butler, and Mr. Johnson, who lately arrived from Niagara with some Indians, and Presents, two more Batteaux and a small Schenectady Boat, as I was obliged to take the Batteaux from the contractors for fire wood, and to deprive the Garrison of the use of the Schenectady Boat, which is required for carrying parties and many other purposes, I request they may be returned to me if you have not much occasion for them. I am sensible it will be difficult to attend to sails, Poles, Oars and Masts but if they cou'd be returned, it wou'd be matter of much convenience to this post.

I am happy to say, that I have by the last Vessel received a latitude that will enable me with some ease, to attend to your requisitions, which I have at all times seen the necessity of, being sensible how much perplexed you must be, if you had not plenty of provisions for the numerous family that now surrounds you. The Quakers and others from the United States, shall not go to you, till you mention you are prepared to receive them. A Stockbridge Indian by the name of *Hendrick* was passed by Capt. Elliot with some other indians, I understand he is an improper person to be in your neighbourhood at present, and you will no doubt dispose of him as you see best. He was permitted to come up here by His Excellency, who I since understand wishes to recall his Pass.

The movements among the Armies of the United States, are certainly very inconsistent with their Proclamations, and Promises. I feel at a loss how to reconcile them to the business they are now engaged in, and which they have so repeatedly solicited. If the movements shou'd be confirmed, or any made forward, have the goodness to give me the earliest information of them, I sent a copy of your Letter of the 14th Inst. to His Excellency, which no doubt he will acquaint the Commissioners with and probably stop them from proceeding. The Quakers and others here, are much alarmed at the news, which circulated here in a moment. All the King's Vessels have sailed to Fort Erie by the particular last order of His Excellency, except the Chippawa, who arrived late on Sunday night, I will with much pleasure avail myself of the first favorable opportunity of sending one for Lieut. Selby, but cannot undertake to say when that will be. The most expeditious way would be for him to come here by Boat and take a Vessel from hence, but if he does not wish that, I will send the next Vessel that sails, to the Island you mention.

I hope soon to hear from you, and will have great pleasure in assisting to forward any Indians that come here on their way to the Council.

I inclose you by His Excellency's desire, an American Paper, which he sent me, and I also send you some American Papers I lately received by the way of

¹Thomas McKee, son of Alexander McKee.

Mackinac. I hope you received the Packet of news Papers I sent you by an Indian and a copy of a Memorial I inclosed you, relative to a man supposed to be Prisoner among the Indians.

I am Sir with very great Regard,
Your most obedient and very humble Servant.

R. G. ENGLAND.

Endorsed:—Colo. England 20th June 1793. Rec'd 25th June.

FROM R. G. ENGLAND TO ALEXANDER McKEE.

SATURDAY, 3 o'Clock.

Sir,

Since closing my letter, I have prevailed on Lieut. Flemming to store away in his cabbin, fourteen bags more of Corn, in addition to the 130 mentioned in my letter, which will make the number now sent 144. Should it be in your power to return some of the bags sent you at different times, it will considerably facilitate the transport.

I am, Sir,
Your very obed. Servt.

R. G. ENGLAND.

Colonel McKee. &c, &c.

Endorsed:— H.M.S. Colonel McKee, &c, &c, &c. from R. G. England, Col. Foot of the Rapids.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO GEORGE HAMMOND.

(Draft of a letter.)

(After June 20, 1793.)

Sir,

In a letter of Feb. 2, 1792, I had the honor of conveying to you the President's sentiments on the assurances you had then been pleased to give of the strict neutrality of your government between us & the Indians in our neighborhood. You do to that testimony but the justice which it merits in not allowing yourself for a moment to infer from the passage in my letter of the 19th inst. quoted in yours of the 20th a meaning which would be disrespectful to your nation.—Were the Western posts in our possession, it cannot be doubted but there would be an end to the murders daily committed by the Indians on our North Western frontier & to a great part of the expence of our armaments in that quarter. (My expression therefore was scrupulously exact that the detention of these posts is the cause of these murders and expences, and I thank you sincerely for the justice you have done me in not imagining a meaning as foreign from the direct import of the words, as from my mind in using them.)

(The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Edited by P. L. Ford, Vol. VI, p. 321.)

SPEECH OF COLONEL SIMCOE TO THE WESTERN INDIANS.

NAVY HALL, June 22nd, 1793.

Children and Brothers,

I have chearfully and readily to the utmost of my power complied with the request of Your General Council held at the Glaize the last autumn, and that of the Six Nations at Buffaloe Creek, who transmitted to me the wishes of the Indian Confederacy.

Children & Brothers,

In order to enable you to meet the United States in the ensuing Spring, you ask of me such assistance as I knew that you would stand in need of, particularly Provisions, "which your unsettled situation does not allow you to procure in your troubled country."

Children & Brothers,

I have in consequence given orders that you may be amply supplied with Provisions to enable you to prosecute so good a work, as the establishment of Peace in Your Country.

Children & Brothers,

My sentiments towards you are the same as have been expressed by Lord Dorchester who is the Great Chief of all the King your Father's People in British America, and I repeat to you what he said to the Deputies of your Nations, two summers ago at Quebec, "I leave the Command of this Country in the hands of Major General Clarke, who will take the same care of you, that I have done, for that is the will of the King our Master. His Benevolence & friendship for you are always the same, and whoever is the instrument of the King's power in this Country, will always fulfil his intentions." You see therefore it is the duty of Major General Clarke and it is my duty to show the most cordial friendship & regard for the Indian Americans.

Children & Brothers,

I received your Belt to lead me to the Council Fire at Sandusky, I answered to you, "that had the people of the United States concurred in the Invitation, I had but little doubt but the benevolence of the King Your Father would have permitted me to have gone into Your Country; But as the United States did not think proper to concur in the request, my presence at Sandusky could have answered no good purpose." But I have not been unmindful of Your Interest.

Children & Brothers,

You say, "We have a reliance on our Father seeing justice done us—He never deceives us and we have always found that we may confidently depend upon him."

You desire "that all Papers, Maps, Records & Treaties relating to the Indians may be brought to Sandusky," you say, "that not being in a situation to keep or procure any writing to assert our just claims, we rely on your friendship to produce those made at the Settlement of the Boundary between us and the King our Father and his people at that time for how otherwise can a just accomodation be accomplished?"

Children & Brothers,

You shew your wisdom, established on experience, when you say that your Father has never deceived you, and that you have always found that you may confidently depend upon him.

You may confidently depend upon the King Your Father; He will never deceive

you; and so strongly is the love of Truth impressed by his Example and Orders on all who are the delegates of his Power in this Country, that the youngest of our chief warriors would be degraded from that character was he capable of deceit or Falsehood.

When at Quebec two summers ago you told Lord Dorchester, the Great Chief of all the King Your Father's people in this Country "there are people who say the King your Father when he made Peace with the United States gave away your Land to them." What was his answer? He said, "I cannot think that the government of the United States would hold that Language, it must come from ill-informed Individuals."

Children & Brothers,

The truth of this answer of Lord Dorchester has been fully confirmed by Mr. Washington the President of the United States, and particularly by Mr. Pickering, one of the present Commissioners, who duly authorized by him formally addressed the following words to the Five Nations. "We claim no Lands but what belong to the Nations who sold to us; we claim not a foot of the Lands of any Nations, with whom we have yet held no Treaties." You see therefore that what has been told has been proved to be Just & true; The Documents Records & Treaties between the British Governors—in former times and your wise Forefathers, of which in consequence of your request authentic copies are now transmitted to you, all establish the Freedom & Independency of Your Nations.

Children & Brothers,

These authentic Papers will prove that no King of Great Britain ever claimed absolute power or Sovereignty over any of your Lands or Territories that were not fairly sold or bestowed by Your ancestors at Public Treaties. They will prove that your natural Independency has ever been preserved by your Predecessors, and will establish that the Rights resulting from such Independency have been reciprocally and constantly acknowledged in the Treaties between the Kings of France formerly possessors of parts of this Continent, and the Crown of Great Britain; and it will appear that when the War in this Continent arose between the French and Great Britain which terminated in the King Your Father's obtaining possession of Canada, that it commenced in consequence of the French nation invading the stipulations by which the Indian Americans were acknowledged to be Independent.

Children & Brothers,

I need not remind you that after the Peace of 1763 the King Your Father uniformly followed the Just conduct of his Predecessors to prevent all future encroachments. The Treaty of Fort Stanwix was by his direction made with the several Indian Nations by that wise and Good Man, your late Superintendant General Sir William Johnson, at your request I transmit you the Boundary then agreed upon, as it was traced by his own hands.

You see therefore that no Interpretation of the Boundary Line as settled between the King Your Father & the United States, can have the shadow of pretext to consider your Independency as injured, or that your Territories were bargained away as the price of peace.

Children & Brothers,

You have been told by Lord Dorchester "that the King's rights with respect to Your Territory were against the Nations of Europe," these he resigned to the States.

The chief rights which the King Your Father resigned were the power of establishing British Colonies beyond the Line of Separation agreed on in the Treaty,

should your nations be ever disposed to sell or bestow upon him Lands for that purpose. This Power by the Treaty he totally restricted himself from Exercising.

Children & Brothers,

I have directed your Superintendants as you desired to attend your Council, and to aid you in whatever matters you shall require their assistance.

Children & Brothers,

In order to facilitate the work of Peace between you & the United States, I have directed the officers of the King's Ships to assist their Commissioners in their passage to Sandusky and I have afforded them every convenience in my power to exemplify this true desire that I have to contribute to so desirable a purpose as the general Tranquility.

Children & Brothers,

I most heartily pray the Almighty Being, the common Father of all Mankind, to give Wisdom & Union to your Councils, and I most fervently hope that Peace may be established on such just and permanent Foundations as may be for the common Interests and general Benefit of all the People on this Continent.

J. G. SIMCOE,

Lt. Govr. of Upper Canada.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO JOHN BUTLER AND ALEXANDER McKEE.

NAVY HALL, June 22nd, 1793.

Gentlemen,

In compliance with the wishes of the Indian American Nations, over whom you have for so many years exercised the office of Deputy Superintendents with so much zeal in the service of your King and Country, and so much honor to yourselves, I hereby direct and authorize you to attend at the meeting proposed to be held between these Nations and the United States of North America at Lower Sandusky.

The Government of the United States, to whom the desire of the Indian Americans has been communicated, that you should be present at the proposed meeting at Lower Sandusky, has acquiesced in the propriety of the Requisition; which acquiescence effectually protects you from the imputation of being Intruders, or of being actuated by any unfair or improper motives in giving your attendance.

My speeches to the Indian American Nations will have clearly explained to you that You are not to consider yourselves in the Light of *Mediators* between the contending parties. The Duty of your Mission is solely in answer to the Request of the Indian Americans to explain to those Nations faithfully the nature and tendency of the offers of the United States, to illustrate the Treaties, Documents, & Maps herewith transmitted, and to exert your Ascendancy over the Indians in inclining them to accede to those offers, if they be consistent with their safety, and benefit, or to reject them if they seem likely to prove injurious to their real Interests.

In the exercise of this great & important trust, I hope it is needless to recommend to you the utmost caution and circumspection. You must be aware that you will be narrowly watched, and in proportion as the offers of the Commissioners

of the United States may be unreasonable or unavailing, they will be solicitous to discover anything in your Language or Conduct that may impress the People of the States with the belief that it is not the Injustice of the Federal Government or the obstinacy of the American Indians but the Interposition of the British Agents which has prevented the Restoration of Peace.

I recommend therefore, Gentlemen, that your Conduct be not only circumspect in general, that your advice be given as has been usual in your Department privately to some of the Chieftains, or that your Disapprobation, if it shall be *necessary* to have a general meeting, be expressed rather by silence, if that may be effectual, than by words; but that you in general shelter yourselves from all intercourse with the Commissioners of the United States by some ceremonious system, and I presume this may easily be done, after some general Civilities, by declining any further meeting, on the reasonable grounds, that the Indians may be jealous, and by entrusting any business that may happen to arise between you and the Commissioners to Lieut. Selby or Captain Bunbury who at the request of those Gentlemen with Lieutenant Givens accompany them to the Council—But in thus wishing to guard you against any communications with the Commissioners that may lead to unnecessary discussions, or that may give any cause for that misrepresentation which I am persuaded it is fit you should avoid with the utmost caution, I am anxious that you shew to these Gentlemen every civility that may be in your power, and manifest upon all occasions that kindness & Urbanity, which it is with great pleasure, I have experienced to be natural to your Tempers and Inclinations.

But above all, tho' I am not inclined to believe Rumours, nor do I know from the Commissioners what may be the Ultimatum of their offers; I most earnestly entreat and recommend by everything that can be estimable to men of your Characters, and who are vested with so solemn a trust, that in case the Indian Americans should refuse the offers of the Commissioners & the Congress should break up with mutual dissatisfaction (that you prevent and if possible foresee) any injury or insult that might be offered to the persons of the Commissioners; and that you exert all your power and influence to this effect in a far greater degree than you would do, should I have been at the Council, for my personal Protection & safety.

The Commissioners from what they have learned, have expressed Apprehensions on this Subject, and I am sure, I need not dilate with what horror, any sinister event that should happen to these Gentlemen would be received by the Commander in Chief, Lord Dorchester, the British nation, or our most excellent Sovereign.

It will give me the most entire satisfaction to learn that such principles of moderation and Justice shall prevail between the contending Parties, as that a safe & solid Peace may be established among them, and that the Indian Americans may in all events be sensible of the Bounty of the King their Father, and remain inviolably attached to his Subjects and Government.

I am, Gentlemen, with great Regard,

your most obedient and very faithful servant

J. G. SIMCOE,

Lt. Governor of Upper Canada.

John Butler & Alexander McKee, Esqrs.

Endorsed:—In General Clarke's to Mr. Dundas No. 88. 11.

FROM ALURED CLARKE TO J. G. SIMCOE.

QUEBEC, 24 June, 1793.

Sir,

I have received your Excellency's very interesting letter of the 31st May & am much gratified & highly obliged by the circumstantial and satisfactory detail of the relative situation of Upper Canada, the state of its fortresses & the proposed modes of communication and defence therein contained.

Your Excellency will herewith receive Copy of my letter of the 2nd of February to Mr. Dundas inclosing yours of the 25th November relative to the equipment of a Naval Force at Presqu' Isle by the United States, by which you will perceive I have requested particular orders relative to the Navigation of the Lakes by the Subjects of the American States, and which I consider to involve the question on which you have now desired Instructions, Vizt. "What must be the conduct of the Commanders of the King's Garrisons of Niagara, Oswego, or Detroit in case any of the Vessels of the United States attempt to pass up the River by & within reach of the Forts?" The subject being thus under the consideration of the King's Ministers and having already stated my opinion that any other Instructions than those given by Lord Dorchester and approved at home might be deemed improper, I feel it a matter of duty and necessity to defer giving any precise orders on this head, not doubting that a speedy answer to my letter will relieve us both from our present anxiety, and trusting at the same time that the event anticipated will not happen, should it however unfortunately take place, much must depend upon discretion guided by the circumstances of the moment & should any thing appear threatening hostility, or that might in the most distant degree endanger the security of the King's Posts, I can have no hesitation to say that if after being warned to withdraw, they should persevere in a contrary conduct, compulsory measures should be adopted to force a compliance.

In hourly expectation of Lord Dorchester's arrival and considering the restrictions under which I am placed with regard to Military Works & Fortifications, I do not feel myself authorized to incur expense on account of the Works proposed to be established in Upper Canada. As however you consider it your Civil duty immediately to occupy the Harbour of Toronto (now York) and fortify the same in such manner as you think is indispensable for the protection of the Province, I shall with pleasure afford Your Excellency every aid that the State of the King's Stores here will admit, and shall direct that you be furnished with the heavy Guns requested, as soon as I am favored with the number you may think necessary, together with the particular Calibre thereof, and agreeable to your desire shall by the earliest opportunity communicate your Ideas & intentions to His Majesty's Ministers.

With regard to the Howitzers there must be some difficulty as we have not many of that Species of Ordnance, & not one of the size you mention, but I will enquire from Lieutenant Colonel Walker how far Carronades may be made to answer the purpose, if you should like to have them; and on being made acquainted with your wishes will give the necessary directions thereupon.

I am also to acknowledge Your Excellency's letter of the 4th June, stating the principles on which you have ordered the repairs to Butler's Barracks: and tho' perfectly satisfactory to my mind I feel myself obliged under the existing orders and restrictions, to request that the expenses incurred on that account may be defrayed by you as you proposed, and this I more readily do from your statement

that you have no objection to including them in your public account: another motive by which I am actuated, is that altho' it is considered a military building and in the addition and repairs attention has been had to future military accomodations, yet as the particular service for which the expense is incurred is stated expressly to be for legislative purposes, I conceive it will come more properly under the head of disbursements made on account of the civil expenditure of the Province. Mr. Pilkington having transmitted accounts, including expenses incurred for the service, with others formerly authorized by me and having drawn bills for the whole amount, I shall direct them to be duly honored, taking care that separate accounts be kept, in order that the same may be replaced. I am also to request Your Excellency would direct the Storekeeper at Niagara not to include in his accounts the cost of the materials purchased for these repairs: should he however have done it, and drawn for the money, his bill or accounts will also be paid, but in that case, I pray you to order him to send down as soon as possible, distinct statements of the articles purchased, and amount paid for this service.

I am with sincere regard,

ALURED CLARKE.

His Excy Lt. Govr. Simcoe.

INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. SHEEHAN AND MR. JOHNSON, INDIAN INTERPRETERS AT THE APPROACHING TREATY AT SANDUSKY.

It is His Excy. Colonel Simcoe's Orders, that as Colonel Butler, Deputy Superintendent, is prevented, owing to indisposition, from attending the Treaty at Sandusky, that you immediately give an exact account of the stores and rum belonging to the Indian Department which you brought from Niagara, and that you do not issue any one article without previously making application to Col. McKee, and receiving his sanction for so doing, in such a mode as he shall be pleased to approve. In all points whatsoever, you are to be guided and directed by Colonel McKee, who is invested as His Majesty's Superintendent for Indian Affairs, with all such civil and military authority as may be necessary to fulfill the object of his important trust, and is solely responsible for the due execution of the same.

The union of the Indian Nations being the great object of your being sent to Sandusky, I am directed to add that H. Excy the Lieut. Governor having the greatest reliance on your loyalty, duty, and prudence, makes no doubt, but that you will exert all your influence to encourage and cement the same, and to dispose the Indian Nations under your guidance, to adopt such measures as Col. McKee shall from time to time direct as necessary for their common benefit and preservation.

By His Excellency's Command

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

Messrs. Sheehan¹ and Johnson.²

¹Walter Butler Sheehan, interpreter, clerk, and storekeeper in the Indian Department, was a nephew of Lt. Colonel John Butler. He was for some time Sheriff of the district of Niagara.

²William Johnston, an interpreter in the Indian Department at Niagara, was a son of Captain John Johnston, also for many years an officer in the same Department. His mother was an Indian woman, and he was considered by the Indians as one of themselves. He resided among the Senecas at Buffalo Creek and was the first white settler at that place. He died there in 1807, aged about forty-seven.

FROM JOHN ASKIN TO WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

DETROIT, June 24, 1793.

Dear Sir,

.....
 I have been uncommonly unlucky in my Returns from ye Indn Country this year & those who made many packs paid too much for them—Little news you may suppose in this Country. There is some Quakers & others now here waiting yet arrival of ye American Commissioners from Niagara to go with them to ye Indian Council to be held at Sandusky. My private Oppinion is that no Peace between the Americans and Indians will take place for Imprudently some American Troops are said to be advancing in ye mean time, if so I should not think the Commissioners safe, you know the disposition of Indians.

JOHN ASKIN.

William Robertson, Esq. London.

(Askin Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Vol. II, p. 148.)

FROM JAMES MONROE TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

ALBEMARLE, June 27, 1793.

(Extract.)

Tis possible G. B. might wish to keep us neutral: if such were her disposition it became her interest to cultivate our friendship by surrendering the posts, &c., whilst our conduct was in suspense that anxiety would be increased; but by this precipitate declaration¹ the point has been given up, and for what object? What do we gain by it? We committed no offence, untill we sho'd violate the laws of neutrality, and no power could compel us to say what part we would take in the controversy, by holding aloof on that head nor could be dissatisfied except France in case she sho'd claim the guarantee—Declarations of neutrality I believe generally succeed applications for them, or the contrary course. Had France applied for our aid, or had Britain that we wo'd not aid her, then in either case, such notification wo'd have been regular. But a declaration like ours is I suspect without precedent. It loses the merit of having not refused France, or of accomodating Britain. It gives us no claim upon either court. France indeed it outrages, for it denies her claim of guarantee, or yielding it up, the merit of concession. And Britain it assures of an accomodation where she may wish it, without even the trouble of asking for it.

I have but little hope of a fortunate issue from the negotiation in Spain. And with Britain my expectation is on the same level, for our conduct to her since the adoption of the present gov't, as more fully shewn by the present declaration of neutrality, and the acceptance of her patronage (for such I presume to be the case by our comrs. taking the rout of Niagara) to obtain our peace with the Indians,

¹Of neutrality in the war between France and Great Britain.

must convince them of our subservience to their views, or how extremely impotent and contemptible we are. We forced that nation to abandon those very Indians in her treaty with us, and now when opposed to them alone, divided too on their part, and strengthened on ours by alliances with several tribes, we accept, if not solicit her aid to make our peace with those whom they had sacrificed. Either this nation must be among the most unprincipled, or she will endeavour to compensate her allies at our expense. To expect the contrary, unless we have the fullest assurance of her perfidy must shew the weakness of our councils. I trust our humiliation has attained its lowest point, when we are capable of placing ourselves in a situation so degrading & shameful.....

(Printed in the "Writings of James Monroe," edited by S. L. Hamilton, Vol. I, pp. 262-3, 266-7.)

FROM D. W. SMITH TO JOHN ASKIN.

NIAGARA, 28 June, 93.

My dear Sir,

I was long flattered with the Hope of seeing you. I was disappointed, particularly as you complain of your Health.

Do send my account—I asked 2 or 3 for the petition against the Contract—It was not then delivered, I understand it now is—& if I have interest enough you shall have particulars—I have not seen your advertisement—We have made no law to free the slaves—all those who have been brought into the Province or purchased under any authority legally exercised, are slaves to all intents & purposes, & are secured as property by a certain act of Parliament—they are determined, however, to have an act about slaves—part of which, I think, is well enough—part most iniquitous—I wash my hands of it—a free man who is married to a slave—his heir is declared by this act to be a slave—bye—bye—The Laws of God & Man cannot authorize it.

I am in hopes the Militia Bill will please you—As Mr. McKee, I understand, intends you for a field officer.

A Marriage Bill—A Wolf Bill—A Parish Officers Bill—A Common Pleas Bill—& some others have gone thro' the House.

God Bless you, I am completely hurried, but at all times,

Yours most faithfully,

D. W. SMITH.

John Askin, Esquire, Detroit.

(Askin Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Vol II, p. 150).

FROM R. G. ENGLAND TO J. G. SIMCOE.

DETROIT, June 27th, 1793.

Sir,—

I had the honor of writing to you yesterday by the *Unmore*. The Chippawa that arrived at 12 o'clock last night brought me a letter from Lieut. Pilkington, the purport of which shall be fully attended to after the two decayed angle platforms in Fort Lernoult¹ are put in a serviceable state, which is indispensably necessary, as they are dismantled and perfectly rotten. But should even this not meet with your approbation, I will desist on receiving your orders.

I late last night received a letter from Colonel McKee, a copy of which I have the honor to enclose you, as this letter was forwarded to me by some Canadians that came from the Indian country, and who were acquainted with the reports propagated there. The movements of the Armies belonging to the United States have spread a general alarm here, particularly among the Quakers who are very anxious for orders from the Commissioners. I have assured them of every protection here, but forbade them to think of proceeding till they hear further. The Ottawa sails immediately for Fort Erie prepared to receive Indian Corn in any manner that is considered most eligible. The Chippawa shall lose no time in unloading and shall immediately after proceed to Fort Erie, before she sails it is probable I shall again hear from Colonel McKee. Your Excellency will perceive by the communication necessary at this period to be preserved, that it is highly requisite to have one of the King's vessels always here ready to sail with any intelligence.

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant.

R. G. ENGLAND.

Lieut. Col. Commg.

Every care shall be taken of the materials prepared for the repairs you directed, till I am again honored with your commands.

R. E.

FROM ALEXANDER MCKEE TO J. G. SIMCOE.

FOOT OF THE RAPIDS, MIAMIS, June 29th, 1793.

Sir,

Since my letters to Your Excellency of the 11th & 12th Instant, large parties of different Nations of Indians have collected at this Place, those from *distant quarters* being nearly 1000.

The Chiefs of the different Nations have expressed an anxious desire to send a Deputation to Niagara in order to have some explanation from the Commissioners concerning the extent of their Authority, and also to conduct them to Sandusky, should there be no impediment that should render this Meeting nugatory. It is on this account that I have taken the Liberty of detaining Lieut. Selby, that he may accompany them, and give Your Excellency the latest intelligence of the

¹The fort at Detroit, built by Captain R. B. Lernoult in 1779 when he was commandant, and named in his honor.

transactions of this place—I had some thoughts of detaining this vessel which called here for the purpose of forwarding the Deputies, but Lt. Colonel England has mentioned to me Your Excellency's anxiety for the return of the Chippewa, I have therefore given her all possible dispatch & shall send an Express to Colonel England this day to request that the Felicity or any other vessel may be sent with as much dispatch as possible to bring some Provisions and carry them down.

I foresee that the great consumption of Provisions required for the treaty will be at this place, on account of the great delay in the meeting of the Indians, and their remaining so long on this Ground. I hope however that the original requisition added to what has been already received may answer the demand; Your Excellency may be assured at least that no unnecessary expenditure shall be made by

Your Excellency's most Obedient and most faithful servant

A. McKEE.

Indians from the Glaize this day still report and it is generally credited that the Army of the United States have a large encampment near Fort Jefferson. I shall be more particularly informed in a few days.

Endorsed:—In General Clarke's to Mr. Dundas, No. 88. 8.

His Excellency Lt. Governor Simcoe.

FROM THOMAS DUGGAN TO ALEXANDER McKEE.

DETROIT, 28th June, 1793.

Dear Sir,

I expected by this opportunity to send you some European News but since the last You received no Vessel arrived from Fort Erie. We hourly look out for one, if she brings any thing worth mentioning, You shall be duly apprised therewith; Lord Dorchester is coming out, it is said, accompanied by Sir John Johnson, that a third Province is to take place between this River and the Ohio, Sir John to be Governor of it, if any such thing should be on foot You must have better Knowledge of it I should think than any person here.

I wish you health and am, &c

THOMAS DUGGAN.

Colo. McKee.

FROM R. G. ENGLAND TO ALEXANDER McKEE.

DETROIT, June 29th, 1793.

Sir,

I did myself the pleasure of writing to you on the 27th inst. by Express since when no time has been lost in unloading the Felicity, who brought all her corn in bulk. She is now laden with the Pork, Flour, and Peas required by you, in your last letter, and has only one hundred and thirty bags of corn, and is so full that she cannot take more in.

Lieut. Flemming who commands the *Felicity*, has orders to proceed with all expedition to the Island at the mouth of the Miamis River, to land some Indians that he brought from the Grand River, and to send this letter Express by one of them to you, and to wait at anchor till he receives orders from you. Should it be convenient for you to send the Provisions to Sandusky in your own Boats, as you mentioned in your former letter, you will send back immediately the *Felicity* for a fresh loading, and she can return either to the mouth of the Miamis, or to Sandusky, as you may judge most convenient and you will send by her, your requisition for the quantity of provisions that you think you will want on her return.

I already mentioned to you, that I submitted to His Excellency the Lieut. Governor the propriety of sending the Provisions from Fort Erie, or from this Post, but not having since heard from him, am at a loss which mode he will adopt, had I earlier known your objections to their being sent from Fort Erie, I would have concluded to have them sent from here, without any reference to His Excellency, I am however in hopes that every arrangement will succeed to your wishes at least, every endeavour of mine shall be exerted to that purpose. If I had a larger Vessel here, the quantity of corn required by you, should be now sent, but I am left without a single King's vessel, which circumstance obliges me to request, that the *Felicity* should return with all convenient expedition. I trust you received my letter by Captain Harrow in the Chippawa, and also that sent by an Indian the 27th inst. (Express) and shall be glad to hear from you by Express, if any delay should prevent the *Felicity's* immediate return. And you will be pleased to inform me when you think the Quakers and other People belonging to the United States, who are here, should be sent to attend the Council. Should your Boats not be sufficient to take all the Provisions the *Felicity* will now carry, in one trip to Sandusky, the remainder may be landed on the Island if you approve of it, under some protection, which would expedite the return of the *Felicity*, and consequently secure to you an immediate reinforcement.

I am Sir, with great Regard,

Your very obedient and very humble servant.

R. G. ENGLAND.

P.S. I use every means in my Power and take much pain to prevent any Rum getting to your neighbourhood, and yet much fear that I have not succeeded.

R.E.

FROM THOMAS TALBOT TO ALEXANDER McKEE.

MIAMIS BAY, June 30th, 1793.

Dear Sir,

I have the honor to acquaint you that when I set out from Navy Hall the Commissioners at that time had not fixt upon any time for proceeding to the Council, they had dispatcht an express to Philadelphia which I suppose you have been informed of and whose return they daily expected, they had signified a wish to the Governor to go to Detroit to remain untill the Indians were ready to Treat—but which circumstance the Governor did not think proper to comply with, but gave

them permission to encamp on the North Side of the Mouth of the River Detroit if they wished it—this Messenger returned the Evening before I sailed from Fort Erie but what answer I know not. Captain Cowen has not got any Provisions, there not having been any when He saild in the Store at Fort Erie.

There is about 20 Oneida Indians on board who are sent by the Commissioners I should imagine, they wanted to proceed with the other Indians of Buffaloe creek, to the Rapids which measure Colonel Butler and I did not think prudent to allow.

I have the honor to be, &c.

THOMAS TALBOT.

A. McKee, Esqr.
&c., &c., &c.

FROM ALEXANDER MCKEE TO J. G. SIMCOE.

Private.

FOOT OF THE RAPIDS, MIAMIS, July 1st, 1793.

Sir,

The Deputies who accompany this are duly Authorized on behalf of the General Indian Confederacy to speak to the Commissioners of the United States in the presence of Your Excellency. they see with concern large bodies of the Troops of the United States still carrying on Establishments in their Country even as far as Fort Jefferson: the demolition of which together with all the Forts on this side of the Ohio, and that River for a boundary forever between the contending Parties were the preliminaries on which the Confederacy consented to meet Commissioners in order to effect a general and cordial pacification.

From the general Union of Sentiment throughout all the Nations it appears evident to me, that the Indians have made a resolution not to make peace on any other terms, and should the Commissioners come to Sandusky without being fully authorized to conclude a treaty agreeable to the tenor of their Message sent last fall I venture to assure Your Excellency that no good will result from it, and I feel it my duty to express my fears that it may irritate and inflame some of the Nations to violence—which neither advice nor the fear of consequences will be able to restrain.

Mr. Talbot is just arrived with Your Excellency's dispatches which I have no opportunity at present to answer as the Deputies are just ready to go down to the Vessel, and the importance of their Mission requires all possible dispatch.

I have the honor to be with great respect,

Your Excellency's Faithful and most obedient Servant

A. MCKEE.

His Excellency Lt. Governor Simcoe.

Endorsed:—In General Clarke's to Mr. Dundas No 88. 9.

FROM JOSEPH CHEW TO ALEXANDER McKEE.

MONTREAL, 3d July, 1793.

My Dear Sir,

Long before this I was in hopes of being able to give you a Particular Account of Sir John's intentions, as he gave me room to expect when his letter was dated the 6th of March, that he should be able in a little time to do it, we are informed the May Packet is arrived at Halifax, when the mail by her for this place arrives, I hope I may have it in my Power to give you every information respecting him and his family.

I am very impatient to hear what determination the indians have come to in their Councils at Miami, where Captain Elliott in his letter of the 15th of June says you were, and that they were assembling and if they wait there until the indians of Lower Canada arrive, who have been slow in their motions, it will be sometime before they can get to San Dusky & it will be late before any thing of consequence is done, indeed we have heard that the Americans mean to insist on having the Country, but say they are willing to pay something more for it, I cannot tell you where this report originated indeed it has been said they only wish to gain time until their Army is complete, I wrote you by my son William when I sent you the instructions given by Genl. Knox to General St. Clair, he took the Extracts of the Indian Records to Governor Simcoe, and I desired him if you was at Sandusky, and the Governor thought proper that he should go to you for him to do it, but as the commencing of the Treaty was not likely to take place and Mr. Clarke tells me he is informed from Detroit that only you and Colonel Butler were to be at it, as British Officers, it is probable he might be considered as one, being a half pay Ensign, and no objection be made to his going. I find you have a number of Quakers at Detroit, what good can they do, I wish the steps which I suspect will be persued by all subjects of the States of whatever Denomination, may not cajole and put some of us of our Guard, divide the indians, and do infinite mischief to their cause and interest.

I have constantly sent you the Quebec papers but have not heard whether you receive them, I now send those that have come to hand since my son William left us, by which you will see that matters are very materially altered in France, and it is to be hoped, indeed expected, those assassins & murderers will soon meet that punishment they so justly merit, if Captain Brant is with you when this gets to hand, give my most sincere regard to him, and be assured that I am my Dear Sir,

Your faithful friend, &c.,

JOSEPH CHEW.

I have a letter from Captain La Mothe¹ from Detroit with a return of the Indian goods agreeable to a Survey which he received from Gautier, I shall be happy if I can be of any service to him.

Colo. Alexr. McKee.

(Endorsed:—Joseph Chew, Esq, July 3d. 1793. Recvd. Aug. 2d.)

¹Captain Guillaume La Mothe, an interpreter in the Indian Department, who had been instructed to relieve Charles Gautier at Michilimackinac.

FROM RICHARD PORTER TO E. B. LITTLEHALES.

KINGSTON, July 5th, 1793.

Sir,—

Monsieur Lorimier who favors this will inform you that himself, Messieurs Lamotte and De Estimauville arrived here on the evening of the 2nd inst. with 280 Indians of different nations intending to join the Grand Council. The two former gentlemen are with the party. Mons. De E. returned to Montreal this morning. Monsieur Lorimier requested I would signify it to you that if vessels are in readiness at Fort Erie, they would esteem it a favor would the Governor be pleased to pass them on without delay—as for some political reason existing among themselves they would wish to decline intermixing or having any conversation with the Six Nation Indians.

I am, Sir, with all respect,

Yours &c.

RICHARD PORTER,

Capt. 60th Regiment Commanding.

Major of Brigade Littlehales, &c.

FROM ALURED CLARKE TO J. G. SIMCOE.

July 8, 1793.

Sir,

I have received your letter of the 17 June last, and observe the opinion given by Captain Markham of the Royal Navy, relative to the large vessel condemned at Kingston, which I shall communicate to Lord Dorchester, whose arrival is looked for.

The report you enclosed of the guns at Carleton Island has been submitted to the consideration of Lieut. Col. Walker of the Royal Artillery, who declines the putting in use Ordnance which has been so long looked upon as unserviceable, lest some accident might be the result of their being employed. However, if you are, upon further consideration of this matter, still desirous of having some of them removed for the purpose you mentioned, I do acquiesce in your ordering it to be done.

I must here take notice that I am persuaded Captain Porter's motives were good, for ordering the rotten gun carriages to be destroyed, and the iron brought into store, yet this step was rather premature, as it would have been more regular and conformable to the Board of Ordnance, to have applied for a survey, and their destruction delayed till orders were sent him for that purpose.

I am, &c.

ALURED CLARKE.

Lt. Govr. Simcoe.

MINUTES OF A COUNCIL WITH THE INDIANS.

Minutes of a Council assembled & holden at Free Mason's Hall, Niagara, Sunday the 7th of July, at the request of a Deputation of Indians from the Western Confederacy.

Present.

His Excellency Colonel Simcoe, Commanding the King's Troops in Upper Canada.

Major Smith, 5th Regiment, Commandant of the Garrison of Niagara.

Captain Shank, Queen's Rangers, Commanding at Queenston.

Captain Glasgow, Royal Artillery.

Major of Brigade Littlehales.

Lieutenant Talbot, 24th Regiment.

also

several Officers of the Troops and Departments, some of the members of the Executive & Legislative Council and House of Assembly, Magistrates & respectable Inhabitants of the Province, &c.

Captain Joseph Brandt & about fifty Indians.

Joseph Brandt spoke in the name of the Deputation.

Brothers,

It being agreed at the Rapids that we should come & meet the Commissioners in our Father's presence: We return thanks to the Great Spirit for seeing Your Excellency well this day.

Our intention & business is peaceable and our inclination is to do what is right & just. We are all of one mind & wished Your Excellency to be present.

A Belt of White Wampum delivered.

His Excellency in reply said, He was happy to see them well, and that as the Commissioners had expressed their wishes to meet the Indians in his presence he should be glad to hear what they had to say.

The Belt returned.

The Commissioners from the United States then entered the Hall & took their seats next to His Excellency, viz.—

General Lincoln.

General Randolph.

Colonel Pickering.

attended by their Secretary Mr. Storer & several Interpreters.

Joseph Brandt spoke,

With a wide Belt of White Wampum mixed with some Purple & several strings of White Wampum.

Brothers,

We have met to-day the English & Bostonians we are happy to see them together, and think it is by divine appointment.

Brothers of the United States,

We informed you the other day at Fort Erie, that we would at a future period acquaint you with the reasons why the Indians did not meet at the time & place appointed, their Reasons were, that the appearance of so many armed men, so far advanced into their country, was the cause of delay, and their uneasiness.

Brothers,

We have told you one reason & we now come down to ask you the Reason of those Warlike appearances on the part of the United States?

Brothers,

The Indians whom you see here now, are sent by the Great People who are assembled to the Westward, and who own all the country adjacent to and on this side of the Ohio—they are all of one mind & one man.

Brothers,

We have come to speak to you on this subject of warlike appearances, which has occasioned the delay of our meeting. We still look for a meeting. But we wish to know however, if you are authorized to establish a Boundary between us and the United States?

Brothers,

We wish you would deliberately think of what we say. We speak in the presence of God—if we are wronged the Good Spirit will assist us.

A Belt of Wampum & Strings of Wampum.

General Lincoln spoke in reply.

Brothers,

We have listened with attention to what you have observed, we will take it into our serious consideration, and give you an answer to-morrow.

Joseph Brandt spoke.

Brothers,

We thank you for the reply you have made that you will give us an answer to-morrow. So we cover up the Council Fire for the present.

Minutes of the Council continued.

FREE MASON'S HALL, Monday, July 8th, 1793.

Present

His Excellency Colonel Simcoe, &c., &c. and the Commissioners for the United States, &c.

Colonel Pickering, one of the Commissioners read the following Speech (with a large Belt & Strings of Wampum).

NIAGARA, July 8th, 1793.

The answer of the Commissioners of the United States to the speech delivered yesterday by Captain Brandt, in behalf of the Western Indians.

Brothers.

By the appointment of the Great Spirit we are again met together. We hope he will assist us, on both sides, to see & to do what is right. It gives us pleasure that this meeting is in the presence of our Brothers, the English.

Brothers.

Yesterday, according to your promise at Fort Erie, you told us the reason why the nations whom you represent, had delayed assembling at the time & place appointed for meeting us—"that it was because there was so much of the appearance of war in that quarter."

Brothers.

You requested an explanation of those warlike appearances.

Brothers.

You told us that the People whom we saw here were sent to represent the Indian nations who own the lands on the northern side of the Ohio, as their common property, and who are all of one mind and one heart.

Brothers.

You said you had two reasons for coming to speak to us here. One, that our

Warriors being in your neighbourhood had prevented your meeting at the appointed place; the other, to be informed whether we are properly authorised to run & establish a new Boundary line between the lands of United States & of the Indian nations. You added that you were still desirous of meeting us at the appointed place.

Brothers.

You desired we would deliberate well on this business. You declared that you spoke your sentiments in sincerity considering yourselves in the presence of God, from whom, in time of danger you expect assistance.

Brothers.

We have repeated your speech or we understood it from the interpretation. We hope that we have not mistaken your meaning.

Brothers.

Now listen to our answer, in behalf of the United States.

Brothers.

You have mentioned two objects of your coming to meet us at this place: One, to obtain an explanation of the warlike appearances on the part of the United States, on the northern side of the Ohio. The other, to learn whether we have authority to run & establish a new Boundary line between your lands & ours.

Brothers.

On the first point we cannot but express our extreme regret that any reports of warlike appearances, on the part of the United States, should have delayed our meeting together at Sandusky. The nature of the case irresistably forbids all apprehensions of hostile incursions into the Indian Country, North of the Ohio, during the Treaty at Sandusky.—

Brothers.

We were deputed by the Great Chief & the Great Council of the United States to treat with you of Peace; and is it possible that the same Great Chief & his great council could order their warriors to make fresh war, while we are sitting around the same fire with you, in order to make *peace*. Is it possible that our great Chief & his Council could act so deceitfully towards us, their Commissioners, as well as towards you?

Brothers.

We think it is not possible.—But we will quit argument and come to facts.

Brothers.

We assure you that our Great Chief, General Washington, has strictly forbidden all hostilities against you untill the event of the proposed treaty at Sandusky shall be known. Here is the Proclamation of his Head Warrior, General Wayne, to that effect—But, Brothers, our great Chief is so sincere in his professions for Peace & so desirous of preventing every thing which could obstruct the Treaty and prolong the war, that, besides giving those orders to his Head Warrior, he has informed the Governors of the several states adjoining the Ohio, of the proposed treaty to be held at Sandusky, and desired them to unite their power with his to prevent any hostile attempts against the Indians, north of the Ohio, untill the result of the Treaty is made known. Those Governors have accordingly issued their orders, strictly forbidding all such hostilities. The proclamations of the governor of Virginia & Pennsylvania we have here in our hands.

Brothers.

If after all these precautions of our great Chief, any hostilities should be committed north of the Ohio, they must proceed from a few disorderly people, whom no considerations of justice or public good can restrain. But we hope & believe that none such will be found.

Brothers.

After these explanations we hope you will possess your minds in peace; relying on the good faith of the United States that no injury is to be apprehended by you during the treaty.

Brothers.

We now come to the second point—whether we are properly authorised to run & establish a new boundary line between your lands & ours.

Brothers.

We answer explicitly that we have that authority—where this line should run will be the great subject of discussion between you & us at the treaty, and we sincerely hope & expect that it may then be fixed to the satisfaction of both parties. Doubtless some concessions must be made on both sides. In all disputes & quarrels, both parties usually take some wrong steps; so that it is only by mutual concessions that a true reconciliation can be effected.

Brothers.

We wish you to understand us clearly on this head, for we mean that all our proceedings should be marked with candor. We therefore repeat & say explicitly that some concessions will be necessary on your part, as well as on ours, in order to establish a just & permanent peace.

Brothers.

After this great point of the boundary shall be fully considered at the Treaty we shall know what concessions & stipulations it will be proper to make on the part of the United States, and we trust they will be such as the world will pronounce reasonable & just.

Brothers.

You have told us that you represent the nations of Indians, who own the lands north of the Ohio & whose chiefs are now assembled at the Rapids of the Miamie.

Brothers.

It would be a satisfaction to us to be informed of the names of those Nations, and of the numbers of the Chiefs of each so assembled.

Brothers.

We once more turn our eyes to your representation of the warlike appearances in your Country and, to give you complete satisfaction on this point, we now assure you that as soon as our councils at this place are ended, we will send a messenger on horseback to the Great Chief of the United States, to desire him to renew & strongly repeat his orders to his Head Warrior, not only to abstain from all hostilities against you; but to remain quietly at his posts, untill the event of the treaty shall be known.

B. LINCOLN.

—Commissioners.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

The above Speech & Belt of Wampum and Strings were then delivered to Captain Joseph Brandt.

The Indians communed among themselves. Cats-Eyes, a Shawanoe Chief arose & spoke.

Brothers,

Bostonians attend. We have heard your words & our Fathers the English have also heard them. We thank God, he has preserved you till now to bring our Pipes together. The People of the different Nations who have heard you this day salute you. They have rejoiced to hear your words, and that our Fathers the English have heard them. We shall for the present take up your Pipes, and return to our Camp, where we shall deliberately consider your Speech, and all that you have said to us—and we shall return you an answer to-morrow.

Joseph Brandt spoke.

Brothers,

We suppose you have nothing further to add; we shall take up your Speech and consider it, so as there is nothing else to be done this day we shall cover up the Council Fire.

Minutes of the Council continued (third meeting).

FREE MASON'S HALL, Tuesday, July 9th, 1793.

Present

His Excellency Colonel Simcoe, &c., &c. and the Commissioners of the United States, &c.

Joseph Brandt spoke,

And addressed himself to the English and Americans, he was glad the Great Spirit had preserved them all in Peace to meet this day.

A Belt of White Wampum & strings of White & Purple Wampum.

Brothers of the United States,

You yesterday made a reply to us the Deputies from the Great Men at the Miamis. You have replied to the two particulars—You may depend we understand Your Speech. We shall take this Belt and these Strings and repeat your Speech to the Great Men, who sit round the Council Fire at the Miamis.

Brothers,

We have something further to say, yet it is not much. We are but small—the Great People are at the Miamis—but tho' we are small, yet we have something to say.

From your Speech there is a prospect of our meeting. We are all of one mind and one heart. We are all Relations—and we hope whatever may be done may be lasting and binding. Our Prospects, Brothers, are the more encouraging as our minds are now all one—and we are now altogether as the Indians' Deputies.

Our first wishes in Land affairs were that all the nations of the Indian Confederacy should be together, it approaches now near to our wishes.

The Reasons why matters have not been properly transacted before, are because those whom you treated with were but few—only a small part of the Indian Confederacy, but now they are *all* about to assemble, business may be done, so we take you by the hand and conduct you to the meeting.

(The Belt delivered.)

Brothers,
This is all we have to say.

Brothers,

As you yesterday expressed your wishes to know the Nations, and their numbers, we cannot say exactly, but we know who were there when we came away, and they were increasing daily. He then delivered the names of the Several Nations & principal Men, as follows.

Five Nations.
Wyandots.
Shawanese.
Delawares.
Munsees.
Miamis.
Ottawas.
Chippewas.
Potawatamies.
Mingoes.
Cherokees.
Nantikokes.

General Lincoln spoke,

Brothers,

Our ears have been open to your Speech. It is agreeable to us, we are ready to take you by the hand, and attend you to the place of Treaty where I hope we shall be guided by the Great Spirit, and that there may be a termination to the present disputes on terms equally advantageous and satisfactory to all parties.

The ceremony of covering up the Council Fire was gone through & then the meeting broke up.

FROM JOHN ASKIN TO ISAAC TODD IN LONDON.

DETROIT, July 9, 1793.

My dear Sir,

.....
The only news in this Quarter is the Indians being assembled near Sandusky to treat with the American Commissioners, who have been long at Niagara & who, I really believe, will not come farther —or if they did that it would not answer any purpose, for what they want the Indians never will agree to—however I believe they would consent to a new line if the latter would let them have [it] near ye Miamis Town.

JOHN ASKIN.

(Askin Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Vol. II, p. 168.)

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

NAVY HALL, July 10, 1793.

Sir,

I do myself the honor of acquainting Your Excellency that on Friday last a Deputation from the American Indians assembled at the Miamis Rapids, arrived at Fort Erie, consisting of fifty Chiefs of the several Nations:—The Commissioners of the United States, not having sailed from Fort Erie owing to contrary winds, the Deputation waited upon and informed them that they would assemble at Niagara as soon as they conveniently could, and in my presence acquaint them of the object of their Mission, this the Commissioners with great readiness assented to, and the meeting was held on Sunday morning the 7th. The proceedings of which I have the honor to inclose to your Excellency: The Commissioners go this day to Fort Erie to embark in His Majesty's Schooner Dunmore, which as I have informed your Excellency is ordered to attend those Gentlemen to the place appointed for the Treaty.

I beg leave to add that the Seven Nations of Canada amounting to nearly 280 Indians arrived here from Kingston yesterday, under the Superintendence of Messrs Lorimier and La Motte: they will be forwarded with the utmost expedition to their Western Brethren with the Deputation who are also upon the eve of their departure to the westward.

It appears singular that the Canadian Indians are to proceed without any of the officers belonging to that branch of the Superintendent's Department to the meeting. Colonel Butler returned with the Deputation from the Miamis; and I do not understand that His Health will permit him to return thither.

I enclose for your Excellency's information the Copies of two Letters I have received from Colonel McKee.

Brandt seems inclined to give up some cultivated settlements on the North of the Ohio, and intimates the Shawanese to be of that opinion—nothing like this appears in Colonel McKee's letters, nor does Lt. Talbot who has returned hither, place such a construction upon the conversations he had in confidence with Colonel McKee.

It is remarkable that Colonel McKee told Mr. Talbot that he had been informed that Capt. Brandt in conversation with Colonel Butler said that "He was pledged to Congress to give it as his opinion to the Council that the Indian Nations should give up part of the territory on the Northern side of the Ohio."

Your Excellency will see therefore that there may be still a difference of opinion in the Indian Councils. I purpose to write strongly on this subject to Colonel McKee, and have endeavoured more strongly to fix upon Brandt's mind the necessity of that Union, which I trust in the result will be the safeguard of the Indian Nations, and highly beneficial to Great Britain.

I have the honor, &c.

J. GRAVES SIMCOE.

Major Genl Clarke.
Commander in Chief.

Number 13.

G. ROYAL ARMS. R.
UPPER CANADA GAZETTE
OR
AMERICAN ORACLE.

Volume 1.

Thursday, July 11th, 1793.
NIAGARA, July 11.

On Friday last his Majesty's snow Chippawa arrived at Fort Erie, from the Miamies River. Near fifty Indian Chiefs came passengers in this Vessel as a Deputation from the Confederated American Indians, to the Commissioners of the United States, (these Gentlemen as mentioned in our last paper, were detained at Fort Erie by contrary winds) the Indian Deputation soon afterwards came to Niagara, and on Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday last three several Councils were held in the presence of His Excellency, the Commissioners and the Officers of the Garrisons, &c., &c., &c.,—The result of which were that the Indian Deputation gave the Commissioners a Belt of Wampum to conduct them to the place of Treaty at Lower Sandusky.

On Tuesday last His Majesty's ship the Missassague arrived here from Kingston with near three hundred Indians of the Seven Nations of Canada, who are going to attend the Grand Council at lower Sandusky having we are informed received a Belt of Wampum last Winter from the General Indian Confederacy.

FROM CHARLES STEVENSON TO J. G. SIMCOE.

July 12th, 93.

Dear Simcoe,—

I have been very much with the Marquis of Bucks to whom I was referred by the Duke of Gloucester. I have generally had two or three hours conversation with him on our political consequence, on our military position, and on our commercial interests. I am in hopes of getting Mr. Hammond instructions to bring the Indian war to a conclusion by Great Britain taking a decided part and consequently procuring a new line of demarkation, of opening a commercial treaty with Spain and getting by it the actual navigation of the Mississippi and the possession of West Florida, as commerce can never travel the Apalachian Mountains to supply all the necessities of the Kentuckians.

They may find it convenient under our protection to enjoy the navigation of our River. I have shown the Marquis an authentic copy of the original Indian grant of the Genesee country and adjacent land, which he says is very clear and proves the Americans have no right to sell the same. We ought to remonstrate, America is not in a situation to act; she may bully. Spain must feel the necessity of repressing the Americans as they will otherwise make her tremble for her colonies.

Lord Buckingham assures me Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville and Mr. Dundas wish you would take more responsibility on yourself. They cannot enter into the detail of all your wants and they ever trust to their Governors *who may draw bills* on them for everything they want and may think necessary, that they will never object to them where a good reason can be given, that as to Lord Dorchester, he cannot interfere with you unless he comes into your Government, and that you

should not act as if in the subordinate character of a military man in your own Government, but in the independent one of Governor, that all the Departments in your Government are under your control, that consequently you must take responsibility on yourself and give such orders as you think necessary, carrying the same into execution, and transmit a copy of those orders to the Commander in Chief, who, if they are palpably wrong, will interfere, but not otherwise. 'Tis the general complaint of His Majesty's Ministers that you will not take enough of responsibility on yourself, that by not doing it you give them great trouble and subject yourself to frequent great inconvenience. They request you to act more from yourself and that you will meet with every support from them. They say a man in your situation must not expect to find himself without enemies, and that you ought to do all in your power to make your Government strong and respectable, that if you do not, on your return you will be attacked on what you have not done, and that you will have no ground to stand on without His Majesty's Ministers shall have refused you any pecuniary aid that you may have required.

The Marquis says you do not know the extent of your power and that consequently you are not aware of how much the public will require of you; that the Governor of Nova Scotia whose instructions are word for word the same as yours is as much independent of Lord Dorchester, when not in his Province, either in a military or civil capacity, as if he was not in existence, and acts as independently.

I wrote to Mr. Dundas about the transporting of the Newfoundland Settlers into U. Canada, but have not heard from him on that subject, and therefore when the Committee wanted me to propose terms on the part of Government I begged leave to declare it not being authorized.

I believe Government thought it would be expensive and that the people would most probably of their own will settle in Canada as being so near them. I see no opportunity of sending this off sometime as Lord Dorchester has made a demand for a large vessel to carry him out, the of 36 guns. I shall therefore write again when he has got his ship and can resolve on sailing. I remain your obliged and faithful friend.

CHARLES STEVENSON.

FROM THE INDIANS OF LOWER CANADA TO J. G. SIMCOE.

Recit d'un Conseil des Sauvages du Bas Canada adressé à son Excellence Jean Graves Simcoe Ecuier, Lieutenant Gouverneur de la Province du Haut Canada, et Colonel Commandant les Forces de sa Majesté dans la ditte Province. &c., &c. &c.

Mon Pere. Apres vous avoir salué avec les expressions les plus sinceres et respectieux que notre langue peut nous fournir nous commençons à vous prevenir, que nous frères, les six Nations, nous ont appelé à leurs assemblés avec les Ameriquains, ou ils ont resolu en notre presence de les prendre par la main, et les conduire au grand feu dans le bas de la rivière Sandoski.

Mon Pere. Nous vous prevenons que nous ne voulons avoir aucune connexion avec les gens des Colonies crainté de quelque entretien ou engagement; ayant des instructions particulieres de nos Villages de ne lever la tête qu'en votre presence, et a l'assemblée generale des Sauvages.

Mon Pere. Nous voyons avec peine que Lorimier est obligé de retourner dans nos Villages, ou nous le trouvons très necessaire pour nos Interets; mais comme

vous êtes tout puissant nous nous prions, de nous accorder un de vos Officiers digne de votre confiance pour nous conduire, et vous rendre compte de la façon que nous nous comporterons sous ses ordres.

Mon Pere. Nous vous prions d'observer que tous nos endroits de chasse sont presentement établis par vos sujets, et que par consequence nous n'avons d'autre ressource que l'agriculture pour faire subsister nos familles, et que notre absence ayant laissé nos femmes et nos enfants sans le moindre ressource (pour faire nos foins, si ce n'est de vous supplier d'avoir égard) a notre situation, et d'implorer pour nous notre Pere le General Clarke d'avoir pitie de notre pauvreté. Nous nous persuadons que le voyage que nous faisons, est autant pour le bien du service que pour l'Interêt general des Sauvages.

CHR. LORIMIER.

Interprete.

Niagara le 12 Juillet.
1793.

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF UPPER CANADA.

At the Council Chamber Navy Hall in the County of Lincoln July 13th, 1793

Present.

His Excellency John Graves Simcoe, Esqr.
Lieutenant Governor, &c., &c., &c.

The Hon'ble William Osgoode Chief Justice.

The Hon'ble Alexr. Grant.

The Hon'ble James Baby.

His Excellency laid before the Hon'ble Board a Resolution of the House of Assembly of the following Tenor.

State.

A—16.

House of Assembly, Tuesday, 9th July, 1793.

Resolved, that His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor be requested through the Speaker to grant a loan to this House for the purpose of paying the Salaries and contingent Expences thereof, which Salaries and contingent Expences shall respectively be certified under the Hand and Seal of the Speaker to His Majesty's Receiver General or other person appointed by His Excellency to issue such loan; the Speaker keeping minutes of every Certificate by him so vouched in order to submit the same to the consideration of the House in the next Session thereof.

Resolved that should the funds provided this session be insufficient to reimburse His Excellency in the amount of the said Loan that this House will be responsible to make provision during the next Session thereof, for making good this deficiency.

Ordered that the Speaker be desired to lay before this Board an Estimate of the Salaries and contingent Expences as voted by the House.

The Speaker produced the following Estimate of Salaries as granted by Vote of the House of Assembly to the Officers thereof—

	£.
Clerk 5/ per day for one Year.	91.5.
Chaplin per An.	25.—
Sergeant at Arms per An.	45.—
Door Keeper per An.	10.—
Stationery & other Contingent Expences.	20.—
	<hr/>
	£191.5.

J. McDONELL *Speaker.*

Resolved that the Receiver General be directed to issue a sum not exceeding a sum of one Hundred and Ninety one Pounds five Shillings conformably to the terms in the Resolution of the House of Assembly contained.

FROM R. DICKSON TO HON. ROB'T HAMILTON.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. R. Dickson, Merchant, to the Honorable Robt. Hamilton, Legislative Counsellor of the Province of Upper Canada, Dated Michilimackinac, July 14th, 1793—and communicated to His Excellency Lieutenant Governor Simcoe.

The Communication between Michillimackinac and the Mississippi is carried on by two different routes, the one by Chicago, at the bottom of Lake Michigan, the other by the Fox River and the Ouisconsin, the latter is preferred to the other, on account of the shortness of the carrying places. Canoes are generally used for the transport of goods, but Boats carrying fifty Barrels sometimes pass. As I have never passed by Chicago I shall give some account of the other route.

On leaving this place, the navigation of Lake Michigan is difficult for Canoes, on the North side, from the shoals in different places, extending near two Leagues, into the Lake untill the Traverse at the entrance of the Bay where the Lake deepens considerably and harbours are easily found, from this to the Traverse there are few Rivers of any magnitude, only two, but not capable of admitting Vessels, from the Bars of Sand which are continually shifting at their entrances.

The Land from this on the north side of the Lake till near La Bay, is poor and barren, covered with pine and cedar, but gradually improves on approaching that place where the soil is excellent and everything in great forwardness at an early season. There have been long settled some Canadians who sow but little grain, they have about 100 head of Horned Cattle and a number of Horses which run wild in the woods most part of the year, altho' every one on his Road to the Mississippi passes La Bay, and would mostly wish to purchase Corn, Flour, Butter, or fresh Provisions. Yet such is the indolence of the People settled there that we pay half a Dollar for a Quart of milk, and this at all times not to be had. I am convinced were two or three able Farmers settled there that in a short time they would gain a great deal of money.

At La Bay the Fox River falls into the Lake which for three Leagues is of a considerable breadth, where it narrows, the Rapids begin and continue untill the

entrance of Lake Puant¹, which is twelve Leagues from La Bay—There is a fall of ten feet high and Consequently a Carrying Place of three quarters of a mile, however a Canal might easily be cut as the Land is low, and with little work or expence, the navigation of this part of the River might be much facilitated. From Lake Puant untill the Carrying Place of the Ouisconsing there are no Rapids, the River runs a winding course thro' a fine rich black soil, it is in general a level Country, but in some places rises into small Hills, the fronts of which are clear, but the back parts covered with stately groves of Beech and Maple—The Indians on this River raise Indian Corn, Squashes, Potatoes, Melons & Cucumbers, in great abundance, and very well flavoured Tobacco—but in small quantities, from the quantity of Hay that could be made on this River, and the mildness of the Winter, I should think no Country in the world better adapted to the raising of Cattle. On the low Lands near the River, vast quantities of wild oats grow, of which the Indians take what they want for their own use but quantities might be made to subsist great numbers of people—from the nature of the Country in this River as well as on the Banks of the Ouisconsing I think the culture of Hemp might be introduced with success, the communication with the Sea, altho' distant, is easy, and the produce of this Country might be carried in large Boats to New Orleans with few hands. The Carrying Place between the Fox River and Ouisconsing might be easily obviated by a Canal which is almost already formed in the Spring when the Rivers are high Canoes pass without unloading—in the middle of the Carrying Place one sees the separation of the Currant, one part of which Falls into the Gulph of St. Lawrence, the other into that of Mexico. The banks of the Ouisconsing are higher than those of the Fox River and the soil good—Meadows of a great extent are seen from the River at intervals—The trees are lofty in the numerous islands of this River—The Bed of the River is of a red sand, that of the Fox River is of a slimy substance; The Water of the Ouisconsing is hard and more heavy than that of the Fox River, which is esteemed the lightest and most wholesome in the Country—The distance from the Portage to the Mississippi is sixty Leagues—the current runs at the rate of four miles an hour—it is in general about three quarters of a mile broad and in some place near a League—About two Leagues from where the Ouisconsing falls into the Mississippi is a meadow of about three Leagues long and a half broad called the Prairie du Chien, here are a good number of families settled, they have lately got Cattle from the Illinois and begin to raise Wheat—This place is the general Rendezvous of the Traders and Indians in the fall & spring. From this to the Falls of St. Anthony—The Country is fertile but almost unfrequented by Indians on account of the frequent War Parties that infest this Part of the Country. Of the numerous Rivers that fall into the Mississippi, betwixt La Prairie du Chien and the falls, the River St. Peter is one of the longest and of most consequence from the number of Indians that frequent its banks—For a particular description of these Indians I defer to a future opportunity—The River St. Peter is 200 Leagues long, and almost of an equal breadth from its entrance to its source—it takes its rise from a Mountain that traverses the Country to the Missouris, about forty Leagues from its entrance begin the vast plains, the extent of which have not as yet been discovered. In these Plains feed vast droves of Buffalo and Elk which the Indians continually follow—from the head of St. Peter's is a carrying place of two miles into a River which communicates with Red River on which the North West Company have Forts, but these are a good way down, another route to get into the North West is by the upper part of the Mississippi, where

¹Lake Winnebago.

there are two carrying places only, and where a small River falls into the Red River—the only difficulty attending this communication is owing to the long, inveterate war that has been carried on betwixt the Sioux and Sautaux Indians, that inhabit that part of the Country, was this once put a stop to, the trade would be advantageous and easy.

On taking a view of the Mississippi from New Orleans to its source from the excellence of its soil and variety of its productions, It may certainly be compared with any River in the World—The Inhabitants on its Banks for 100 Leagues above New Orleans are in general rich and in a thriving way. They raise excellent Cotton and Indigo, which also succeed at the Illinois—but the rigour and despotism of the Spanish Nation are sufficient Bars to industry in any nation, much more to a people naturally inclined to ease and indolence—The Spirit of Democracy is making its way fast in that quarter, and will most probably shortly shew itself in violent proceedings. The Inhabitants of the Illinois have long wished to be under the Protection of the British Government, when the Affair of Nootka Sound was in Agitation and War expected with Spain—The Inhabitants were in the highest spirits wishing to see a British Officer to put him in possession of the Fort. This is what they still anxiously wish for. The Force of the Spaniards at New Orleans consists of four Battalions of 500 men each, but never compleat, of these detachments are sent to the different Posts on the Mississippi—They are badly disciplined, fed, and clothed—and are mostly composed of recruits from Mexico—About 50 men compose the Garrison at the Illinois—but there are shortly expected there a reinforcement of 400 men. A kind of Military Artificers, such as the Duke of Richmond proposed in England. A new Fort is building there. They seem to be affraid of the Americans, who are encreasing fast in that Quarter—The Trade of the Missouri was last year laid open to the Inhabitants on the Spanish side, before that the Posts were farmed out by the Spanish Commandant. But now it is entirely shut, owing to the bad behaviour of the Indians, whom they wish to punish by retaining their usual supplies. This always succeeds, and the Indians are obliged to make satisfaction to the Spaniards for any injury sustained. The Spanish method of treating Indians has certainly the desired effect, with a handfull of almost undisciplined Troops, they awe the numerous Nations around them, this proceeds from their never forgiving an insult. If an Indian steals a Horse, and makes his escape, the first of the same Nation is confined untill restitution or satisfaction is made, numbers have perished in confinement, at present very few insults are offered the Spaniards by them. The Americans have last year built a Court House and Prison at Kahokias opposite to Pencour,¹ the Spanish Fort, within these few years they have increased greatly in that Quarter, and by their superior industry sell more of their produce than the French Settlers opposite, but their most flourishing settlement is Kentucky, where everything is sold at a much cheaper rate—Tobacco well flavoured equal to that of Virginia 112 lbs from 3 to 4 dollars—fine flour in Casks from 1 to 1½—Salt made in the Country 1 pr. Bushel. Buffaloe Meat salted pr. cwt. 2 dollars. Pork or Bacon from 3 to 4. Whiskey from 3/9 to 5 pr. Gallon. Also Hemp and Cotton are raised there, but I do not know at what price sold. They also manufacture very good stockings of the Buffaloe Wool of which they have quantities.

To give you some idea of the present state of this Country, I shall proceed to mention the different Tribes of Indians on the route between this and the Mississippi, and with whom the People from this place trade—The Outawas, or Court

¹Pain Court, or St. Louis.

Oreilles Nation, reside principally on the south side of Lake Michigan, they are a political and dangerous set and have much influence with the other Tribes. The Chippewas, or Sauteux, are extended over a vast tract of Country and are a very numerous Nation—No other Nation is found around Lakes Superior and Huron—The Minoumini, or Fol Avoine Indians live chiefly at La Bay, they are not numerous but esteemed a brave Nation by the others—In the autumn They generally leave La Bay and winter some times in the Upper parts of the Mississippi and Ouisconsin, their own Lands being almost exhausted—The Winibagoes, or Puants, live mostly on the Fox River and on the head of Rock River, which is a day's journey from the Fox River and falls into the Mississippi 80 Leagues below the Prairie du Chien. At the entrance of this River the Sacques live and have a large Village. They raise the most corn of any Indian Nation in this Country. The Renards live betwixt the Sacque Village and the Prairie du Chien. They hunt mostly to the southward of the Mississippi. They were formerly during the time the French possessed this country cut off by them, but they have much increased since that, and are now a pretty numerous Tribe. The Sioux, or Nadowessie Indians, who frequent the River St. Peter, are numerous and divided into a number of different bands. They differ much in language and manners from the other Nations on the Great Lakes and seem to be derived from a different stock. The only Tribes who resemble them by a similarity of language and manners are the Puants on the Fox River and the Aroways¹ on the River des Moines in the lower part of the Mississippi. It is probable that in former times these people came from the same Country, but from the feuds amongst themselves have separated to the distance they are now at. The Puants and Sioux have formerly been at War, but have for these number of years past been at peace, and as intermarriages are frequent between the two Nations there is little probability of their again quarrelling. There is but little Beaver killed on any of the Rivers between this and the Mississippi, and but little on any of the Rivers that fall into it. The best beaver hunting at present is betwixt the River St. Peters, and the Red River, but the Indians seldom hunt there, as it is the War Road of the Sioux and Sauteux. Those two Tribes have been long at War with each other, occasioned at first by a quarrel concerning their women. At different times Government have tried to make up the quarrel, but without effect. Six years ago the principal men of each Tribe met here, and appeared to be amicably disposed, but on their return home, immediately commenced hostilities. They fight desperately, no quarter being given on either side to men, but women and children are some times brought in prisoners. It is a pity that so fine a hunting ground should be subject to such a misfortune, else the returns from that quarter would be double and perhaps triple. The returns from the River St. Peters are about £9000 Hlx. annually. When the Follsavoines winter in the upper part of the Mississippi they kill great quantities of beaver. Those of that Tribe are esteemed the best beaver hunters in the Upper Country. The principal hunt of the Puants, Sacques, and Renards are deer skins and raccoons, and in some years a great number of bears.

The Puant Nation have lately quarreled with the Sauteux, and are now all gone to war. A party of Court Oreilles or Ottawas, have joined the Sauteux and gone in great force against the Sioux.

These different war parties will render the communication very unsafe for the Traders this year, as they are often killed and plundered by them, and no redress whatever having been obtained, renders the Indians very haughty and insolent.

¹Evidently the Iowas.

Was a severe example once made, it would be the means of making them more tractable in future. The mistaken lenity of the English Government to the Indians is attended with the most serious consequences to individuals whose business obliges them to frequent that Country.

The limits of my time, being at present hurried with business, prevents me from giving you so full an account as I could wish, but by next Spring, I shall endeavour to give as distinct an account to you of the Country and its Inhabitants, of their manners and customs in War and Peace. This is but an indistinct account, but I hope the other will afford you more amusement, as the Indians we frequent are quite different from those in your Quarter.

I am, Sir, Your obedient and very humble servant,

R. DICKSON.¹

Robt. Hamilton, Esq.

FROM THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM TO LORD GRENVILLE.

WINCHESTER, July 17, 1793.

.....

 Simcoe writes me word that many men might be raised in Canada for West Indian objects, particularly if the Indian War was at an end. His right hand man, Captain Stephenson, is in London waiting for instructions; if you have any questions you will find him particularly well informed.

(Historical Manuscripts Commission, Dropmore Papers, Vol. II, p. 405.)

FROM R. G. ENGLAND TO J. G. SIMCOE.

DETROIT, July 18th, 1793.

Sir,

Captain Welbank will have the honor of delivering Your Excellency this letter. He was forwarded to me by Colonel McKee and reached this Post late last night. The Colonel mentions that he arrived at the foot of the Rapids on the 14th Instant, from the Cherokee country, in company with the Deputies who were sent there last Fall from the General Council at the Glaize.

Conceiving that His dispatches for your Excellency may be of consequence at this particular time, I don't lose a moment in forwarding him to you, and am obliged to send him in the Felicity which I had for some days past detained here, In order to send the Quakers into Sandusky, and to wait there on the Commissioners agreeable to Your Excellency's instructions should the Council take place, you will now best judge what arrangement to direct for the vessels, but if possible I should wish to have one of them sent here to take out the Quakers and their attendants.

I have not seen any of the three large vessels for considerably above a month.

¹Robert Dickson, 1768-1823, born in Scotland; arrived in Upper Canada, 1781; assembled Indians for the capture of Mackinac and Detroit, July, 1812; appointed Deputy Superintendent for the Western Indians, 1813; present at the siege of Fort Meigs, 1813, and defence of Mackinac, 1814; died at Drummond Island, 20 June, 1823.

They no doubt are attending the Commissioners and Indians. I am concerned to report that notwithstanding every attention in my power, rum finds its way to the Foot of the Rapids. I have without distinction refused passes for it, and two merchant's vessels that lately arrived here from Fort Erie, were nearly laden with it, could have landed any quantity they thought proper at the Islands or at the mouth of the River, which without any knowledge of mine, could in a very few hours be conveyed to the Foot of the Rapids. Much mischief must arise from it, and I apprehend all my endeavours to prevent its being sent to the Indian country will be fruitless. I shall however persist in prohibiting it. I shall hope to hear soon from you.

I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant.

R. G. ENGLAND.

His Excellency Lieut. Governor Simcoe.

FROM JAMES MONROE TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

RICHMOND, July 23, 1793.

(Extract.)

By the proclamation so far as it had a right, we are separated from France. The progress of the war then is not intended to be in great harmony with that nation, as for the support of publick liberty. We shall however be at war with Spain upon a private quarrel of our own—for instance for the Mississippi, & wh. I hear has been entirely guaranteed by Britain to that power. But the guarantee has not been published & perhaps not intended to be. The commencement in the object & parties to the war, contains as little hostility to Britain & monarchy as possible; the odium of it too with the present Indian war will be placed to the acct of the western country, already unpopular enough throughout the Continent. Britain it is obvious will prescribe the terms of the peace & what these may be in the unsettled state of the world with respect to govt. the disposition of many with respect to the westn. country, & torn to pieces as we are by a malignant monarchy faction, is altogether uncertain. Besides upon what principle can it be accounted for, that the notificate party lose the support of Hamilton upon this occasion furnished them in all others? The notificates are in the dust if we are involved in a war, & he has shewn he co'd bear any kind of indignity from the B[ritis]h c[ourt].

(Printed in the "Writings of James Monroe" edited by S. L. Hamilton, Vol. I, pp. 268-9.)

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

NAVY HALL, July 29th, 1793.

Sir,

I do myself the honor of informing your Excellency that on the 24th instant Mr. Welland¹ whom I remember in the beginning of the late War as a Loyalist who afterward held a Commission in His Majesty's service, arrived at this place from the Creek Nation:—this Gentleman accompanied the Deputies from the Creeks & Cherokees to the Council at the Miamis.

¹Elsewhere written Welbank.

The Shawanese who had been sent by the Western Indians Confederacy last Autumn to invite the Southern Indians to join them, had assured those Nations of the assistance of this Government with Arms and Ammunition.

Mr. Welland states that being doubtful of the truth of this assertion, he contributed all the influence which four years residence among those People had given to him to prevent their declaring War against the United States, till himself should return from Sandusky—but to no purpose,—so before he left the Country two bodies of the Creek Nation, one consisting of 1500, the other of 1000 men, had marched against the People of the United States. By this Gentleman's account the encroachments of Governor Blunt on the Cherokees have been as unjust as those which the Western Indians complain to have been made by General St. Clair. Mr. Welland confirms the truth of the Spanish Governor's pushing on the Choctaws to join the Confederacy, and I have a Letter from Price, a half-bred Indian, speaking of his belief that the Chickasaws will be soon added to the Confederacy, and that it will be universal through the whole extent of the Nations on this side of the Mississippi.

Mr. Welland states that the Shawanese held the same language that they were sure of support from this Government, to the very moment of their returning to the Miamis, that they concealed the treaty now pending, and that Colonel McKee was very angry with their proceedings.

In this State of Affairs I am perfectly persuaded that all attempts at pacification will prove abortive; I have written however as strongly as possible to Colonel McKee to endeavour to prevent this new Combination from influencing the determination of the Indian Council.

It appears that Mr. Welland had some communication by letter with Sir John Johnson and Colonel McKee, at the period in which it was supposed that War would take place between Great Britain & Spain. He states the Creek Nation as universally attached to Great Britain; he states himself as a friend of Mr. Bowles, and to that trade which the Merchants of the Bahamas are endeavouring to effect with the Creek Nation: he has given me information that a Vessel from the Bahamas and calculated for that purpose was lately taken by the Spaniards: his business with me & the letters of the Creek Nation to Colonel McKee, were to desire a support in this trade, which is in all probability not so much opposed by the Spanish Government, provided no permanent settlement of white Inhabitants should arise from it, as by the British Merchants settled at New Orleans who now exercise a monopoly injurious to the Indians.

I have transmitted to Mr. Hammond the statement of this Gentleman, and am to add that as he appears a person of discretion, perfectly loyal, & whose correspondence may be of future advantage, I have without hesitation complied with his request of giving him Ten pounds to carry him back to the Nation, of which he professes himself a part, and submit to Your Excellency whether such a donation may be classed with other Indian expences under your general direction, or whether I must take it upon myself in my public accounts as Lieutenant Governor of this Province.

I have the honor to be, Sir.

Your Excellency's most obedient & most faithful Servant.

J. G. SIMCOE.

Lt. Govr. Upper Canada.

Endorsed:—In Genl Clarke's to Mr. Dundas, No. 93.

FROM JOHN CONNOLLY¹ TO ALEXANDER McKEE.

MONTREAL, July 21st, 1793.

Dear Sir,

I wrote you last year upon my return from the United States of America touching some propositions made to me by Mr. Robert Morris of Philadelphia relative to some Lands in the North West angle of Pennsylvania purchased from Congress.

It was a proposal of mine to Mr. Morris to offer you some part of that purchase with myself for such services as you might be enabled to extend to any future settlement commenced there. As mine intentions in this business was sincerely & amicably to promote your interest, and as there was nothing either secret or dishonorable couched in any part of the business, I flattered myself with a prompt answer from you. To what cause to ascribe my disappointment I cannot determine, but for fear of a miscarriage of my former letter on the subject I repeat here that my request from you was that letter way or in any other manner you judge proper you would authorize me to negotiate for you with Mr. Morris & the population Society. I need not add that upon this, as upon all other occasions I should endeavour disinterestedly to serve you.

I have given Mr. Winter a Power of Attorney to dispose of my Pawanese man & I hope you will be so far assisting upon this business as to prevent my total loss of the money given for him.

I remain, &c.

JNO. CONNOLLY.

Coln. Alexr. McKee.

Endorsed:—21 July. Col. Connolly. Recd. 9th Octor.

¹John Connolly was a nephew of George Croghan, who was for many years Deputy Superintendent of the Western Indians, under Sir William Johnson. He had studied medicine and is frequently called Dr. Connolly. With Colonel John Campbell, who was a man of some influence in the revolutionary party in western Pennsylvania, he acquired a considerable tract of land on the site of the present city of Louisville, Ky., and elsewhere in the vicinity of the Ohio. He was a loyalist in the Revolution and was given the rank of lieutenant colonel by Lord Dunmore, and instructed by him "to endeavour to incline the Indians to the royal cause." At the same time he was in correspondence with George Washington, who informed him "that matters were drawing to a point" on the seaboard. In November, 1774, Connolly undertook to assemble a force of loyalists and Indians at Detroit and advance to Pittsburg to quell the rebellion there. He was arrested in Maryland and long detained in prison. After his release he renewed this proposal to Sir Henry Clinton who brought it to the attention of Haldimand. In 1788, Lord Dorchester sent Connolly to Detroit with instructions to encourage emigration to that place from the frontier settlements of the United States, and he was reported to have visited Kentucky on a secret mission. Subsequently he was employed in the Indian Department under James Stanley Goddard, the Storekeeper General, by whom he was much distrusted, and suspected of theft of stores. On September 6, 1796, St. Clair wrote from Pittsburg: "Connolly has left the country, after making, it is said, an accurate survey of the Ohio, and sounding its depths in a number of places. He was stopped at Massac and his papers examined by the commanding officer." In 1799, he was nominated by the Duke of Kent to succeed Alexander McKee as Deputy Superintendent General of the Western Indians, but was not appointed.

FROM THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE UNITED STATES TO
ALEXANDER McKEE.

AT CAPT. ELLIOTS, DETROIT RIVER, July 21st, 1793.

Sir:

We embrace this opportunity to inform you of our arrival at this place, where we shall wait untill we have intelligence that the nations of Indians at the Rapids of the Miamis are ready to move to Sandusky. We shall be greatly obliged by your endeavours to expedite the councils of the Indians, that we may meet them without more delay. You will add to our obligations by sending in the earliest notice when we may expect the Indian nations will arrive at Sandusky, that we may be there at the same time.

We wrote you on the 30th of May, but, having received no answer, are apprehensive our letter did not reach you.

We are, Sir,

Your most obed't, Humble Servts.

B. LINCOLN,

BEVERLEY RANDOLPH,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

Commissioners of
the United States.

To Col. McKee.

FROM JOHN BARNES TO ALURED CLARKE.

QUEBEC, 22d July, 1793.

Sir,

I beg leave to represent to your Excellency that from the high wages at present given by the Trade to the Seamen in this Port, from Three Pounds to Three Pounds ten Shillings pr. month I have not been able to enter more than Three this Summer for the Service of the Marine Department of the Province, which will require Thirty three to Complete the present Establishment, Vizt. to replace those Dead, Deserted, and whose time for which they were Engaged is or will expire in the course of the summer.

If a bounty of 40/ was given during the war, we might probably re-entersome of the men who have a right to their Discharges, but very few can be expected to be entered here—besides the high wages the Vessels are come out so slightly manned, that was we to Enter two out of any Vessel, she could not proceed on her Voyage, I have already this summer been induced to give up two men to a Vessel loaded with Wheat for Madeira.

I have reason to believe that Whilst the War Continues the Difficulty of Entering Seamen for the Lakes will encrease, and at all times it very much Distresses the Trade, to Obviate which I would recommend that the Storekeeper General be Authorized to Commission some one to Enter and send out annually from England a Certain Number of Seamen to serve on the River & Lakes within the Provinces of Upper & Lower Canada, for the term of Four Years, and an application made to the Admiralty to grant Protections for them out here. I have no doubt but that the Established trading Vessels to this Country would bring them out

(at this time) at little or no Expence to Government, as it would relieve them for the Inconvenience of being subject to losing their men by entering to Serve in the Provincial marine.

I am to request your Excellency's Commands on the foregoing Subject from which I flatter myself you will see the necessity of some new mode being adopted to Enter Seamen for the Lakes, without which at this time they cannot be got and the King's Service may Suffer.

I have the honor to be &c.

JNO. BARNES.

Dy. Q. M. Genl.

His Excellency Major General Clarke, &c. &c.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

NAVY HALL, 24 July, 1793.

Sir,

I do myself the honor of writing to your Excey., to represent that there is no person in this part of the country who can interpret the Missassaga language. In consequence Mr. St. John Rousseau¹ has always been sent for from Toronto, when any business has had to be transacted with the said Indians. Mr. Lyons,² the regular interpreter at Kingston, is too distant from the Seat of Government, and appears to me, in all respects a most inefficient person.

I was lately obliged to send for St. John when the Western Indians were here, at the request of the Mohawks, whose language he speaks, that he might return with them to the Council,—this he was unable to perform, on account of the impracticability of quitting his mercantile business for so long a season.

The probability of the Seat of Government of this Province being for a time established at York; and the almost certainty of that port becoming a flourishing mart of trade, will occasion it to be the rendezvous of most of those Indians on the North of Lake Huron who now go to Michillimackinac, and strengthen the necessity of there being an interpreter to assist the Commanding Officer. St. John appears to me to have all the requisites necessary for that office, and is equally agreeable to Brandt and the Mohawks as to the Missassagas. He seems, indeed, to be the only person, who possesses any great degree of influence with either of those Nations, and must unavoidably be employed by me on Contingent expense if not at an actual salary, in all those expeditions I shall find myself obliged to undertake to obtain an accurate and necessary knowledge of the communications between the Lakes Huron and Ontario.

I have great pleasure in stating to Your Excellency that I have credible assurances of an excellent harbour for shipping being met with at a distance of three leagues from Matchedash Bay.

I have the honor, &c.

J. GRAVES SIMCOE.

To H. E. General Clarke.

¹An Indian trader for many years, afterwards built the first grist mill at Ancaster; Lt. Colonel in the 2nd Regt. York Militia; captain and resident at Niagara in the Indian Department, 25 Oct., 1812; died 15 Nov. 1812.

²Nathaniel Lyons or Lines.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

NAVY HALL, 24 July, 1793.

Sir,

I am to acknowledge the rec't of Your Excellency's letter of the 24 June in answer to that which I did myself the honor of transmitting the 31 of May. I am perfectly aware that it will be satisfactory to Your Excellency to wait for the arrival of Lord Dorchester, and not to give any directions in your present situation relative to the occupying the military stations that I have mentioned, and indeed I had presumed that His Lordship would have arrived at Quebec previous to my report having reached Your Excellency.

I enclose a despatch that I yesterday morning received from Mr. Hammond.

The Indians of the 7 Nations have not as yet left Fort Erie: they are in hourly expectation of the arrival of one of His Majesty's vessels to convey them to the Miamis or Sandusky.

I shall immediately proceed to Toronto (York) whither I hope the whole of the Queen's Rangers will be encamped in a few days, when I shall do myself the honor of making a more specific report on the subject of fortifying that harbour. Its extent and the difficulty that any enemy must have of bringing heavy cannon or Howitzers into the Province, necessarily point out the advantages that must result from a few guns of the largest calibre. The Carronades meant for shipping I have always purposed to make use of and my intention has been to select some of the best guns from Carleton Island, that at least we may make the most formidable resistance, and in some measure fortify the most important port within its territorial line. Should the United States meditate attack in the first instance, at least it would be wise in them by manifesto to declare that they restricted their operations to the recovery of the Posts unjustly withheld from them, and which the continuation of the Indian War rendered indispensably necessary for their interests. Upon this mode of warning I deduce an additional regiment necessary for the immediate occupation of a place of arms, and am happy that York embraces so many different and permanent advantages for the Welfare and protection of His Majesty's Government in a military as well as a civil capacity.

I have submitted Your Excellency's letter and the resolve of the Executive Council of Lower Canada relative to the immediate running of the division line between the two Provinces—to the Executive Council of the Province, who have thought proper to adopt the opinion of Major Holland, and to order that measures be taken to carry it into execution.

Whatever money shall be paid by Your Excy., for repairs of Butler's Barracks, I wish to be regarded as so much cash issued to me from the Military Chest, and which shall be duly replaced by proper warrants, so soon as Mr. Winslow shall transmit them.

I have the honor to be, &c.

J. GRAVES SIMCOE.

General Clarke.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

NAVY HALL, July 24, 1793.

Sir,

The untoward events which have always been foreseen from the cession of the Genesee Lands by the Indian Americans to the United States are rapidly hastening to maturity, and the new settlers in that district may be numbered amongst the worst enemies of the British Colonies. The Post of Oswego is the great cause of discontent, as it prevents the commodities of the States passing into Lake Ontario, and by that route being conveyed to Irondequoit on the Genessee River. The situation of this fortress, Your Excy is more perfectly acquainted with than I can be, as I have not as yet had a personal opportunity of visiting it. The people of the States frequently talk of seizing it and though circumstances may not be favorable at present, I have received certain information that a boat from the States lately passed that Fortress at midnight, with contraband goods, who made it their boast that had they been met by the Preventive Officer, they were determined to have taken him prisoner, and that he and his party should have been committed to the County Jail.

In order to prevent the repetition of such daring affronts, and which may become more serious, if not timely opposed, I have thought it prudent to order a custom House boat to be built, to carry a six pounder and twelve rowers, and which I mean to place under the direction of the Officer Commanding the Garrison at Oswego, hoping that such an ample means of defence will secure the Preventive Officer in the necessary execution of his duty, and preserve His Majesty's Government from any insulting aggressions.

I have also directed a gun boat on a large scale occasionally to carry the 12 pounder to be built at Niagara. The alarming desertion which has happened in the 5th Regiment, has been traced to the facilities of escape which are afforded by the persons who bring in settlers now emigrating in great numbers into the Province, and who, on their return, afford a means to the soldiers to desert in safety. I hope that the boats I speak of may serve to deter people from following these practices, as I trust they will be found to be calculated for instant pursuit and either with oars or sails. Possibly in the summer season a frequent water patrol from Oswego to Niagara may become necessary and be of service rather than detriment to the soldiers of the respective Garrisons.

A General Court Martial is directed to sit upon five soldiers of the 5th Regt., who deserted from the Post at Chippawa, but could not find means to cross the river.

I have the honor to be, &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

His Excy. General Clarke, Quebec.

FROM LORD GRENVILLE TO GEORGE HAMMOND.

WHITEHALL, July 25, 1793.

Before M. Noailles left England for America he made some offers of service here which were civilly declined on account of his former connections and conduct, and because it was not thought likely that much advantage could be derived from

them. He expressed however a desire of being of service to you when he got there, and stated himself to have the means of being so, desiring at the same time that his disposition to that effect might be mentioned to you.

I presume that the last revolution at Paris may probably have affected M. Genet's situation, he being understood to be connected with the Girondistes.

(Historical Manuscripts Commission, Dropmore Papers, Vol. II, p. 408.)

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO D. W. SMITH.

(Endorsement on the back of a letter.)

Dear Smith,

25 July, 1793.

To satisfy the poor woman that we have done her Justice—obtain the copy of the order of Council for her Lands & if you think it necessary, write in my name to Coll. England to protect her in getting possession of her lands.

Truly yours

J. G. S.

D. Smith Esq.

By Mrs. Mouton (Morton?)

I am so determined that she should have Justice that if it be necessary, the Persons who withheld her Lands from her shall be prosecuted by the Attorney General.

(MSS of D. W. Smith, Toronto Public Library, Series A, Vol. 8.)

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

Dear General,

CAMP, QUEENSTON, July 26, 1793.

You see what a handle ill-disposed persons or Governments may make of the River of Oswego being shut up, by my report on that subject. I scarcely know how to act in order to prevent it. I am rather inclined tacitly to allow certain persons reputable for their integrity in the United States to recommend such people to the Officer Commanding at Oswego for passports, as they may bona fide be responsible for, and can answer that their intent is simply to convey such goods as are prohibited to Irondequoit Lake or Genesee, and I think that my civil capacity under the Inland Navigation Act, might bear me out in this difficulty; on the other hand, such a tacit permission, tho' it would involve no disputable question on the

part of either Government, would increase the settlements in our neighbourhood and of itself perhaps produce a greater anxiety to have the communication totally free and unrestrained should any New York settlement take place at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. The anxiety that Government will shew to pass Oswego I believe will be great indeed—I consider from some intimations of Govr. Clinton to be a proprietor in those lands and make no doubt to public zeal he will add the spur of private interest, as Morris¹ is now doing relative to the occupation of Presqu' isle: that the Government of the neighbouring Provinces are in the possession of those violent and able Antifederalists, Clinton, Mifflin², and Lee³, is no favorable circumstance for peace or security. I have directed all the Garrison orders to be transmitted from Oswego to this place and shall probably be induced to take some steps to allay any ill-humour on the one side, as a good boat will be a precautionary measure on the other. Lord Dorchester's arrival or resignation is devoutly to be wished by all who have to manage a temporizing conduct, the most difficult, dangerous, and changing system that can possibly be adopted: but which must result from present circumstances, though I am clear, it cannot last long, from the disposition and, all things considered, the interests of the United States.

You may be sure I was glad to be ridden of the Commissioners after six weeks of their company. General Lincoln was very civil, Randolph able and of the rakish or Virginian cast of character, and Pickering a violent, low, philosophic, cunning New Englander. In conversation at our table, he had held out to our gentry of the same stamp, Hamilton and Cartwright, the doctrine that assimilates States to private families, and deduces from the child growing up into manhood and being capable to take care of himself that it is right and natural for a son to set up for himself and by a just inference that such is the disposition and tendency of all States.

In a day or two after, when the Commissioners had answered the Indian Deputation and laid much stress on the impossibility of Wayne's advance, because it was contrary to orders, I took occasion jestingly to say to Lincoln, that by the argument Col. Pickering had used, Wayne was full grown, and might set up for himself and not be obedient to Washington's orders: "No, No," says the General, "he is not likely to do so, he is too unpopular." I relate the conversation to Your Excellency as elucidatory of some former opinions of Wayne's character, and to add my own, that if popularity be the only requisite, a victory over the Indians would supply that gentleman with an ample share, and he might safely follow his own path to the succession of the elective crown of the United States.

I am with great truth and esteem,

Dr. Sir, Yours, &c.

J. GRAVES SIMCOE.

Mrs. Simcoe and the children sail with me to Toronto the first wind. She begs her best compliments: my poor boy has been very ill.

¹Robert Morris.

²Thomas Mifflin, Quartermaster General of the Continental Army, 1775-76; Governor of Pennsylvania, 1790-6.

³General Henry Lee, Governor of Virginia, 1791-5.

FROM J. G. SIMCOE TO ALURED CLARKE.

NAVY HALL, July 27, 1793.

Sir,

I am sorry that I am under the disagreeable necessity of informing Your Excellency that the testimony of Mr. Smith of the 5th Regt., on the late trial of Capt. Charleton, subjected Major Smith to the necessity of putting him under arrest, in order that his conduct might be enquired into by a General Court Martial.

In this very disagreeable situation, the friends of this unfortunate young Gentleman thought it most advisable that he should retire from the King's Service, which he has thought proper to acquiesce in, and for that purpose, has requested leave of absence to return to Europe, which, as far as in me lays, I have felt it my duty to comply with. I am to regret that it is my opinion, that this very young gentleman has been led step by step into errors, that if proved, were unpardonable, and I cannot but consider him as an object of the most sincere compassion.

I am sorry to inform Your Excellency that during the trial of five Deserters by the General Court Martial of the 5th Regt. which is not yet closed, two men of the same Regt. deserted. I cannot upon the strictest enquiry find any reason whatsoever for the continuation of crimes, so detrimental to the King's Service, and am persuaded that neither severity nor undue relaxation of discipline is to be attributed to Major Smith. The opportunity is very open, and the circumstance of Regiments being long shut up in Garrison, appear as far as I have had experience, always to encourage that roving tendency which too frequently fixes in the mind of the unemployed soldier. The duty of rowing up the King's stores from Navy Hall to Queenston was severe, and became unnecessary, as the gunboats or vessels themselves have been proved fully adequate to fulfill that part of the service. I have therefore taken this heavy duty from the Regt. during the present season: not more with a view to lessen the fatigue of the Regt., than to employ their force in such additions to the works at Niagara, as appeared to me, to be absolutely requisite.

I have the honor to be, &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

Major General Clarke.

I transmit by this opportunity, the paper for the future management of the Indians, included in Lord Dorchester's schedule. Sir William Johnson's map has been forwarded to Colonel McKee.

FROM THE WESTERN INDIANS TO THE COMMISSIONERS
OF THE UNITED STATES.

Brothers;—

The Deputies we sent to you did not fully explain our meaning; we have therefore sent others, to meet you once more, that you may fully understand the great question we have to ask you, and to which we expect an explicit answer in writing.

Brothers;—

You are sent here by the United States in order to make peace with us the Confederate Indians.

Brothers;—

You know very well that the Boundary line which was run between the White People and us at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix was the River Ohio.

Brothers;—

If you seriously design to make a lasting and a firm Peace you will immediately remove all your People from our side of that River.

Brothers;—

We therefore ask you, Are you fully authorised by the United States to continue and firmly fix on the Ohio River as the Boundary line between your People and ours?

DONE in General Council at the Foot of the Miamis Rapids, 27th July, 1793.

In behalf of ourselves and the whole Confederacy and agreed to in a full Council.

J.G.S.	Nations.	Marks.
	Wyandots.....	Bear.
	Delawares.....	Turtle.
	Shawanese.....	Snake.
	Miamies.....	Turtle.
	Mingoes.....	Snipe.
	Poutawatamies.....	Black cat.
	Ottawas.....	Sturgeon.
A true copy.	Connoys.....	Turkey.
(Signed) A. McKEE,	Chippewa's.....	Crow.
D.A.I.A.	Muncies.....	Turkey.

Endorsed:—27th July, 1793. Speech of a General Council to the Commissioners of the United States.

FROM JOSEPH BRANT TO J. G. SIMCOE.

FOOT OF THE MIAMIS RAPIDS, 28th July, 1793.

Sir,

The Indian Affairs in this quarter having lately taken a turn which as a great part of the Indians do not approve, make it necessary for me to address Your Excellency on this subject.

When we left this with a Deputation to meet the Commissioners at Niagara, everything seemed to promise fair and we had a prospect of attaining the end of our wishes, but on our return we found these desirable objects vanished, distrust seemed to prevail, and the Deputies were blamed. this great change may be owing to advice received from the Creek Country.

It was alledged that we should then have insisted on the line made in 1768 between the English and Indians—But we differed in opinion, thinking that Sandusky was the place appointed for the discussion of that object, and where a permanent boundary should be fixed face to face in the presence of all the Indians & if we did not agree, the Reasons would then be adduced.

The Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatamies and some others were perfectly satisfied with the conduct of the Deputies, but I must say that I do not see the least inclination for peace amongst some of the Tribes.

They have yesterday come to [a] point of sending a Speech to the Commis-

sioners who are still at the mouth of Detroit River, of which the enclosed paper is a Copy, from which I think it almost certain that no peace will take place.

After the most attentive consideration and weighing the situation of the Confederacy, I am still of the same opinion that I have been these five years, and which I think I explained to Your Excellency, that the Ohio ought to be the boundary as far up as the Muskingum and this is the line the Confederacy have contended for, it appears to me as the most proper, as it would answer the expectations of the moderate & neutral Indians, & would only be opposed by the hot-headed, this would in my opinion be the true interest of the Indians, but I am afraid the steps they are now taking will have a contrary effect.

I hope Your Excellency will excuse me for speaking thus freely, but the present situation of the Indians and my own feelings prompt me to do everything in my power for what I look upon to be inseparable from my own. If I do not succeed I shall have the satisfaction to reflect that I have done everything I could and time will show whether I was right or not.

As matters are thus circumstanced I request Your Excellency will have the goodness to assist Us with your advice, which I shall wait for here, and indeed I cannot think of leaving the Country, at a time when there is no appearance of an abrupt termination of the present business, which must unavoidably create some confusion.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOS. BRANT.

His Excellency Govr. Simcoe, &c., &c.

2.

Endorsed:—In General Clarke's to Mr. Dundas' No. 93.

FROM CAPT. DOYLE TO LT. GOVERNOR SIMCOE.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Doyle of the 24th Regiment, Commanding the Post of Michillimackinac to His Excellency Lieut. Governor Simcoe, Dated 28 July, 1793.

“Previous to Your Excellency's commands respecting the possibility of encouraging a Trade between this Post and Kentucky, I made some inquiries, the result of which were that at present little could be expected from that Quarter, the only return the Americans could make, would be in provisions and Tobacco, the latter article of a superior quality, but from the unwieldy size of the Hogsheads, it would be next to an impossibility their being transported across the different Portages; were the Americans acquainted with a mode of manufacturing Tobacco, either in imitation of Brazil Rolls, or Carrots, it might become an object worth attending to.

“The most considerable Trade from this Post is to and beyond the Mississippi by the rout of La Prairie du Chien, from which place the Traders descend with facility to the American Settlements at the Illinois who are all affected to the British Government. The Trade to that Country is much in our favor, as they consume a great quantity of British Manufactures particularly Cottons, and not having a sufficiency of Peltries to give in return the balance is paid in cash which they receive from their neighbours the Spaniards.

“The Americans expect an impost of ten per cent will be paid upon the British Goods sent from this Post to the Illinois to act as a protecting duty, to a Trade

wished to be opened by Congress from Post Vincennes; yet I am well assured such are the difficulties the Americans must encounter, we shall continue to have a decided Superiority by being able to undersell them.

"There is also a considerable trade carried on from hence to the Spanish Post of Pain Court, (or St. Louis) upon the Mississippi, which is considerably in our favor, but cannot be depended upon for two reasons, first, the admission of goods from this Post, being contraband tho' not rightly observed, secondly, should an enterprising Merchant send Goods from New Orleans up the River, he could undersell the Traders from this Post, but this traffic which has been open to them for years, they have never attempted.

"The present Commanding Officer at St. Louis, Captain Trudot, is highly spoken of by the British Traders: He has in many instances rendered them essential services. The Arrival of some Spanish Merchants, this summer to trade, has enabled me to convince them, I was not insensible of Captain Trudot's politeness. There are also a chain of British Traders, extending from the Illinois, up the Mississippi to the Mouth of the River St. Peter, which River they ascend to its very source, it is the most valuable branch of commerce belonging to this Post, and capable of being improved to a great degree, that extensive Country abounding in valuable Furs, and there being no danger of interruption, The Spaniards not daring to risk themselves amongst Naudowessie Indians, who are much attached to the English.

"Respecting the information your Excellency received from Captain Charlton, of an extension of Trade by the route of La Prairie du Chien, beyond the Mississippi, to the Missouri, I had reason to suppose It might have been effected, but now I much doubt, whether it ever will be attended with solid advantages, while the Spaniards are in possession of the Key of those Countries, who watch with a jealous Eye the British Traders, well knowing their enterprise and dreading they might find their way to Santa Fé or other valuable mines in that neighbourhood. However, conceiving it an advantage to open a Trade with the Missourie, I gave some adventurers this Spring encouragement, who proposed to penetrate by the River St. Peter; I recommended to them to use their exertions to prevail upon some of the Chiefs to accompany them to this Post upon their return, which they promised to perform, should they succeed in their attempt.

"The Trade carried on round this Post is very considerable, particularly to Lake Michigan, yet in spite of its proximity, there are not more than three or four Indian Canoes, which arrive at this place with Peltries in a season, owing to the avidity with which Traders grasp at the produce of their Hunts and try to intercept them upon their coming in; that emulation being a principal reason, why the Indians are not permitted to be their own Carriers.

"Respecting the Trade to Lake Superior I cannot say much, it being engrossed by great Companies, who do not depend upon this Post for their Supplies.

"Altho' it is my opinion, the Trade is upon the increase, yet it is difficult to say, how long it may continue so, from the improper conduct of people who are permitted to go indiscriminately into the Indian Country; formerly it was necessary for each Trader to give security for both his own good conduct, and that of his people, during their residence among the Indians, which restriction has been taken off, to the prejudice of the Trade at large.

"I am to regret that I am deprived of the assistance of some intelligent Merchants, who are gone to the Mississippi but I hope from the information I shall be able to collect from them upon their return to give Your Excellency a thorough knowledge of the Trade and the great importance of this Post."

THE SPEECH OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE UNITED STATES TO
THE DEPUTIES OF THE CONFEDERATE INDIAN NATIONS
ASSEMBLED AT RAPIDS OF THE MIAMIS RIVER.

BROTHERS;—

Yesterday you addressed us, mentioning a former deputation who met us at Niagara. At that meeting you said, we did not come to a right understanding, that your Deputies did not fully explain your meaning to us, nor we ours to them; that you desired we might rightly understand each other, and therefore thought it best that what you had to say, should be put into writing then handing us a paper you said. Here is the meaning of our Hearts.

BROTHERS;—

That paper is directed to the Commissioners of the United States, and speaks to them these words; to wit

“Brothers, The Deputies we sent to you did not fully explain our meaning; we have therefore sent others to meet you once more that you may understand the great question we have to ask of you, and to which we expect an explicit answer in writing. Brothers, you know very well that the Boundary line which was run between the White People and us, at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, was the “River Ohio.”

BROTHERS;—

The Deputies here present, we have now repeated the words contained in the paper which you delivered to us, and those words have been interpreted to you. We presume the interpretation agrees with your idea of the contents of the paper. It is expressed to be signed by the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Miamis, Mingoes, Poutawatamies, Ottawas, Connoys, Chippawas and Munseys, in behalf of themselves and the whole Confederacy, and agreed to in a full Council.

BROTHERS;—

We are a little surprised at the suggestion, that in the conference at Niagara, we did not come to a right understanding, and that your Deputies did not fully explain your meaning. Those Deputies appeared to be men of good sense, and when we saw them, they were perfectly sober. In short we never saw Men in public Council more attentive, or behave with more propriety. We could not therefore suppose they could mistake your meaning or ours. Certainly we were sufficiently explicit, for in plain words we declared “that in order to establish a just and permanent peace, some concession would be necessary on your part as well as ours.” These words, Brothers, are a part of our speech to your Deputies; and that speech, they assured us, they fully understood. What those concessions should be, on both sides, and where the boundary line should be fixed, were proper subjects of discussion at the Treaty, when we should speak face to face. This we are certain would be the best way to remove all difficulties. But your Nations have adopted another mode, which by keeping us at a distance, prevents our knowing each other, and keeps alive those jealousies which are the greatest obstacles to a Peace. We are therefore desirous of meeting your nations in full council without more delay. We have already waited in this Province sixty days beyond the time appointed for opening the treaty.

BROTHERS;—

We have now expressed our opinion of the proper mode [to] settle the differences between you and the United States; But as your Nations have desired answer

to certain questions previous to our meeting, and we are disposed to act with frankness and sincerity, we will give an explicit answer to the great question you have now proposed to us. But before we do this we think necessary to look back to some former transactions and we desire you patiently to hear us.

BROTHERS;—

We do know very well that at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, twenty-five years ago, the River Ohio was agreed on as the boundary between you and the White People of the British Colonies. And we all know that about seven years after that Boundary was fixed, a quarrel broke out between your Father the King of Great Britain, and the People of those Colonies, which are now the United States. This quarrel was ended by the treaty of Peace made with the King about ten years ago, by which the great Lakes and the waters which unite them, were by him declared to be the boundaries of the United States.

BROTHERS;—

Peace having thus been made between the King of Great Britain and the United States, it remained to make peace between them and the Indian Nations who had taken part with the King. For this purpose Commissioners were appointed, who sent messages to all those Indian Nations, inviting them to come & make peace.

The first treaty was held about nine years ago with the six-Nations at Fort Stanwix; which has stood firm and inviolated to this day.

The next treaty was made about ninety days after, at Fort McIntosh, with the half king of the Wyandots, Captain Pipe, and other Chiefs, in behalf of the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, and Chippawa Nations.

Afterwards treaties were made with divers Indian Nations south of the River Ohio, and the next treaty was made with Kakaissithaly, here present, and other Shawanoes chiefs, in behalf of the Shawanoes Nation, at the mouth of the Great Miami which runs into the Ohio.

BROTHERS;—

The Commissioners who conducted these Treaties in behalf of the United States, sent the papers containing them to the Great Council of the States, who supposing them satisfactory to the Nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of large tracts of the lands thereby ceded and a great number of people removed from other parts of the United States and settled upon them. Also many families of your ancient Fathers the French came over the great Water, and settled on a part of the same lands.

BROTHERS;—

After some time it appeared that a number of your people were dissatisfied with the treaties of Fort McIntosh and Miami. Therefore the Great Council of the United States appointed Governor St. Clair their Commissioner with full powers for the purpose of removing all causes of controversy regulating trade and settling boundaries between the Indian Nations in the Northern Department of the United States. He accordingly sent messages inviting all the Nations concerned to meet him at a Council fire which he kindled at the Falls of Muskingum. While he was waiting for them, some mischief happened at that place and the fire was put out. So he kindled a Council fire at Fort Harmar, where near six hundred Indians of different Nations attended. The six Nations then renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort Stanwix, and the Wyandots and Delawares renewed and confirmed

the treaty of Fort McIntosh. Some Ottawas, Chippawas, Poutawatamies and Sacs were also parties to this treaty of Fort Harmar.

BROTHERS;—

All these treaties we have here with us. We have also the speeches of many Chiefs who attended them, and who voluntarily declared their satisfaction with the terms of those treaties.

BROTHERS;—

After making all these treaties and after hearing the Chiefs freely express their satisfaction with them, the United States expected to enjoy Peace, and quietly to hold the lands ceded by them. Accordingly large tracts have been sold and settled as before mentioned.

And now Brothers, we answer explicitly, that for the reason which we have here stated to you, it is impossible for us to make the river Ohio the Boundary between your people and the people of the United States.

BROTHERS;—

You are men of understanding and if you consider the customs of white people, the great expences which attend their settling in a new country, the nature of their improvements in building houses and barns, and clearing and fencing their lands how valuable the lands are thus rendered and thence how dear they are to them, you will see that it is more impracticable to remove our people from the northern side of the Ohio. Your Brothers the English know the nature of White People; and they know that under the circumstances which we have mentioned, the United States cannot make the Ohio the boundary between you and us.

BROTHERS;—

You seem to consider all the lands in dispute, on your side of the Ohio, as claimed by the United States; But suffer us to remind you that a large tract was sold by the Wyandot and Delaware Nations to the State of Pennsylvania, this tract lies east of a line drawn from the mouth of Beaver Creek, at the Ohio, North to Lake Erie. This line is the western boundary of Pennsylvania, as claimed by the charter given by the King of England to your ancient friend William Penn, of this sale made by the Wyandot and Delaware Nations to the State of Pennsylvania, we have never heard any complaint.

BROTHERS;—

We are obliged on this occasion to make a long speech. We again desire you to hear us patiently. The business is of the highest importance; and a great many words are necessary fully to explain it, for we desire you may perfectly understand us. And there is no danger of your forgetting what we say because we will give you our speech in writing.

BROTHERS;—

We have explicitly declared to you that we cannot now make the Ohio River the boundary between us. This agrees with our speech to your deputies at Niagara, that in order to establish a just and permanent peace, some concessions would be necessary on your part as well as ours. BROTHERS, the concessions which we think necessary on your part are that you yield up and finally relinquish to the United States some of the lands on your side of the Ohio. The United States wish to have confirmed all the lands ceded to them by the treaty of Fort Harmar, and also a small tract of land at the Rapids of the Ohio, claimed by General Clarke for the use of himself and his warriors, and in consideration thereof the United States

would give such a large sum in money or goods as was never given, at one time, for any quantity of Indian lands, since the White People first set their feet on this island. And because those lands did every year furnish you with skins and furs with which you bought cloathing and other necessities, the United States will now furnish the like constant supplies, and therefore, besides the great sum to be delivered at once, they will every year deliver you a large quantity of such goods as are best fitted to the wants of yourselves, your women and children.

BROTHERS;—

If all the lands before mentioned cannot be yielded up to the United States, then we shall desire to treat and agree with you on a new boundary line; and for the quantity of land you relinquish to us within that New boundary, we shall stipulate a generous compensation; not only for a large sum to be paid at once, but for a yearly rent for the benefit of yourselves and your children for ever.

BROTHERS;—

Here you see one concession which we are willing to make on the part of the United States. Now listen to another, of a claim which probably has more disturbed your minds than any other whatever.

BROTHERS;—

The Commissioners of the United States have formerly set up a claim to your whole Country, southward of the Great Lakes, as the property of the United States; grounding this claim on the treaty of Peace with your Father the King of Great Britain, who declared as we have before mentioned, the middle of those Lakes and of the Waters which unite them, to be the boundaries of the United States.

BROTHERS;—

We are determined that our whole conduct shall be marked with openness and sincerity. We therefore frankly tell you, that we think those Commissioners put an erroneous construction on that part of our treaty with the King, as he had not purchased the Country of you, of course he could not give it away. He only relinquished to the United States his claim to it. That claim was founded on a right acquired by treaty, with other White Nations to exclude them from purchasing or settling in any part of your country; and it is a right which the King granted to the United States. Before that grant, the King alone had a right to purchase of the Indian Nations any of the lands between the great Lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi; excepting the part within the charter boundary of Pennsylvania; And the King by the treaty of Peace having granted this right to the United States they alone had now the right to purchasing. So that now, neither the King nor any of his People, have any right to interfere with the United States in respect to any part of those lands. Your brothers the English know this to be true; and it agrees with the declaration of Lord Dorchester, to your Deputies at Quebec two years ago.

BROTHERS;—

We now concede this great point; We by the express authority of the President of the United States, acknowledge the property or right of soil, of the great Country above described, to be in the Indian Nations so long as they desire, to occupy the same. We only claim particular tracts in it, as before mentioned, and the right granted by the King, as above stated, and which is well known to the English and Americans, and called the right of pre-emption, or the right of purchasing of the

Indian Nations disposed to sell their lands, to the exclusion of all other White People whatever.

BROTHERS;—

We have opened our hearts to you; We are happy in having an opportunity of doing it; though we should have been more happy to have done it in the full Council of your Nations. We expect to soon have this satisfaction; and that your next Deputation will take us by the hand, and lead us to the Treaty. When we meet and converse with each other freely, we may more easily remove any difficulties which may come in the way of peace.

At Captain Elliott's at the mouth of Detroit River, the thirty first day of July, 1793.

B. LINCOLN.	Commissioners
BEVERLEY RANDOLPH.	of the
TIMOTHY PICKERING.	United States. ¹

A TRUE COPY.

(Signed) A. MCKEE,
D.A.I.A.

FROM CHARLES STEVENSON TO HENRY DUNDAS.

The Following requisitions and statements for the Province of Upper Canada are submitted to Mr. Dundas for his approbation by desire of Colo. Simcoe.

Article 1. A Field Train of Artillery absolutely necessary for the defence of the Country there being at present none in it.

2d. The Artificers Company as stated by Colo. Simcoe in his request to His Majesty's Ministers when in England is very much wanted and would have much contributed to his speedy establishment in U. Canada and by the price of their

¹ William Savery, one of the Quaker deputies, kept a journal, part of which has appeared in print, and contained the following:

"3d August. The vessel called the Detroit, bound to Fort Erie, appeared in sight. I wrote a hasty letter. Appointed a meeting to be held at Simon Girty's to-morrow at ten o'clock.

"4th. First day morning. Very rainy, and much wet in my tent; rose about three o'clock, bundled up my mattress, and tied it in a painted cloth, and sat upon it till sunrise. The rain continuing, three of us went to Simon Girty's, but finding none met, except the family, returned. Captain Hamilton, an amiable man, and an officer in the Fifth Regiment, dined with us. The Chippeway, a vessel bound from Fort Erie to Detroit, brought one hundred and eighty Indians and landed them at the Miami river. The afternoon being pleasant, had a meeting at Simon Girty's, about one and a half miles from our camp, at which a number of Indians were present and behaved soberly. General Lincoln, General Chapin, Captain Hamilton, Lieutenant Givans, and several seamen also attended. I believe it was to satisfaction. The few scattered white people in this settlement, many of whom have been prisoners of war, have no opportunity of public worship; yet some of them are glad of our meetings; among whom was the wife of Simon Girty, who also had been a prisoner among the Indians."—A Journal of the Life, Travels, &c., of William Savery, p. 67, Phila., 1863.

At least two more of the six Quakers on this mission of peace kept journals of their impressions and experiences—Jacob Lindley and Joseph Moore—and these have been reprinted from the "Friends' Miscellany" in the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. 17, pp. 565-671.

labour have amply indemnified Government for any expence they might have been at in their establishment.—The price of Labour being very high in that Country.

3rd. How is Commissary McGill to be considered whether as Commissary General of that Province or simply as Commissary of Stores and Provisions, if the latter he cannot be a publick Accountant being in a subordinate Capacity.

His having His Majesty's Commission makes it impossible he should not act under another in a separate Province.

4th. How is Brigade Major Littlehales and Mr. Small to arrange their Situations, the one acting as Clerk of the Executive Council, the latter came out to act, the former placed in his Office by the Governor's confidence in his honour and his Capacity—the latter with a strong recommendation for that place which the Governor would wish to have in the hands of a confidential person.

5th. Lieut. Smith the Governor has appointed Surveyor Genl. of U. Canada hopes his Majesty's Ministers will approve of him and that it may not interfere with any other he being very well qualified.

6th. Encouragement must be given to the Clergy as the people are sending to the States to engage them, most of the people being dissenters (one the Governor refused because he heard it said of him that he had said he supposed the Colony would join the United States.)

7th. The French Emigrants would be useful to settle at Detroit as they would cover our right flank and might oppose their Aristocratical Principles against the Republick Ideas of the Americans.

8th. The French settled at Detroit have their Representatives in the Assembly and are likewise of the Legislative and Executive Council tho' by the Line of Demarcation they belong to the Americans—are they to be considered as English Subjects, if not how will it affect the Laws to which they have given their Assent.

The Loyalists sent out by Great Britain are most of them settled at Kingston & Pittsburgh, the adjoining Township, the greater part of them not worthy the protection of Governmt and many not intitled to their indulgences and not being the people they describe themselves, having never been in America, some have been at Nova Scotia and remained there as long as the rations were continued to them and then left it as they most probably will Canada when that period arrives.

9th. Carleton Island the only good Port on the Lake Ontario lays within the American Line.

10th. A Port is wanted very much for Upper Canada as they are now made dependent on the Merchants of Lower Canada for the sale of the produce of their Lands which will not on those terms be worth the cultivating—but having such a depot they may trade with their Grain to the West Indies (as Lower Canada sends hers to the Mediterranean) and take that branch of Commerce out of the hands of the Americans who now furnishes your Islands and carries on a very lucrative Trade in them and establishes a great Interest in them.

The Hemp and other Articles might be sent to Europe.

Upper Canada will never answer the expectations of Great Britain if she is made dependant on Lower Canada, care should be taken that their Interests do not clash and that their commercial transactions may be independent.

A Custom House will be necessary for that Province.

11. The Rank of Brigadier for Colo. Simcoe will be necessary for his Command it will not interfere with H. R. Highness who now leaves the Country.

12. A new line of demarcation must be obtained with natural boundaries by the present one Upper Canada *is* and *ever* will be open to invasion and we are not in a situation to repel it.

General Wayne with the American Army is in Kentucky, should he come to the Miami he will create jealousy for Detroit.

All the late settlers in U. Canada have settled in it and extended their little property in their establishment under the firm persuasion that Great Britain could not be so impolitic as to cede the Posts to America.

The Americans will promise to demolish the Posts, and to permit Our Traders to enter the Indian Country, if We will give them up; But, once strengthened on the frontier, they will soon find a cause for a Dispute.

The Americans will not consent to a new line of demarcation, as being well aware that if they keep the present one, the period is not distant, that will put them in possession of the Canadas.

When America is strong enough to go to War with Us, we may dread the consequence.

The Contest, in which Great Britain is engaged, may appear favorable to the Americans, and they may wait to see her exhausted, before they dare to assert, or attempt to support their claim.

The Season is now too far advanced to send to that Country a force that might enable them to adopt some prudent Measure, To procure a respectable defensive, it will be proper for Great Britain to digest this autumn for the final Adjustment of our Boundaries with America, and during the Winter send a person to Mr. Hammond with their determination, that that person may proceed after Mr. Hammond has received the Americans answer to Lord Dorchester & Col. Simcoe, to acquaint them with what has passed, & enable them to take such Measures, as may then be most prudent.

Great Britain need not fear a War, if she acts with vigour; the most formidable Indian Confederacy is in her favor, & without striking a Blow may serve to intimidate.

It was the general request of the Indian Confederacy, that You should be the Mediator between them and the Americans, as You possess the Treaties made with them, and the Americans can only succeed to your Rights.

The Congress in all their Debates antecedent to the Dispute acknowledged the Indians to be the friends and allies of Great Britain; If they do not admit it in the present instance, 'tis only because it would set aside their pretensions.

The injustice of the American Claim may be found in the Copy of the Indian Deed (or Grant) of the Genesee Country (which was once submitted to Mr. Dundas's inspection) I name that one, because it can be produced, but most of the American Pretensions will be founded on their willing Misrepresentation of the Cession of Territory by the Treaty: They chose to consider Us as the Proprietors of the Soil, that the Indian might imagine We had sold him—Mr. Dundas will best know whether the Indian has not suspected that We meant to desert him, and whether We gave him that support he thought himself entitled to expect.

The Indians in this contest with the Americans have shewn of what vast advantage they may be to Government; They have for four years kept the American Power in check.

13th. A Communication with the Ocean by the Mississippi, if the Spanish Policy will let you hold Pensacola, (which places you between him & danger), will give You both flanks of America; two such glorious Communications with the Ocean as the St. Lawrence & the Mississippi with the back Country our's, must ever keep the Americans in subjection.

Posts, East of the Mississippi, can never be advantageous to the Spaniard, whilst You by Your language, laws & connections, would be much more likely to

continue on terms of friendship with the Americans, and who, independent of those circumstances, finding You in possession of both his flanks, & on terms of friendship with all the Indian Nations at his back, would find it prudent to court your friendship.

The Navigation of the Mississippi, and the occupying of Pensacola, would make the State of Kentucky look up to you for Union or Alliance, as Commerce cannot traverse the Apalachian Mountains, to get to them they must therefore experience great disadvantages if they continue an American State. Four fifths of that State are favorably inclined towards Great Britain; the fifth part is the American Soldier, who was placed on their frontier to watch them.

14th. Col. Simcoe's Corps to be augmented with 2 Compys more (of Seamen) for the purpose of manning His Majesty's Vessels on the Lakes, as the present Mode answers not the purpose, they never being nor can be compleat from the Nature of the Engagement, & having no Articles of War to punish them, They must be discharged when guilty of any great Crime; the Senior Officer on the Lake Ontario was once prosecuted & fined £100 for punishing a Seaman.

15. When the two Regiments sent from Nova Scotia to the West Indies, should be proposed to return to America, Col. Simcoe wishes the 2 Batts of the 60th Regt should come in their places and that His Majesty should favor the Canadin Gentlemens Sons, as formerly, the Germans, that Regt. being open for Foreigners, and would by that means strengthen the Aristocracy of Canada.

16. The Vessels on the Lake Ontario, not well adapted to its defence.

17. Should Naval Articles of War be made in England, or in the Provincial Assembly of Upper Canada, for the better governing His Majesty's Ships, they being a Provincial Marine.

18. Emigration of the Quakers who would come in numbers into Upper Canada provided they have the free exercise of their Religion and an exemption from Military Duties and Taxation for the express purposes of War—could their Affirmation be considered as legal as an Oath and enable them to have a seat in the Assembly, Legislative Council, &c.

19th. Emigration from Ireland into the United States is annually very considerable, last year 6000 and 44 Manufacturers from Whitby in Yorkshire. the Americans have Agents in both Countries to entice our Artists abroad.

20th. If the Indians are acknowledged by treaty to be the Lords of the Soil they occupy, may they not sell it to whom they please.

An Act passed by Congress in July 90 to regulate the trade with the Indians says and be it enacted and declared that no sale of Lands made by any Indians or Nation or Tribe of Indians within the United States shall be valid to any person or persons or to any state whether having the right of pre-emption or not unless the same shall be made and duly executed at some public treaty held under the Authority of the U, States—this claim certainly extends beyond the limits of a commercial Treaty, as all States are or ought to have with the preemption the power to extinguish all future Indian claims, which the American seems inclined to do radically as he is desirous of extirpating the race of Indians.

Peace, the most desirable thing with the Americans, can only be secured to us by a new boundary or a strong force in the Country.

The Americans desirous of a Spanish War must make it the interest of Spain to join with us.

Should the Americans ever possess Canada, Newfoundland and the West Indies must soon follow.

21st. Colo. Simcoe wishes much to have his Qr. Master General's Depart-

ment finally settled as mentioned to his Majesty's Ministers previous to his leaving England and in his subsequent Dispatches.

Should Mr. Dundas effect with Spain a Treaty for the Navigation of the Mississippi and a Port in Florida, Kentucky must soon be with us which would remove the only barrier to British Power & British Commerce that exists between the Bay of Hudson and the Gulph of Mexico.

CHAS. STEVENSON

Capt. 5th Regt.

Endorsed:—Capt Stevenson's Suggestions. R. July 31st, 1793.

FROM CHARLES STEVENSON TO J. G. SIMCOE.

ORCHARD STREET, 1st August, 1793.

Dear Simcoe,—

At last there are hopes that I may get my requisitions and statements attended to. I have been with Mr. Dundas and have had a long conversation with him. He requested on parting that I would write down my requisitions and observations, and that he would, as soon as he conveniently could, give me another interview and an answer. I yesterday gave them to him at his own house, the following is part of them. The line of demarkation I not only pointed out as defective but extremely injurious and must be altered if they mean to keep the Canadas, as the Americans during the contest in which Great Britain is engaged might make the cession as per Treaty the price of her neutrality.

A Field Train, Artificer's Company, the Rank of Brigadier for you, An Augmentation of your Corps to man the Marine, the Marine Establishment and the state of the Dock Yards, the two Battalions of the 60th Regiment in the West Indies to be sent (with His Majesty's approbation) into Upper Canada to join the other and to be open to the Canadian gentlemen's sons as formerly the Germans, which would strengthen the aristocracy in Canada; some observations on Carleton Island, a demand for a Port and a Custom House for U. Canada; a Commercial Treaty with Spain with the free navigation of the Mississippi and to accept of Pensacola if the Spaniard will give us a compensation for stepping between him and danger, that holding that station it will be the interest of Kentucky to either form a union or alliance with us. To avow our support of the Indians if the Americans will not make peace with them and become an armed mediator between them; a Provincial Cavalry, as Mr. Wayne is with his army in the neighbourhood and has with him a body of horse; Emigrations of Quakers and if they can have a seat in the Assembly on their affirmation instead of oath; the Emigrations from Ireland and England into the States to be stopped if possible; French Emigrants if of character useful in U. Canada.

The French settled at Detroit thrust within the American Line are represented in our Assembly. Are they to be declared British subjects? If so we have broken the ice and have only to secure such posts as would be useful to us.

On the last importation of Loyalists, where settled, and their conduct and pretensions to future favor.

The instructions taken at St. Clair's defeat point out the views of America.

Great Britain need not fear a war if she act with vigour, but that a timid conduct will involve us in difficulties. We must have security, the only sure means of having peace.

The Genesee country, settling contrary to the principles of the original Indian Deed or Grant. The same may be seen with many other articles which my limited time won't permit me to detail. The Marquis of Bucks has promised me draughts of the Gun Boats and vessels in sliding keels, and likewise recommended the introduction of a copper coin into Upper Canada, to destroy that pernicious paper currency. When I come out I am to bring with me a specimen and give it a trial. A copper coin to be coined in the country will not be permitted by the mint.

Sir Henry Clinton is going with me to-day to see some boats on a new construction and is to introduce me to Lord Sheffield,¹ if at home, who is intimate with the Duke of Richmond. I may make, if I get a good opportunity, a request of His Grace to give me his advice and assistance in the Ordnance and his Company of Artificers.

On Monday I am to be with the Duke of Gloucester² at Hampton Court. I shall acquaint him with what has passed between me and Mr. Dundas, and send such extracts to him as will, I hope, induce him to second my views and learn what I am likely to get. I have mentioned these few things that you may know what I am about. I hope to get the heads of all the Departments in your Government arranged and settled, and Mr. Smith's appointment approved and confirmed. Colonel Beckwith has called to tell me he must have my letter for you this evening as Lord Dorchester leaves town very early in the morning, for Portsmouth. I am therefore obliged to write in a great hurry as Lord D. never permits his movements to be known until a few hours of their taking place.

I must be with Sir Henry at eleven and shall not return till evening. I wish to give your Excellency a sealed though hasty one of what now engages me rather than leave you in suspense about me. Now that Mr. Dundas has seen me at his own house I am in hopes that business will be accelerated. Condé surrendered lately; Valenciennes is taken; poor Duer is mortally wounded. I send you the papers up to this date. The East Indian War is very likely to recommence. Tippoo, it is said, is on terms with the Maratthas and refuses to fulfill his engagement with us.

If I have time in the evening I will write again. I will trouble you with my best respects to Mrs. S. and beg my compliments to the gentlemen of your suite and remain

Your Excellency's most obliged and Faithful friend.

CHAS. STEVENSON.

¹Holroyd, John Baker, 1st Earl of Sheffield, 1735-1821, a leading authority of the time on matters relating to commerce and agriculture; author of "Observations on the Commerce of the American States," 1783, 6th edition, 1784, and many other pamphlets; editor of Gibbon's posthumous works.

²William Henry, son of George II, first Duke of Gloucester, 1743-1805.

FROM ALEXANDER DAVISON TO J. G. SIMCOE.

Per Severn Frigate, Captain Minchin.

HARPER STREET, 1st August, 1793.

Dear Sir,—

I hope ere this my brother is safe arrived at Quebec, and has forwarded my letters with the several papers and packets given to his charge for you.

Contrary to what I have expected Lord Dorchester goes out to Quebec, but for what purpose except keeping possession of his emoluments, it seems to puzzle most of his friends. I wish his presence may benefit the Provinces, the which I cannot but entertain some doubts about. However way things may go it was thought better not to solicit his Lordship to remain in this country. General Clarke will return to England, which on your account I regret exceedingly, as being convinced you would with him carry on the public business more pleasantly than through Lord Dorchester. Sir John Johnson, I am given to understand, does not mean to visit Canada in a haste. I have been told he is a little soured by Government not listening to his proposals for raising a new Corps in Upper Canada upon the plan of those to be established in Halifax and New Brunswick.

I am happy I had anticipated your wishes in sending out the clothing as expressed in your letter of the 1st April, which I have had the pleasure of receiving safe. I have communicated the contents of that letter to our friend Nepean, who is ever anxious to promote your views to the utmost of his powers: but the cursed multiplicity of public business incessantly day after day thrown upon his shoulders, renders it totally impossible in the present critical situation to be of use to your Government which his disposition dictates. Added to his former occupations, he has now the entire correspondence with the Army upon the continent, which of itself is sufficient to engross the whole of his time; yet notwithstanding the fatigue and labour of office, it is wonderful to tell that he is really in better health than I have known him for many years.

His colleague; Mr. King, has taken the American correspondence, to whom I gave an extract of your letter respecting the trifling silver articles for the communion table and also a few flags with the arms of Upper Canada as described by you. I have pressed the sending them out as much as I could consistent with delicacy, though without effect. In future I would recommend your transmitting him *officially* a *regular requisition* of all the articles you think necessary and require as presents to the different nations. I wished also to have sent you out the silver medals, but could not draw an order for either from Government. If you will order an estimate to be made out of all your *wants* and send it home *officially* to the Secretary of State's office, I am certain your wishes would be complied with. I am glad to hear you like the country through which you travelled to Detroit, and that you expect to make considerable improvement for the more conveniently transporting the commerce of Great Britain to the interior parts of Upper Canada. Yours is a country that must at no great distance of time become essentially necessary to the interest of Great Britain, and it is my humble opinion an object which Government ought to encourage and promote to the utmost extent.

The whole of the arrangement for Indian affairs should properly belong to you, and be solely under your own discretion, without which it can never be conducted with efficacy and advantage to the Mother country. I sincerely wish the critical state of affairs at home may not in some measure interrupt the system intended to be accepted for the more speedy establishment of your colony. We

are engaged and involved in an expensive war, and when and how it may terminate God only knows. The people begin to complain of the want of money, and trade in general is on the decline, though for one I confess myself very sanguine on the event of the present Campaign.

By the Ranger, Captain Cooper, who sails in two days, I send you a continuation of the Diary, Chronicle, and Senator, Nos. 15, 16, 17, 18 and up to this period.

I am extremely sorry the articles for working the Salt Springs could not be got in time to go by this conveyance. They must now be necessarily postponed till next Spring when you may depend on receiving them.

The Duke and Duchess of Northumberland are yet at Lisbon, both enjoying a good state of health. The Duke has been strongly solicited by the Portugees to take the command of their Army, but which he refuses accepting.¹

I am, my dear Sir, with great regard,

Yours most sincerely,

ALEXANDER DAVISON.

P.S. I hope your colony will be able to raise as much Pork as will supply the Troops, in which subject I shall be glad to receive your sentiments, and will willingly, as agent to the Treasury for victualling His Majesty's forces in America, enter into any contract with proper and substantial people, such as you shall point out, for any quantity of Pork. At the time it will give encouragement to your new settlement, it will be a very considerable saving to Government. I heartily wish the settlement every prosperity, and will do everything in my power to effect it.

Yours,

A. D.

Governor Simcoe.

¹Hugh Percy, second Duke of Northumberland, 1742-1817, ensign, 24th Regt., 1 May, 1759; capt. 85th, 6th Aug. 1759; lt. col. 111th, 16 Apr. 1762; served in Germany under Ferdinand of Brunswick; M.P. for Westminster, 1763-76; colonel, 5th, 1768; served in America, at Lexington, Bunker Hill, and defence of Boston, 1775-6; major general, 11 July, 1775; general in North America, 26 March, 1776; lt. general in the army, 29 Aug., 1777; general, 12 Oct., 1793; F.S.A. 1787; F.R.S., 1788.

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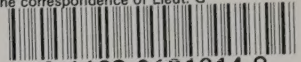


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